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A
THIRD COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE and VALUABLE
TRACTS,
ON THE MOST
Interesting and Entertaining Subjects:

But chiefly such as relate to the

History and Constitution of these Kingdoms.

Selected from an Infinite Number in *Print and Manuscript*, in the ROYAL,
COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD SOMERSET.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. I.

*The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and
Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice of the
Nation.*

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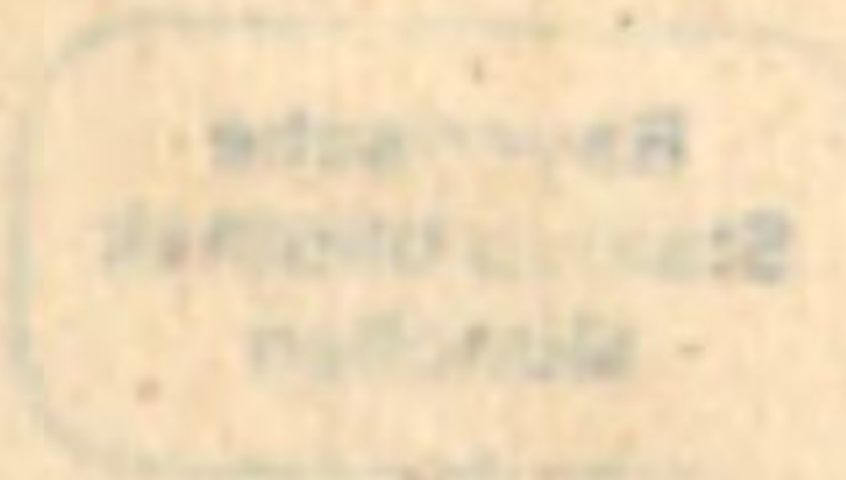
Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum
statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

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MDCCLI.



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A THIRD
COLLECTION
OF
TRACTS.

A SPEECH deliver'd from the Parliament, by the Lord Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas de Arundell, Bishop of Ely, To KING RICHARD the II^d. in the 11th Year of his Reign, on his absenting himself from his Parliament.

SIR,

THE Lords, and all the Commons of your Parliament, have themselves commended to your Most Excellent Majesty, desiring the Success of your invincible Honour against the Power of your Enemies, and most firm Bond of Peace and Love in your Heart towards your Subjects, for your good God-wards, and the Good of your Soul, and to the unspeakable Comfort of all your People, whom you Govern: On whose behalf we intimate these Things to you; That it appears to us (by an Ancient Statute, and by laudable and approved Usage, which cannot be deny'd) that our King can call together the Peers of the Realm, and the Commons, once a Year to his Parliament, as to the Supream Court of the whole Kingdom, in which all Right and Justice ought to shine forth without any doubt or stain, as the Sun at Noon-day, where Poor and Rich may find an infallible Refuge, to enjoy the Refreshments of Tranquillity and Peace, and for Repelling of Injuries, where also Errors in Government are to be Reformed, and the State and Government of King and Kingdom treated upon by sage Advice, and the destroying and repelling of both intestine and foreign Enemies to the King and Kingdom, with most Convenience and Honour, may be debated upon, and provided for; as also in what manner the Charges incumbent upon the King

and Kingdom may be born with most ease to the Commonality. They conceive likewise, that since they bear the incumbent Charges, it concerns them to inspect how and by whom their Goods and Chattels are expended. They say also, that it appears to them (by an Antient Statute,) that if the King absent himself from his Parliament voluntarily, not by reason of Sicknes, or for any other necessary Cause, but through an inordinate Will shall wantonly absent himself by the space of forty days, as not regarding the Vexation of his People, and their great Expences, it shall then be lawful to all and singular of them, to return to their own Homes without the King's Leave: And you have now been longer absent, and have refused to come to them, for what cause they know not.

Then, said the King, I now plainly see that my People and the Commons design to oppose me with Force, and are about to make an Insurrection against me: And if I be so infested, I think the best course I can take will be to go to my Cousin, the King of *France*, and ask his Advice, and pray in aid of him against those that way-lay me, and rather to submit myself to him, than be foiled by my own Subjects. *To which they reply'd,* That Counsel is not for your good, but will inevitably tend to your Ruin; for the King of *France* is your capital Enemy, and the greatest Adversary that your Kingdom has; and if he should set his foot within your Kingdom, he would rather endeavour to prey upon you, and invade your Realm, and to depose you from your Royal Dignity, than afford you any Assistance, if, which God forbid, you should stand in need of his help. Call to mind, therefore, how your Grand-father King *Edward* the 3^d, and your Father Prince *Edward* for him, fought indefatigably in Sweat and Sorrow all their days, and went through innumerable Hardships of Cold and Heat, to acquire the Kingdom of *France*, which by hereditary Right appertain'd to Them, and does now to You by Succession after them. Remember, likewise, how innumerable Lords and Commons of both Realms, and Kings and Gentlemen of other Kingdoms, and People innumerable, perished, or hazarded perishing, in that War; and that the Commons of this Realm pour'd out Goods of inestimable Value, and innumerable Sums of Money, for the carrying on of that same War; and, which is more to be lamented, they have now in your days undergone such heavy Taxes towards the maintaining of your Wars, that they are reduced to such incredible Poverty, that they cannot so much as pay their Rents for their Farms, nor aid the King, nor afford themselves necessities; and the King himself is impoverished, and the Lords become uneasy, and all the People faint; for a King cannot become poor, that has a rich People; nor can he be rich, whose People are poor.

And all these Mischiefs redound not to the King only, but also to all and singular the Peers of the Realm, in proportion: And all these Mischiefs happen by means of the King's Evil Ministers, who have hitherto misgovern'd both the King and Kingdom; and if some course be not taken, the Kingdom of *England* will be miserably diminished sooner than we are aware of. But there remains yet another part of your Message, which we have to impart to you,

you, on the behalf of your People. They find it an (Antient Statute) and it has been done in fact not long ago, That if the King, through any evil Council, or foolish Contumacy, or out of Scorn, or some singular petulant Will of his own, or by any other irregular Means, shall alienate himself from his People, and shall (refuse to be govern'd and guided by the Laws of the Realm, and the Statutes and laudable Ordinances thereof,) together with the wholesome Advice of the Lords and great Men of his Realm, but persisting headstrong in his own hare-brain'd Councils, shall petulantly prosecute his own humour, That then (it shall be lawfull for them, with the common assent and consent of the People of the Realm, to depose that same King from his Regal Throne, and to set up some other of the Royal Blood in his Room.

The S P E E C H *of* KING HENRY *the* VIIIth, *in the*
Parliament, in the 37th Year of his Reign.

W H A T Love of Charity, is there amongst you, when one calls another *Heritick* and *Anabaptist*, and he calls him *Papist*, *Hypocrite*, and *Pharisee* ! I must needs judge the Fault, and occasion of this Discord, to be partly by negligence of you, the Fathers and Preachers of the *Spirituality*. For I hear dayly, that you of the *Clergy* Preach one against another, Teach one contrary to another, Railing one against another.

Some are so stiff in their Old *Mumpsimus* ; others are so buisie and furious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that all Men almost be in Vanity and Discord ; and few or none, preach truly and sincerely the Word of God. Now, how can poor Souls live in Concord, when you Preachers, sow amongst them in their Sermons, Debate and Discord ? Of you they look for Light, and you lead them into Darknes.

Now, although I say, that *Spiritual-men* be in some fault, that Charity is not kept amongst you ; yet you of the *Temporality*, be not clear and unspotted, from Malice and Envy. For you rail at Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers.

You must understand, that although you be permitted to read *Holy Scriptures*, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-tongue ; yet this Licence is given you only to inform your Conscience, and to instruct your Children, and not to dispute, and make Scripture a railing and a taunting-stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to here how irreverently that most precious Jewel (the Word of God) is Disputed, Rimed, Sung, and Jangled in every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary to the true Meaning and Doctrine of the same. And I am as much sorry, that the Readers of it follow it (in doing) so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity, and Virtue, was never less exercised ; nor God, amongst Christians, was never less reverenc'd, honour'd, or served.

The SPEECH of QUEEN KATHERINE, which she made when she was called upon, about the Divorce of her and the KING, who rose out of her Chair, and came to the KING, and kneeling down at his Feet, said as followeth:

SIR,

I N what have I offended you? Or what occasion of displeasure have I given you, intending thus to put me from you? I take God to be my Judge, I have been to you a true and humble Wife, ever conformable to your Will and Pleasure; never contradicting, or gain-saying you in any thing: Being always contented with all things, wherein you had any delight; or took any pleasure without grudge, or countenance of discontent, or displeasure. I loved for your sake, all them whom you lov'd, whether I had cause, or no; whether they were my Friends or my Enemies. I have been your Wife these twenty Years or more, and you had by me divers Children; and when you had me first, I take God to be my Judge, that I was a Maid: and whether it be true, or no, I put it to your own Conscience. If there be any just cause that you can alledge against me, either of dishonesty, or matter lawful to put me from you, I am content to depart, to my shame and confusion: And if there be none, then I pray you to let me have Justice at your Hands. The King, your Father, was, in his time, of such an Excellent Wit, that he was accounted amongst all Men, for Wisdom, to be a second *Solomon*: and the King of *Spain*, my Father *Ferdinand*, was accounted one of the wisest Princes, that had reign'd in *Spain* for many Years. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but that they had gathered as Wise Councillors unto them, of every Realm, as to their Wisdoms they thought meet: And I conceive, that there were in those days, as wise and well-learned Men, in both the Realms, as be now at this day; who thought the Marriage between you, and me, good and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to me, what new Inventions are now invented against me. And now to put me to stand to the Order and Judgment of this Court, seems very unreasonable. For you may condemn me for want of being able to answer for myself; as having no Council, but such as you assigned me; who cannot be indifferent on my Part, since they are your own Subjects, and such as you have taken, and chosen out of your own Council; whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your Will, and Intent. Therefore I humbly pray you, to spare me, until I may know, what Council, my Friends in *Spain* will advise me to take: And if you will not, then your Pleasure be fulfilled.

And with that, she rose up, and departed, never more appearing in any Court.

KING

KING HENRY *the VIIIth's* SPEECH *upon the* QUEEN'S
Departure out of the Court.

I WILL now, in her Absence, declare this unto you all, That she has been unto me as True and Obedient a Wife, as I could wish, or desire. She has all the Virtuous Qualities, that ought to be in a Woman of her Dignity, or in any other of mean Condition. She is also, surely, a Noble Woman born : Her Condition will well declare it.

The SPEECH *of* QUEEN KATHERINE *to* Cardinal Campeius, *and* Wolsey, *they being sent by the* KING.

MY Lords, I cannot answer you so suddenly; for I was set, among my Maids, at work, little thinking of any such Matter; wherein there needs a longer Deliberation, and a better Head, than mine, to make Answer. For I have need of Council in this case, which concerns me so near : And for any Council, or Friends, that I can find in *England*, they are not for my Profit. For it is not likely, that any *Englishman* will Council me, or be a Friend to me against the King's Pleasure; since they are his Subjects : And for my Council, in which I may trust, they are in *Spain*.

The SPEECH *of* Cardinal Campeius, *upon* KING HENRY *the VIIIth's* Council *calling for* Judgment.

I Will not give Judgment, till I have made relation to the Pope of all our Proceedings; whose Council, and Command, I will observe. The Matter is too high for us, to give an hasty Judgment, considering the Highness of the Persons, and doubtfulness of the Case; and also whose Commissioners we be, under whose Authority we sit. It were therefore Reason, that we should make our Chief Head a Council in the same, before we proceed to a definitive Sentence. I came not to please, for Favour, Need, or Dread, of any Person alive, be he King, or otherwise. I have no such respect to the Person, that I will offend my Conscience. I will not, for the Favour or Disfavour of any High Estate, do that thing, which shall be against the Will of God.

I am an Old Man, (both Weak and Sickly) that look daily for Death. I will not wade any further in this Matter, untill I have the Opinion, and Assent of the Pope. A

A SPEECH made at the Council-Board, on (KING HENRY the Eight,) taking upon him the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

S I R,

YOUR Highness is come to a Point, which needs a strong, and firm Resolution; it being not only the most important in it self, that can be presented; but likewise of that consequence, that it will comprehend your Kingdom, and Posterity. It is, whether in this business of your Divorce, and Second Marriage, as well as in all other Ecclesiastical Affairs, in your Dominions, you would make use of your own, or the Pope's Authority. For my own Part, as an *Englishman*, and your Highness's Subject, I must wish all Power in your Highness. But when I consider the antient Practice of this Kingdom, I cannot but think any Innovation dangerous. For, if in every Temporal Estate, it be necessary to come to some Supream Authority, whence all inferior Magistracy should be derived; it seem much more necessary in Religion; both, as the Body thereof seems more susceptible of a Head, than any else, and as that Head, again must direct so many others; We should therefore, above all things, labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof; as being the sacred bond, which knits and holds together, not its own alone, but all other Government. But how much, Sir, should we recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this its chief and most eminent Part? And, who ever liked that Body long, whose Head was taken away? Certainly, Sir, an Authority received for many Ages, ought not rashly to be rejected. For, is not the Pope, (*Communis Pater*,) in the Christian World, and Arbiter of their Differences? Does not he Support the Majesty of Religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Does not the holding his Authority from God, keep Men in awe, not of Temporal alone, but Eternal Punishments; and therein extend his Power beyond death itself? And will it be secure, to lay aside those potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and trust only to the Sword of Justice, and Secular Arms? Besides, who shall mitigate the rigor of Laws in those Cases, which may admit Exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give Orders, or Administer the Sacraments of the Church? Who shall be Depository of the Oaths and Leagues of Princes? Or, Fulminate against the perjured Infractors of them? For my Part (as Affairs now stand) I find not, how, either a general Peace amongst Princes, or any equal Moderation in Human Affairs, can be well conserved without him. For, as his Court is a kind of Chancery, to all other Courts of Justice in the Christian World; so if you take it away, you subvert that Equity, and Conscience, which should be the Rule, and Interpreter of all
Laws

Laws and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that, I wish your Highness (as my King and Sovereign) all true Greatness and Happiness; but think it not fit (in this Case) that your right Ecclesiastical Government is Innovated; or enquire how far they are bound thereby; since, beside that it might cause Division, and hazzard the Overthrow, both of the one and the other Authority; it would give that Offence and Scandal abroad, that Foreign Princes would both reprove and disallow all our Preceedings in this kind, and upon occasion, be disposed easily to joyn against us.

*A SPEECH made in the Upper-House of Parliament,
by Dr. John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, in the Reign
of KING HENRY the Eighth, in Opposition to the
Suppressing of the Lesser Monastries.*

My Honored LORDS,

THIS is the Place where your Glorious and Noble Progenitors have Paternized the Kingdom from oppression. Here is the Sanctuary where, in all Ages but this of ours, our Mother Church found still a sound Protection. I should be infinitely sorrowful, that from you, that are so lovely branches of Antiquity, and Catholick Honour, the Catholick Faith should be so deeply wounded. For God's, and your own Goodness-sake, leave not to Posterity, so great a Blemish, that you were the First, and only those that give it up to ruine. Where there is Cause you nobly punish, and with Justice; but beware of infringing so long continued Privileges, or denying the Members of the Church, the very Parts of their Advantage that is enjoyed by every private Subject. The Commons shoot their Arrows at our Livings, which are the Motives that conceit us (or make us to be conceived) guilty. Is all the Kingdom innocent, and we only faulty, that there is no room left for other Considerations far more weighty? The Diligence, Devotion, and Liberality of your Great Forefathers endowed their Mother Church with fair and large Revenues, making it still their greatest Care to keep her upright, able, still in Freedom: And will you give consent, that like a servile Bondmaid, she now sinks lower to a naked thralldom, and, by degrees, be forced from her Mansion? If not, to what end serves the flux of these Positions, that taint your Ears with Language far unfit the Ears of Christian Princes. These strike not at the Withered Branches, but at the Tree, on which Religion groweth. Certainly, all are not guilty. Admite that some, as they enforce (or urge) be vicious, must it conclude there is none good amongst us, or able to reform their proper vices? Will you assume a Power, till now unheard of, give away their Rites, by new made Statutes? If you will seek and sift our
Con.

Constitutions, you shall there find as strict Injunctions, as you can make, for Reformation. But, I suppose, it is not that is aimed at; pretence of Restauration, (or Reformation) tends to ruine, else such beginings could not find such Favour. My Lords, consider well your actions; be advised. This Cause seems only Ours, it will be Yours, if that the Mother Church do feel unjustice. Your turns are next to feel the like Oppression. When Faith begins to fail, then all must perish. *Heritick*, (or *Heretical*) Fancies taint the common People, whom Novelties betray, even to Perdition. Let Neighbour Nations tell you your own Story. *Husse*, *Luther*, and such frantick Teachers, cry out against the Church in all their Sermons, they do pretend nothing but Reformation, when they themselves are deepest Dyed in Mischief. What follows them, (to wit perdition) we may expect in Justice. The Churches Wealth occasioned this first moving. If that were poor, our Vices would be Vertues, and none would be forward to Accuse us. What can we look for then but Desolation, where private Ends are made a publick Grievance? Our Lesser Houses are desired from us; not that their value doth deserve the Motion; but, that the Greater may succeed their Fortune; which soon will follow, if the Gap be open'd. The King himself, I hope, is too gracious, to set a broach an Action so disordered: Nor, can I think, the Lower House of Commons will be so blind, to second this loose Motion. Some giddy-brain, whose fading Fortunes lead him to hope to raise himself out of Our Ruins; betrays their Judgments with a shew of Justice; which seeks in truth but merely Innovation, which must succeed, unless you do oppose it. Wherefore, My Lords, call back that Antient Virtue, that so long Time hath sat in these your Places. Now is the Time to shew your worth; the Church Implores it, the Church which you acknowledge for your Mother. If Liberty take Place of Faith, farewell Religion. The *Turk* may than direct us how to guide in Rapine, Blood and Murder; foul Dissention proceeds from want of good Devotion. The lack of Faith, begets these strange Conceptions, which Time will make stark Dead, if we continue.

*A SPEECH of QUEEN MARY'S to her Council, upon
her Resolution of Restoring Church Lands, Anno Reg.
Mar. 4.*

WE have willed you to be called to Us, to the intent you might hear of Me, my Conscience, and the Resolution of my Mind, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries, as other Churches whatsoever, being now in my Possession.

First, I do consider, that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches aforesaid in time of Schism; and that by unlawful Means, such as are contrary both to the Law of God, and of the Church: For which cause

my Conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse, either to claim, or retain those Lands for mine: But with all my Heart, freely and willingly, without all Paction, or Condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said Lands and Possessions, or Inheritances whatsoever; and renounce the same with this Mind and Purpose, that Order and Disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to the Pope, or his Legate, to the Honour of God, and the Wealth of this our Realm. And albeit you may object to me again, That the State of my Kingdom, the Dignity thereof, and my Crown Imperial, cannot be Honourably maintained and furnished without the Possessions aforesaid: Yet notwithstanding (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the Restitution of the Tenth and first Fruits) I set more by the Salvation of my Soul, than by Ten such Kingdoms: And therefore the said Possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that Sort and Title: And I give most hearty Thanks to God, who hath given me a Husband of the same Mind, who hath no less good Affection in this Behalf, than I my self. Wherefore I Charge and Command that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my Mind in this Matter) and you Four, do resort to Morrow together, to the Legate, signifying to him the Premises in my Name. And give your Attendance upon me, for the more full Declaration of the State of my Kingdom, and of the aforesaid Possessions, according as you yourselves do understand the Matter, and can inform him in the same.

Upon this Opening of her Mind, the Lords thought it requisite to direct some course, whereby She might satisfy Her Desires, to Her own great Honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the Publick Patrimony.

*A S P E E C H made in the Upper House of Parliament,
against the Supremacy to be in Her MAJESTY:
By NICHOLAS HEATH, Lord Chancellor of ENGLAND.
In the First Year of Her Reign, 1558.*

*In the Original it is stiled a T A L E told in PARLIAMENT.
For Oaths the Land shall be cloathed in Mourning.*

My LORDS,

W I T H all humble Submission of my whole Discourse to your Wisdom, I purpose to speak to the Body of the Act, touching the Supremacy; that so, what this Honourable Assembly is now a doing, concerning the passing of this Act, may thereby be better weighed, and considered by your Wisdoms.

10 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

First, When by the Virtue of this Act of the Supremacy, we must forsake and fly from the See of *Rome*, it would be considered, what matter lieth therein; and what matter of Danger or Inconvenience; or else, whether there be none at all.

Secondly, If the Intent of this Act be to grant or settle upon the Queen's Majesty a Supremacy; it would be considered of your Wisdoms, What this Supremacy is, and whether it doth consist in *Spiritual Government*, or *Temporal*? If in *Temporal*, what further Authority can this House give her, more than what she already hath by Right of Inheritance? And not by our Gift, but by the Appointment of God. Being our Sovereign Lord and Lady; Our King and Queen, if further than this, we acknowledge her to be Head of the Church of *England*, we ought also to grant, that the *Emperor*, or any other Prince, being *Catholick*, and their Subjects *Protestants*, (are to be Heads of their Church) Whereby she shall do an Act, as disagreeable to *Protestants*, as this seems to *Catholicks*.

If you say, That Supremacy consists in *Spiritual Concernments*,

Then it would be consider'd, what the *Spiritual Government* is; and in what Points it doth chiefly consist: Which being first agreed upon, it would be further considered of your Wisdoms, Whether this House may grant to her Highness or not? And whether her Highness be an apt Person to receive the same?

So by through Examination of these Parts, your Honours shall proceed in this matter groundedly, upon such sure Knowledge, as not to be deceived by Ignorance.

Now to the First Point, wherein I promised to examine, what matter of weight, Danger, or Inconvenience might be incurr'd, by this our forsaking, and flying from the Church of *Rome*, if there were no further matter therein, than the with-drawing our Obedience from the *Pope's* Person, (supposing, that he had declared himself to be a very austere and severe Father to us) then the Business were not of so great Importance; as indeed it is, as will immediately here appear.

For, by relinquishing and forsaking the Church, or See of *Rome*, we must forsake and fly from all General Councils.

Secondly, From all Canonical and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of Christ.

Thirdly, From the Judgment of all other Christian Princes.

Fourthly, and *Lastly*, We must forsake and fly from the Holy Unity of Christ's Church, and so by leaping out of *Peter's* Ship, we hazard our selves to be over-whelmed in the Waves of Schism, of Sects, and Divisions.

First, Touching the General Councils, I shall name unto you these Four: The *Nicene Council*, the *Constantinopolitan Council*, the *Ephesine*, and the *Chalcedon*: All which are approved by all Men.

Of those same Councils, St. Gregory writeth in this wise; *Sicut enim Sanctorum Evangelistarum quatuor Libros, sic hæc quatuor Concilia, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinum, & Chalcedonense, suscipere, ac venerari me fateor*: That is to say in *English*,

English, 'I confels, I do receive, and reverence these Four General Councils, of *Nice, Constantinople, &c.* even as I do the Four *Holy Evangelists*.'

At the *Nicene Council*, the First of the Four, the Bishops which were there assembled, did write three Epistles to *Sylvester*, then Bishop of *Rome*,

'That their Decrees then made, might be confirmed by his Authority.'

At the Council of *Constantinople*, all the Bishops there, were obedient to *Damasus*, then Bishop of *Rome*: He, as chief in the Council, gave Sentence against the Hereticks, *Macedonus, Sabellius*, and *Eunomius*: Which *Eunomius* was both an *Arrian*, and the first Author of that Heresy, (That only Faith doth justify.) And here (by the way) it is much to be lamented, that we, the Inhabitants of this Realm, are much more inclin'd to raise up the Errors and Sects of antient condemned Hereticks, than to follow the true approved Doctrine of the most *Catholick* and learned Fathers of *Christ* his Church.

At the *Ephesine Council*, *Nestorius* the Heretick was condemned by *Celestine* the Bishop of *Rome*, he being chief Judge there.

At *Chalcedon Council*, all the Bishops there assembled, did write their humble Submission unto *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*; wherein they did acknowledge him there to be their Chief Head: Six Hundred and Thirty Bishops of them.

Therefore to deny the See *Apostolick*, and its Authority, were to contemn and set at nought the Authority and Decrees of those noble Councils.

Secondly, We must forsake and fly from all *Canonical* and *Ecclesiastical* Laws of *Christ* his Church; whereunto we have already professed our Obedience at the Font, saying, *Credo Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*; that is, I believe the *Holy Catholick Church*: Which Article containeth, That we must receive the Doctrine, and Sacraments of the same Church, obey her Laws, and live according to the same: Which Laws do depend wholly upon the Authority of the See *Apostolick*. And like as it is here openly professed by the Judges of the Realm, that the Laws agreed upon in the Higher and Lower Houses of this Honourable Parliament, to be of small, or none Effect, before the Royal Assent of the King, or Prince be given thereunto: Even so *Ecclesiastical* Laws made, cannot bind the Universal Church of *Christ*, without the Royal Assent, and Confirmation of the See *Apostolick*.

Thirdly, We must forsake and fly from the Judgment of all other Christian Princes, whether they be *Protestant* or *Catholick* Christians, when none of them do agree with these our Doings: King *Henry* the Eighth being the first that ever took upon him the Title of Supremacy.

And whereas it was of late, here in this House, said by a Nobleman, That the Title of Supremacy is of right due to a King, for that he is a King; then it would follow, that *Herod* being a King, should be Supream Head of the Church of *Jerusalem*: And *Nero* the Emperor, Supream Head of the Church of *Christ* at *Rome*; they being both *Infidels*, and therefore no Members of *Christ* his Church.

And if our Saviour *Christ*, at his Departure from the World, should have left the Spiritual Government of his Church in the Hands of Emperors, and

Kings, and not to have committed the same to his Apostles, how negligently then should he have left his Church!

It shall appear right well, by calling to mind, That the Emperor *Constantinus Magnus* was the First Christian Emperor, and was Baptized by *Sylvester*, Bishop of *Rome*, about three hundred Years after the Ascension of *Christ Jesus*.

If by your Proposition, *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperor was the first Head, and Spiritual Governor of *Christ* his Church, throughout his Empire; then it followeth, that our *Saviour Christ*, for the space of three hundred Years, unto the Coming of this *Constantine*, left his Church (which he had so dearly bought by Effusion of his most precious Blood) without any Head at all.

But how untrue the Saying of this Nobleman was, it shall further appear by Example of *Ozia*, and also King *David*. For King *Ozia*, did take the Censor to do Incense to the Altar of God. The Priest *Azarias* did resist him, and expelled him out of the Temple, and said unto him, *Non est Officii tui, Ozia, ut adoleas Incensum Domini; sed est Sacerdotum, & Filiorum Aaron: Ad hujusmodi enim Officium consecrati.* That is to say, 'It is not thy Office, *Ozia*, to offer Incense to the Altar of God. But it is the Priest's Office, and the Sons of *Aaron*; for they are consecrated and anointed to that Office.'

Now I shall humbly demand this Question; When the Priest *Azarias* said to the King, *Non est Officii tui*, whether he said Truth or not? If you answer, that he spake the Truth, then the King was not Supream Head of the Church of the *Jews*. If you shall say, No, Why did God plague the King with Leprosy and not the Priest?

The Priest, *Azarias*, in resisting the King, and thrusting him out of the Temple; in so doing, did the Priest play the faithful Part of a Subject, or no? If you answer, No, why then did God spare the Priest, and not spare the King? If you answer, Yea, then it is most manifest, *Ozia*, in that he was King, could not be Supream Head of the Church.

And as touching the Example of King *David*, in bringing home the Ark of God from the Country of the *Philistians* to the City of *David*, what Supremacy, or Government of God's Ark, did King *David* there take upon him? Did he place himself amongst the Priests? Or take upon him any Spiritual Function unto them appertaining? Did he approach near unto the Ark? Or yet presume to touch the same? No, doubtless. For he had seen before, *Ozia* stricken to death by the Hand of God, for the Arrogance and Presumption.

And therefore King *David* did go before the Ark of God with his Harp, making Melody; and placed himself amongst the Minstrels, and humbly did abase himself, (being a King) as to dance and leap before the Ark of God; like as his other Subjects did: Insomuch, as his Queen *Michol*, King *Saul's* Daughter, beholding and seeing this great Humility of King *David*, did disdain thereat. Whereunto King *David*, making answer, said, *Ludam, & vilior sum plus quam factus sum, &c.* That is, I will dance, and abase my self

more than yet I have done; and abjecting my self in mine own Eyes, I shall appear more glorious with those Hand-maids, that you talk of. I will play here before my Lord; which hath chosen me, rather than thy Father's House. And whereas Queen *Michol* was therefore plagued at God's Hand, with perpetual Sterility and Barrenness, King *David* received great Praise for his Humility.

Now may it please your Honours to consider, which of both these Kings Examples, shall be most convenient for your Wisdoms, to make the Queen's Majesty to follow; whether the Example of Proud *Ozia*; moving Her, by your Perswasions and Councils, to take upon her Spiritual Government, and thereby exposing her Soul to be plagued at the Hand of God, as King *Ozia* was, or else to follow the Example of the good King *David*, which, in Refusal of all Spiritual Government about the Ark of God, did humble himself, as I have declared unto you.

Whereunto our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Highness, of Her own Nature being well inclined; we may assure our selves, to have of Her as Humble, as Virtuous, and as Godly a Mistress to Reign over us, as ever had *English* People here in this Realm; if that her Highness be not by your Flattery, and Dissimulation, seduced and beguiled.

Fourthly and *Lastly*, We must forsake, and fly from the Holy Unity of Christ's Church: Seeing that St. *Cyprian*, that Holy Martyr, and great Clerk, doth say, that the Unity of the Church of *Christ* doth depend upon *Peter's* Authority, and his Successors. Therefore by leaping out of *Peter's* Ship, we must be over-welmed with Waves of Schisms, of Sects and Divisions: Because the same Holy Martyr in his third Epistle to *Cornelius* testifieth, (That all Heresies, Sects, and Schisms, do spring only from hence,) that Men will not be obedient to the Head Bishop of God.

And how true this Saying of St. *Cyprian* is, we may see it most apparent to all Men that list to see, both by the Example of the *Germans*, and by us the Inhabitants of this Realm of *England*.

And by this our forsaking, and flying from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, this Inconveniency amongst many, must consequently follow: That either we must grant the Church of *Rome* to be the true Church of God, or else a Maglignant Church. If you answer, that it is a true Church of God, where Jesus Christ is truly taught, and his Sacraments rightly administred; how can we disburthen our selves of our forsaking, and flying from that Church, which we do confess, and acknowledge to be of God? When with that Church, which is of God, we ought to be one, and not to admit of any Separation.

If you answer, that the Church of *Rome* is not of God, but a malignant Church; then it will follow, that we the Inhabitants of this Realm have not as yet received any Benefit of Christ; seeing we have received no Gospel, or other Doctrine, nor no other Sacraments, but what was sent unto us from the Church of *Rome*.

First,

First, In King *Lucius* his Days, at whose humble Epistle the Holy Martyr *Elutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, did send into this Realm two Holy Monks, *Fagatius*, and *Damianus*; by whose Doctrine and Preaching, we were first brought to the Knowledge of the Faith of Jesus Christ, of his Holy Gospel, and his most Holy Sacraments.

Then, *Secondly*, Holy St. *Gregory*, being Bishop of *Rome*, did send into this Realm two other holy Monks, St. *Austin*, called the Apostle of *England*, and *Milletus*, to receive the very self same Faith, that had been before planted here in this Realm, in the Days of King *Lucius*.

Thirdly, and Last of all, *Paulus Tertius* being Bishop of *Rome*, did send hither the Lord Cardinal *Pool* his Grace, (by Birth a Nobleman of this Land) his Legate, to restore us unto the same Faith which the Martyr, St. *Eleutherius* and St. *Gregory* had planted here many Years before.

If therefore the Church of *Rome* be not of God, but a false and malignant Church, then we have been deceived all this while; seeing the Gospel, the Doctrine, Faith, and Sacraments must be of the same Nature, as that Church is, from whence it, and they came; and therefore in relinquishing, and forsaking that Church, the Inhabitants of this Realm shall be forced to seek further for another Gospel of Christ, other Doctrine, other Faith and Sacraments than we have hitherto received: Which will breed such a Schism, and Error in Faith, as was never in any Christian Realm. And therefore of your Wisdoms worthy of Consideration, and maturely to be pondered, and be provided for, before you pass this Act of Supremacy. Thus much touching the First chief Point.

Now to the Second Deliberation, wherein I promised to move your Honours, to consider what this Supremacy is, which we go about, by Virtue of this Act, to give unto the Queen, and wherein it doth consist; whether in Spiritual Government, or Temporal. But if Spiritual, (as these words in the Act do import, Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, immediately and next unto God;) then it would be considered, in what Points this Spiritual Government doth consist: And the Points being well known, it would be considered, Whether this House hath Authority to grant them, and her Highness Ability to receive them.

And as concerning the Points, wherein Spiritual Government doth consist, I have, in reading the Gospel, and the whole course of Divinity thereupon (as to my Vocation belongeth) observed these Four, as chief among many others: Whereof the first is, the Power to loose and bind Sins, when our Saviour, in ordaining *Peter* to be Chief, and Head-Governor of his Church, said unto him, *Tibi dabo Claves Regni Caelorum. &c.* That is, *To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* Now it would be considered by your Wisdoms, whether you have sufficient Authority to grant unto Her Majesty this first Point of Spiritual Government; and to say unto Her, *Tibi dabimus, &c.* To thee will we give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. If you say, Yea; then do we require the Sight of your Warrant and Commission, by Virtue of God's Word. And if you say, No: Then you may

may be well assured, and perswade your selves, that you have not sufficient Authority to make her Highness Supream Head of the Church of Christ here in this Realm.

The Second Point of Spiritual Government is gathered out of these words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to St. *Peter* in the 20th Chapter of St. *John's* Gospel, *Pasce— & Pasce— & Pasce*; that is, Feed my Lambs, Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep: Now whether your Honours have Authority by this Court of Parliament, to say unto our Sovereign Lady, *Pasce, & Pasce, & Pasce*, &c. That is to say, Feed you the Flock of *Christ*, you must shew your Warrant and Commission for it. And further, it is evident, that Her Majesty, being a Woman by Birth and Nature, is not qualified by God's Word, to feed the Flock of *Christ*, appears most plainly by St. *Paul*, in this wise, *Taceant Mulieres in Ecclesiis, sicut & lex dicit*. Let Women be silent in the Church: For it is not lawful for them to speak, but to be in Subjection, as the Law saith. And it followeth in the same Place, *Turpe est enim, Mulieres loqui in Ecclesia*, that is, for that it is not seemly for a Woman to speak in the Church. And in his Second Epistle to *Timothy*, *Dominari in virum, sed esse silentes*; that is to say, I allow not that a Woman be a Teacher, or to be above her Husband, but to keep herself in silence. Therefore it appears likewise, as your Honours have not Authority to give Her Highness this Second Point of Spiritual Government, to feed the Flock of *Christ*: So by St. *Paul's* Doctrine, her Highness may not intermeddle herself with the same. And therefore she cannot be Supream Head of the Church, here in *England*.

The Third chief Point of Spiritual Government is gathered out of those Words of our Saviour *Christ*, Spoken to St. *Peter* in the 22d Chapter of St. *Luke's* Gospel, *Ergo rogavi pro Te, ut non deficiat fides Tua; & Tua quando conversus, confirma fratres Tuos*. That is, I prayed for Thee, that thy Faith shall not fail; and when thou art converted, confirm thy Brethren, and ratifie them in wholesome Doctrine, and Administration of the Sacrament; which are the Holy Instruments of God, so instituted and ordained for our Sanctification, that without them his Grace is not to be received. But to preach, or to administer the Sacraments, a Woman may not be admitted to do; neither may she be Supream of *Christ's* Church.

The Fourth and last chief Point of Spiritual Government, which I promised to note unto you, doth consist in the Excommunication, and Spiritual Punishment of all such, as shall approve themselves, not to be the obedient Children of *Christ's* Church.

Of which Authority our Saviour *Christ* speaks in St. *Matthew's* Gospel, in the 18th Chapter saying, 'If your Brother offending will not hear your charitable Admonition, whether secretly at first, or yet before one, or two Witnesses, then we must complain of him to the Church, and if he will not hear the Church, let him be taken as a Heathen or Publican.'

So the Apostle did excommunicate the notorious Fornicator that was among the *Corinthians*; and by the Authority of his Apostleship, unto which Apostles,
Christ

Christ ascending into Heaven, did leave the whole Spiritual Government of his Church, as it appeareth by those plain Words of *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, Chap 4 saying, *Ipse dedit Ecclesiae suae*, &c. He hath given to his Church, some to be Apostles, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, for Consummation of the *Saints*, to the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of *Christ*. But a Woman in the Degrees of the Church, is not called to be an Apostle, nor Evangelist, nor to be a Pastor (as much as to say, a Shepherd) nor a Doctor, or a Preacher; therefore she cannot be Supream Head of *Christ's* Militant Church; nor yet of any Part thereof. For this High Government God hath appointed only to the Bishops, and Pastors of his People; as *St. Paul* plainly witnesseth in these Words, in the 20th Chap of the *Acts of the Apostles*, saying, *Attendite vobis, & universo gregi*, &c. And thus much I have here said, right Honourable, and my very good Lords, against this Act of Supremacy, for the Discharge of my poor Conscience, and for the Love, and Fear, and Dread, that I chiefly owe unto God, to my Sovereign Lord and Lady the Queen's Majesties Highness, and to your Honours all. Where otherwise, without mature Consideration of all these Premises, your Honours shall never be able to show your Faces before your Enemies, in this Matter; being so strange a Spectacle and Example in *Christ's* Church, as in this Realm, is only to be found, and in no other Christian Realm.

Thus humbly beseeching your Honours, to take in good part, this my rude and plain Speech, which here I have used, of much Zeal and fervent good Will: And now I shall not trouble your Honours any longer.

The B I B L E, *that is,* the HOLY SCRIPTURES *contained in the* O L D and N E W T E S T A M E N T.

TRANSLATED according to the *Ebrowe* and *Greeke*, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages. With most profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other things of great importance as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader.

Feare ye not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you this day. Exod. xiv. 13.

Great are the troubles of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of all. Psal. xxxiv. 19.

The Lord shall fight for you, therefore hold your peace. Exod. xiv. 14.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Pater-Noster-Rowe, at the sign of the Tygres head. 1577.

Cum privilegio:

Idem in a small Folio. 1582.

A Didication prefixed to the Translation of the Bible made by Mr. Coverdale, and other English Exiles at Geneva, during the Reign of Queen Mary, and Printed at London by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Powles-Churchyard, at the sign of the Tygres Head. 1576. *Cum privilegio.*

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To the most virtuous and noble Queen Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, &c. Grace and Peace from God the Father through Christ Jesus our Lord.

HOWE hard a thing it is, and what great impediments let, to enterprife any worthy act, not only daily experience sufficiently sheweth (most noble and virtuous Queen) but also that notable proverbe doeth confirme the same, which amonisheth us, that *All things are hard which are faire and excellent.* And what enterprife can there be of greater importance, and more acceptable unto God, or more worthy of singular commendation, then the building of the Lord's || Temple, the || House of GOD, the || Church of Christ, whereof the || Son of GOD is the Head and Perfection?

1 Cor. 2. 17.

1 Tim. 3. 14.

Ephes. 1. 22.

Ebre. 3. 6.

Where Zerubbabel went about to build the material Temple, according to the commandement of the LORD, what difficulties and stayes || daily arose to hinder his worthy endeavors, the books of *Ezra* and *Esdras* plainly witnesse howe that not onely he and the people of GOD were sore molested with || foreine adversaries (whereof some maliciously || warred against them, and corrupted the King's officers : And others craftily practised under || pretence of Religion) but also at home with domestical Enemies, as || false prophetes, || crafty worldings, faint-hearted soldiers and || oppressors of their brethren, who as well by false doctrine and lyes, as by subtill counsel, cowardies and extortion, discouraged the hearts almost of all : So that the LORD's work was not only interrupted and left of || for a long time, but scarcely at the length with great labour and danger after a || fort brought to passe.

Ezra 4.

1 Esdr. 2. 16.

Ezra. 4. 7.

Ezra 4. 2.

Nehem. 6. 10.

Nehem 6. 18.

Nehem 5. 1.

John 2. 20.

Ezra 3. 12.

Which thing when we weigh aright, and consider earnestly how much greater charge GOD hath laid upon you in making you a builder of his spiritual Temple, we cannot but partly fear, || knowing the craft and force of Satan our spiritual enemy, and the weakenes and unability of this our nature : And partly be fervent in our prayers towards GOD that he would bring to perfection this noble

2 Cor. 2. 11.

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work which he hath begun by you: And therefore we indeavour our selves by all meanes to aid, and to bestow our whole force under your Graces standarde, whom GOD hath made as our *Zerubbabel* for the erecting of this most excellent Temple, and to plant and mainteine his holy worde to the advancement of his glory, for your owne honour and salvation of your soule, and for the singular comfort of that great flocke which Christ Jesus the great || Shepherd hath bought with his || precious blood, and committed unto your charge to be fed both in body and soul.

Considering therefore how many enemies there are, which by one meanes or other, as the || adversaries of *Judah* and *Benjamin* went about to stay the building of that Temple, so labour to hinder the course of this buylding (whereof some are Papistes, who under pretence of favouring GOD's worde traiterously seeke to erect Idolatry, and to destroy your Majestie: Some are worldings, who as || *Demas* have forsaken Christ for the love of this World: others are ambitious prelates, who as || *Amasiah* and || *Diotrephes* can abide none but themselves: and as *Demetrius* many practise Sedition to maintaine their errors) we perswaded our selves that there was no way so expedient and necessary for the preservation of the one and destruction of the other, as to present unto your Majestie the holy Scriptures faithfully and plainly translated according to the Languages wherein they were first written by the Holy Ghost For the worde of GOD's || love and our assurance of his defence, wheresoever it is obediently received, it is the trial of the || spirits: and as the Prophet saith, || *It is as a fyre and hammer to breake the stonie hearts of them that resist GOD's mercies offered by the preaching of the same.* Yea it is || sharper then any two edged sworde to examine the very thoughts and to judge the affections of the heart, and to discover whatsoever lyeth hid under hypocrisie, and would be secret from the face of GOD and his Church. So that this must be the first fundation and ground worke, according whereunto the good stones of this building must be framed, and the evill tried out and rejected.

Now as he that goeth about to laye a fundation surely, first taketh away such impediments as might justely either hurt, let, or deforme the worke: So is it necessarie that your Grace's zeale appeare herein, that neither the craftie perswasion of Man, neither worldly policie or naturall feare dissuade you to roote out, cut down and destroy these wedes and impediments which do not only deface your building, but utterly indevoure, yea and threaten the ruine thereof. For when the noble || *Josias* enterprised the like kind of work, amonge other notable and many things he destroyed not onely with utter confusion the idoles with their appurtinances, but

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but also burnt (in signe of detestation) the idolatrous priestes bones upon their altars, and put to || death the false prophets and forcerers, || 2 Chron. 34. 5.
to performe || the wordes of the Law of GOD: And therefore the || Deut. 13. 5.
LORD gave him good success and blessed him wonderfully so long || Levit. 20. 6.
as he made || GOD's worde his line and rule to follow, and enterprised || Deut. 18. 11.
nothing before he had inquired at the mouth of the LORD.

And if these zealous beginnings seeme dangerous and to breede disquietnes in your dominions, yet by the storie of King || *Asa* it is manifest that the quietnes and || peace of kingdomes standeth in the || 2 Chron. 35. 22.
utter abolishing of idolatrie, and in advancing of true Religion: || 2 Chron. 14. 5. and 15. 15.
For in his days *Judab* lyved in rest and quietnes for the space of || 2 Chron. 12. 8.
five and thirtie yere tyl at length he began to be cold in the zeale of the LORD, feared the power of man, imprisoned the prophet of GOD, and oppressed the people: Then the LORD sent him warres, and at length tooke him away by death.

Wherefore great wisdome, not worldely, but heavenly is here required, which your Grace must earnestly crave of the Lord, as did || *Salomon*, to whom GOD gave an understanding heart to judge || 1 Kings 3. 9.
his people aright, and to discerne betweene good and bad. For || 2 Chron. 1. 10.
if GOD for the furnishing of the olde temple gave the Spirit of || Exod. 31. 1.
wisdome and understanding to them that should be the workemen || 1 Kings 7. 14.
thereof, as to || *Bezaleel*, || *Aholiab*, and || *Hiram*: How much more will he indewe your Grace and other godly princes and chief Governors with a principal Spirit, that you may procure and command things necessarie for this most holy Temple, foresee and take hede of things that might hinder it, and abolish and destroy whatsoever might impayre and overthrowe the same.

Moreover, the marvellous diligence and zeal of *Jehoshaphat*, *Josiah* and *Hezekiah* are by the singular providence of GOD left as an example to all godly rulers to reforme their Countrys and to establishe the worde of GOD with all spede, lest the || wrath of the LORD fall upon them for the neglecting thereof. For these excellent || 2 Chron. 34. 21.
Kings did not only imbrace the word promptly and joyfully, but || 2 Chron. 34. 31.
also procured earnestly and commanded the same to be taught, preached and mayntained through all their countrys and dominions, binding || them and all their Subjects both great and small with || 2 Chron. 15. 13.
solemne protestations and covenants before GOD, to obey the word, and to walke after the wayes of the LORD. Yea, and in the days of King || *Asa* it was enacted, that whosoever would not seek the LORD || 2 Chron. 17. 7. and 19. 5.
GOD of *Israel*, should be slaine, whether he were small or great, Man or Woman. And for the establisheing hereof and performance of this solemne othe, as well Priestes as Judges were appointed and placed through all the cities of *Judab* to instruct the people in

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the true knowledge and feare of GOD, and to minister justice according to the word, knowing that except GOD by his word did reigne in the || heartes and soules, also Mans diligence and indevours were of none effecte: for without this word we can not discerne between justice and injurie, protection and oppression, wisdom and foolishnes, knowledge and ignorance, good and evill. Therefore the LORD, who is the chief governor of his Church willeth that nothing be attempted before we have inquired thereof at his mouth. For seeing he is our GOD, of duetie we must give him this pre-eminence, that of our selves we enterprise nothing, but that which he hath appointed who only knoweth all things and governeth them as may best serve to his glorie and our salvation. We ought not therefore to prevent him, or *do any thing without his word*, || but as soon as he hath reveiled his will immediatly to put it in execution.

Now as concerning the manner of this building, it is not according to Man, nor after the wisdom of the flesh, but of the Spirit, and according to the word of GOD, whose || wayes are divers from Man's wayes. For if it was not lawful for *Moses* to build the material Tabernacle after any other sort then GOD had shewed him by || a patern, neither to prescribe any other || ceremonies and lawes then such as the LORD had expressly commanded: How can it be lawful to procede in this spiritual buylding any other wayes then *Jesus Christ* the Son of GOD, who is both the fundation, head and chief corner thereof hath commanded by his word? And for as much as he hath established and left an order in his Church for the building up of his body, appointing some to be Apostles, some Prophets, others Evangelistes, some Pastors and Teachers, he signifieth that every one according as he is placed in this Body which is the Church, ought to inquire of his ministers concerning the will of the LORD, which is reveiled in his word. For they are, saith || *Jeremiah*, as the mouthe of the LORD: Yea he promiseth to be with their mouthe, and that their || lippes shall keepe knowledge, and that the trueth and the Law shall be in their mouthe. For it is their office chiefly to understand the Scriptures and teache them. For this cause the people of *Israel* in matters of difficultie used to ask the LORD either by the || prophets, or by the meanes of the hie priest who bare Urim and Thummim, which were || tokens of light and knowledge, of holines and perfection which should be in the hie priest. Therefore when *Jehoshaphat* took this order in the Church of *Israel*, he appointed *Amariab* to be the chiefe concerning the word of GOD, because he was most expert in the law of the LORD, and could give council and governe according unto the same. Els there

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there is no degree or office which may have that authoritie and privilege to decide concerning GOD's worde except withal he hath the Spirit of GOD, and sufficient knowledge and judgment to define according thereunto. And as every one is indued of GOD with greater giftes, so ought he to be herein chiefly heard, or at least that without the expresse worde none be heard: For he that hath not the worde || speaketh not by the mouthe of the LORD. Again, || Jere. 23. 16. what danger it is to do any thing, seem it never so godly or necessarie, without consulting with GOD's mouthe, the examples of the *Israelites* || deceived hereby through the *Gibeonites*, and of || *Saul*, || Josh. 9. 14. || 1 Sam. 13. 11. whose intention seemed good and necessarie: And of || *Josiah* also, || 2 Chro. 35. 20. who for great considerations was moved for the defence of true Religion and his people, to fight against *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt*, may sufficiently admonish us.

Last of all (most gracious Queene) for the advancement of this buylding and rearing up of the worke, two thinges are necessarie, first that we have a lively and stedfast fayth in *Christ Jesus*, who must || dwell in our hearts, as the onley meanes and assurance of our salvation: For he is the || ladder that reacheth from the earth to || Ephes. 3. 17. heaven, he lifteth up his Church and setteth it in the heavenly || Gen. 28. 12. places: He maketh us lively || stones and buyldeth us upon him, || John 1. 15. selfe, he joyneth us to himself as the members and bodie to the || 1 Pet. 2. 5. head, yea he maketh himselfe and his Church one || *Christ*. The || 1 Cor. 12. 12. next is, That our fayth bring forth good fruites, so that our godly conversation may serve us as a witnes to || confirme our election, and be an example to all others to || walke as apperteyneth || 2 Pet. 1. 15. to the vocation whereunto they are called: Least the worde of || Eph. 4. 1. GOD be || evil spoken of, and this buylding be stayed to growe up || Rom. 2. 12. to a just height, which cannot be without the great provocation of GOD's juste Vengeance and discouraging of many thousands through all the worlde, if they should see that our life were not holy and agreable to our profession. For the eyes of all that feare GOD in all places beholde your countreyes as an || example to all || 2 Thess. 1. 7. that beleve, and the prayers of all the godly at all times are directed to GOD for the preservation of your Majestie. For considering GOD's wonderful mercies towarde you at all seasons who hath pulled you out of the mouthe of the lyons, and how that from your || youth you have been brought up in the Holy Scriptures, || 2 Tim. 3. 15. the hope of all Men is so increased, that they cannot but looke that GOD should bring to pass some wonderful worke by your Grace to the universal comfort of his Church. Therefore even above strength you must shewe your selfe strong and bolde in GOD's matters: And though Satan lay all his power and craft together to hurt and hinder the

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the LORD's building: Yet be assured that GOD will fight from heaven against this great dragon, the antient serpent, which is called the devil and satan, till he have accomplished the whole worke, and made his Church glorious to himself without spot or wrinkle. For albeit all other Kingdomes and Monarchies, as the *Babylonians*, *Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Romanes* have fallen and taken end, yet the Church of Christ even under the Crosse hath from the beginning of the worlde ben victorious, and shall be everlastingly. Trueth it is, that sometime it seemeth to be shadowed with a cloude, or driven with a stormie persecution, yet sodenlie the beames of Christ the sunne of justice shine and bring it to light and libertie. If for a tyme it lye covered with ashes, yet it is quickly kindled againe by the winde of GOD's Spirit: Though it seeme drowned in the sea, or parched and pyned in the wilderness, yet GOD giveth ever good successe. For he punisheth the enemies, and delivereth his, nourisheth them, and still preserveth them under his wings. The LORD of lords, and King of kings who hath ever defended his, strengthen, comfort and preserve your Majestie, that you may be able to build up the ruines of God's house to his glorie, the discharge of your conscience, and to the comfort of all them that love the comming of Christ Jesus our Lord.

To our Beloved in the LORD, the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Grace, Mercie, and Peace through CHRIST JESUS.

BESIDES the manifold and continual benefites which Almighty GOD bestoweth upon us both corporal and spiritual, we are especially bound (deare brethren) to give him thanks without ceasing for his great grace and unspeakable mercies, in that it hath pleased him to call us unto this marvellous light of his Gospell, and mercifullie to regarde us after so horrible backsliding, and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkenes, from the living GOD to dumme and dead idoles, and that after so cruel murther of GOD's saintes, as alas, hath bene among us, we are not altogether cast of, as were the *Israelites*, and many others for the like, or not so manifest wickednes, but received again to grace with most evident signes and tokens of GOD's especiall love and favour. To the intent therefore that we may not be unmindfull of these great mercies, but seeke by all meanes (according to our duetie) to be thankfull for the same, it behoveth us so to walke in his feare and

and love, that all the daies of our life we may procure the glorie of his holie Name. Now forasmuch as this thing chiefly is attained by the knowledge and practising of the Worde of GOD (which is the light to our pathes, the keye of the Kingdome of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and sword against Satan, the schoole of all wisedome, the glasse wherein we behold GOD's face, the testimonie of his favour, and the only foode and nourishment of our soules) we thought that we could bestowe our labours and studie in nothing which could be more acceptable to GOD and comfortable to his Church, then in the translating of the Holy Scriptures into our native tongue, the which thing albeit that divers heretofore have indeavored to atcheive: Yet considering the infancy of these times and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and cleer light which GOD hath nowe revealed, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vendicate any thing to ourselves above the least of our brethren (for GOD knoweth with what feare and trembling we have been now for the space of two Years and more day and night occupied herein) but being earnestly desired, and by divers, whose learning and godlines we reverence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the readye willes of such, whose heartes GOD likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefite and favour of GOD toward his Church, (though the time then was most dangerous, and the persecution sharpe and furious) we submitted our selves at length to their godly judgmentes, and seeing the great opportunitie and occasions, which GOD presented unto us in his Church, by reason of so many godly and learned men; and such diversities of translations in divers tongues, we undertooke this great and wonderful worke, (with all reverence as in the presence of GOD, as in treating the worde of GOD whereunto we thinke ourselves unsufficient) which now GOD according to his divine providence and mercy hath directed to a moste prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and worde, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almightye GOD to give us, faithfully rendred the text, and in all hard places most syncerely expounded the same. For GOD is our witnes that we have by all meanes indevoured to set forth the puritie of the word, and right sense of the Holy Ghost for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charitie.

Nowe as we have chiefly observed the sense, and laboured alwayes to restore it to all integritie: so have we most reverently kept the propertie of the wordes, considering that the Apostles who spake and wrote to the *Gentiles* in the *Greeke* tongue, rather constrained them to the lively phrase of the *Ebrewe*, then enterprised farre by mollifying their language to speake as the *Gentiles* did. And for this and other causes we have in many places reserved the *Ebrewe* phrases, notwithstanding that they may seeme somewhat hard in their ears that are not well practised, and also delite in the sweete sounding phrases of the holy Scriptures. Yet lest either the simple should be discouraged, or the malicious have any occasion of just cavillation, seeing some translations reade after one sorte, and some after another, wheras all maye serve to good purpose and

edification, we have in the margent noted that diversity of speeche or reading which may also seeme agreeable to the mind of the Holy Ghost, and propre for our language with this marke ||.

Againe, whereas the *Ebrewe* speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, we have noted it in the margent after this sorte", using that which was more intelligible. And albeit that many of the *Ebrewe* names be altered from the olde text, and restored to the true writing and first originall, whereof they have their signification, yet in the usual names little is changed for feare of troubling the simple readers. Moreover, whereas the necessitie of the sentence required any thing to be added (for such is the grace and proprietie of the *Ebrewe* and *Greeke* tongues, that it can not but either by circumlocution or by adding the verbe or some worde be understand of them that are not wel practised therein) we have put it in the text with an other kinde of letter, that it may easely be discerned from the common letter. As touching the division of the verses, we have followed the *Ebrewe* examples, which have so even from the beginning distinguished them. Which thing as it is most profitable for memorie, so doeth it agree with the best Translations, and is most easie to finde out both by the best Concordances, and also by the quotations which we have diligently herein perused and set forth by this *. Besides this the principal matters are noted and distinguished by this marke ¶. Yea and the arguments both for the booke, and for the chapters with the number of the verse are added, that by all meanes the reader might be holpen. For the which cause also we have set over the head of every page some notable worde or sentence which may greatly further aswell for memorie, as for the chiefe pointe of the page. And considering how hard a thing it is to understand the holy Scriptures, and what errors, sects and heresies growe daily for lacke of the true knowledge thereof, and how many are discouraged (as they pretende) because they cannot attayne to the true and simple meaning of the same, we have also indeavored both by the diligent reading of the best commentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather brief annotations upon all the hard places, as well for the understanding of such wordes as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same, as may most apperteyne to GOD's glory, and the edification of his Church. Furthermore, whereas certeine places in the bookes of *Moses*, of the *Kings* and *Ezekiel*, seemed so darke that by no description they could be made easie to the simple reader, we have so set them forth with figures and notes for the full declaration thereof, that they which cannot by Judgment, being helpen by the annotations noted by the letters a. b. c. &c. attayne thereunto, yet by the perspective, and as it were by the eye, may sufficiently knowe the true meaninge of all such places. Whereunto also we have added certeine mappes of Cosmographie, which necessarilie serve for the perfect understanding and memorie of divers places and countries partly described and partly by occasion touched both in the olde and newe Testament. Finally, that nothing might lacke which might be bought by labours, for the increase of knowledge and furtherance of God's glorie, we have adjoined two moſte profitable Tables,
the

the one serving for the interpretation of the Ebrewe names; and the other conteyning all the chief and principal matters of the whole Bible: So that nothing (as we trust) that any could justly desire is omitted. Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseeche you that this riche pearle and inestimable treasure may not be offred in vayne, but as sent from God to the People of God for the increase of his kingdome, the comforte of his Church and discharge of oure conscience whom it hath pleased him to raise up for this purpose, so you would willingly receyve the word of God, earnestly studie it, and in all your life practise it, that you may nowe appeare in deede to be the people of God, not walking any more according to this world, but in the fruites of the Spirit, that God in us may be fully glorified through Christ Jesus our Lord who liveth and reigneth for ever, *Amen.*

The ORDER of the YERES from P A U L's Conversion, shewing the Time of his Peregrination, and of his EPISTLES written to the Churches.

The yerres of the na- tivitie of Jesus Christ.	Theyeres of the conversion of St. Paul.		The yerres of Tyber- ius the Emperor.
35	1	P AUL a persecuter <i>Act. 7. 8. 9.</i> was converted as he went toward <i>Damascus. Act. 9.</i>	20
36	2	From <i>Damascus</i> he went into <i>Arabia</i> to preache	21
37	3	the Gospel: after he returned to <i>Damascus</i> , where they would have taken him, but he escaped by the means of the faithfull which did let him downe in a basket through the walles. <i>Act. 9. Galat. 1.</i>	
38	4	From thence he came to <i>Jerusalem</i> to see <i>Peter. Gal. 1. Act. ix. 2. Cor. xii.</i>	23
			Of Caligula.
39	5	The <i>Jews</i> would have put him to death, but he was	2
40	6	led to <i>Cesarea</i> , and from thence sent into <i>Syria</i> and to <i>Tarsus</i> of <i>Cilicia. Act. ix. Gala. i.</i>	
42	8	After he was brought to <i>Antiochia</i> by <i>Barnabas</i> where	3
43	9	the Disciples were first named Christians.	4 Of Claudius.
44	10	The famine that was prophecied by <i>Agabus</i> under <i>C. Caesar. Act. 13. 14.</i>	1
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26 A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.

A ^o . C.	A ^o . P.C.		Of Claudius.
45	11	S. James was slaine by Herode. Act. 12.	2
46	12	Paul the governour of Cyprus converted by S. Paul. Act. 13.	3
47	13	Paul preached the Gospel in Antiochia of Pisidia a part of Galatia. Act. 14.	4.5
48	14	Thence he went to Iconium where he remained for a time. Act. 13. 14.	6
49	15	He healed a lame man at Lystri, and there was stoned. Act. 14.	7
50	16	When he had appointed the Elders in the Church,	8
51	17	he visited all Pisidia and Pamphilia, and returned to Antiochia.	9
52	18	At this time was the councill of the Apostles holden at Jerusalem, where St. Paul appeared, and he re-	10
53	19	turned to Antiochia whither Peter also came, and Paul resisted him openly. Act. 15. Galat. 2.	11
54	20	Paul went into Syria and Cilicia with Silvanus to confirme the Churches, and afterwards Derbe and Lystri, where he taketh Timothy unto him: thence he goeth to Macedonia, and teacheth in a Citie called Philippi. Act. 15, 16.	12
55	21	Paul preacheth at Athens, and from thence writeth to the Thessalonians.	13
56	22	He remaineth at Corinth 18 months, and from thence writeth to the Romans.	14
			Of Nero.
57	23	He returneth to Ephesus, and from thence to Cesarea,	2
58	24	afterward to Jerusalem, and so to Antioch, afterwards he visiteth the Churches of Galatia and Phrygia. Act. 18.	
59	25	He cometh to Ephesus where he preatcheth two yeres, and there leaveth Timothy. Acts 19. 1 Tim. i.	3
60	26	He writeth from Ephesus the first to the Corinthians. 1 Corinth. 16.	4
61	27	After the tumult that was in Ephesus, he came to Troas, and from thence to Macedonia, and being at Philippi he wrote the second to the Corinthians by Titus and Luke. 2 Cor. 2, and 13. Act. 20.	5
62	28	Thence he came into Achaia and to Corinth as he had promised 1 Cor. 16. and 2 Cor. 12. and because certaine laid wait for him, he returned by Macedonia unto Troas toward Aristarchus, and Timothy who were gon before him. Act. 20.	6

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 27

A ^o . C.	A ^o . P.C.		Of Nero.
63	29	From <i>Troas</i> he came to <i>Affos</i> , to <i>Mitylene</i> , called	7
64	30	<i>Lesbos</i> , unto <i>Samos</i> , and from thence to <i>Miletum</i> , where he took leave of the <i>Ephesians</i> . <i>Act.</i> 20. Thence he came to <i>Rodes</i> , to <i>Patara</i> , to <i>Tyrus</i> , to <i>Ptolemais</i> , to <i>Cesarea</i> , and last of all to <i>Jerusalem</i> , where he was taken. <i>Act.</i> 21, and 22.	8
65	31	When he was prisoner, he was led to <i>Cesarea</i> before the governour <i>Felix</i> . <i>Act.</i> 23. Where he remain- ed two yeres. <i>Act.</i> 24.	9
66	32	Afterward he was sent prisoner to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Act.</i> 27.	10
67	33	And being in prison there, he wrote to the <i>Gala- tions</i> , <i>Ephesians</i> , <i>Philippians</i> .	11
68	34	Also to the <i>Colossians</i> , and to <i>Philemon</i> .	12
69	35	The second to <i>Timothy</i> .	13
70	36	Finally he was beheaded at the commandment of <i>Nero</i> .	14

E 2

A

*A TABLE containing the Cycle of the SUNNE,
DOMINICAL LETTER, LEAPE-YERE, EASTER,
ROGATION SUNDAY, GOLDEN NUMBER,
INDICTION and EPACT, servinge for 28 YERES.*

Anno Domini.	Cycle of the Sunne.	Sundays Letter.	Leap Year.	Easter.	Rogation Sunday.	Golden Number.	Indiction.	Epact.
1576	17	A	G	22 April	28 May	19	3	29
1577	18	F		7 April	13	1	4	11
1578	19	E		30 March	5	2	5	22
1579	20	D		19 April	25	3	6	3
1580	21	C	B	3 April	9	4	7	14
1581	22	A		26 March	1	5	8	25
1582	23	G		15 April	21	6	9	6
1583	24	F		31 March	6	7	10	17
1584	25	E	D	22 March	25	8	11	28
1585	26	C		11 April	17	9	12	9
1586	27	B		3 April	9	10	13	29
1587	28	B		16 April	22	11	14	1
1588	1	G	F	22 April	13	12	15	12
1589	2	E		30 March	5	13	1	23
1590	3	D		19 April	25	14	2	4
1591	4	C		4 April	10	15	3	15
1592	5	B	A	27 March	1	16	4	26
1593	6	G		15 April	21	17	5	7
1594	7	F		31 March	6	18	6	18
1595	8	E		20 April	26	19	7	28
1596	9	D	C	11 April	17	1	8	11
1597	10	B		27 March	2	2	9	22
1598	11	A		15 April	22	3	10	3
1599	12	G		8 April	14	4	11	14
1600	13	F	E	23 March	28	5	12	25
1601	14	D		12 April	18	6	13	6
1602	15	C		4 April	10	7	14	17
1603	16	B		24 April	30	8	15	28

Of the Cycle of the SUNNE, why it was ordeined, a perpetual rule to finde it out, with the SUNDAY LETTER, and LEAPE YERES.

THE Cycle of the Sunne is the space of 28 Yeres of the Sunne, invented to order the variable mutation of Sunday and his letter, because of the odde day that groweth eche fourth yere, and for the surplus that riseth in the 52 Weekes: For this is to be noted that the yere of the Sunne containeth 365 Dayes, and one fourth parte, the which parted in 7 make 52 weekes and a forth part, whence arise the Sunday and the feastes. Wherefore rising every yere one day more then 52 weekes, and in eche leape yere two, it might cause error. To remedy this the yere solar is invented, which containeth in it 7 leape yeres, which make, multiplying 7 by 4, 28, in which terme the Sunday Letter that changeth every yere, returneth to his place. For the Sunday Letter, and the Letters of other Dayes, by reason of the encrease of Dayes change every yere till that, and then returne A B C D E F G, to the places that 28 yeres before they held, and this Compasse and Cyrle of time is called the Cycle or Circle of the Sunne. To finde it out every yere ye must add 9 to the yere of the Lord wherein thou askest, then parte the whole by 28 the surplus is the Cyrle of the Sunne. Thus, to 1562 adde 9 and it maketh 1571. Devide it by 28 and there resteth 3, which is the Cyrle of the Sunne that yere. For more ease hereof we have added this table, the course whereof ended it must be begonne againe as at first: And so for ever. We have noted also for every yere of the Lord that is therein contained the letters for the Sunday, and whereas it is Leape Yere we have noted it doble, so as with little labor he that listeth to supplie the like sute and course (that ended that we have printed) may have this for a rule perpetual and for ever.

A Rule to finde out EASTER for ever.

BEING in the 12 chap. of *Exod.* commanded by God to the *Israelites* to hold *Easter* (which is to say the passover in remembrance of their deliverie out of *Egypt*) upon the 14 day of the first Month (to wit) at the full of the Moone, many and sundry opinions have afterward risen concerning the keeping of the same. Here upon in the yere 324 *Constantine* then raigning, in the Council of *Nice* emongest other things it was decreed that *Easter* should be kept the 14 or 15 Moone, to wit, the full Moone in *Marche*, which is the first moneth of the yere, the Sunne then entring the 10 day thereof into *Aries* the Spring there beginneth, and the yere also after the manner of the *Jewes*, *Astrologers*, and many other. To finde it owte it is to be

1

understoode

understoode that *Easter* is ever the firste Sunday after the full Moone in *Marche*. But this is to be noted, that you muste returne no higher then the 22 of *Marche*, nor yet ascende no farther then the 25 of *April*. For the ease of the reader herein we have made the Table aforesayde from this yeare 1576 unto 1603 after suche sorte as he may well apperceive.

Of the G O L D E N N U M B E R.

TH E *Golden Number* is so called because it was written in the Calenders with letters of gold, right at that daye whereon the Moone changed: And it is the space of 19 yeres in the which the Moone returneth to the self same daye of the yere of the Sunne, and therefore it is also called the *Cycle* of the Moone, in the which time the Solstices and Equinoctialles do returne to all one point of the Zodiaque. It was found out by *Metbon Athenien* to know therby the certain seasons and mutations of the Yere, and of their Sacrifices and Olympiades: But last of all in the Yere 323 it was received by the Council of *Nice*, for the constant finding out of *Easter*, of other moveable feastes, and of the change of the Moone. To finde it every yere, you must adde one yeare to the yere of *Christe* (for *Christe* was borne one yere of the 19 alreadye past) then divide the whole by 19, and that which resteth is the *Golden Number* for that yere. If there be no surplusages, it is then 19. For example, To finde it owte the yere 1577, you must adde therto one, which maketh it 1578, divide this by 19 and there remaineth 1, which is the *Golden Number* for that Yere. But such as cannot Arithmetike may resort to the Table which we have made therefore, and it will serve them for ever.

How to finde the I N D I C T I O N R O M A N E.

TH E *Indiction Romane* is the space of 15 yeres appointed by the antient *Romanes*, to receive the tribute of the strangers: or in trueth (as *Beda* sayeth) to accomde the error of time, which might peradventure happen: as for example, that the last yere of the Raigne of some prince dead, and the first of another succeeding, might seeme to be divers, and yet are but one, and so disturbe the accounte. To finde therefore the *Indiction* eche yere, as it is of many used in their Instruments and Writings, you must adde 3 yeres to that yere of *Christe* wherein thou art (for *Christ* was borne in the fourth yere of the first *Indiction*) and devide the whole by 15 the surplus of which shall be the *Indiction*. If no surplus arise, then shall the *Indiction* of that yere be 15, as for example: Adde 3 to the yere 1562 and devide it by 15 there resteth over 5 which shall be the *Indiction* for that yere. But for more ease hereof we have made a Table, where in eche yere thou mayest finde owte the same, which being ended, begin the count againe for ever.

Of

Of the EPACTE, and thereby to knowe the change of the MOONE.

Epactæ hemeræ in Greeke, doeth signifie in *Englishe*, *dayes set betweene*, and therefore the 11 dayes and 3 houres that are added to the yere of the Moone are called *Epactæ*, and are added to make the yere of the Moone which is but 354 dayes, iuste with the yere of the Sunne which hath 365 dayes and a quarter. Nowe to finde owte the *Epactæ* of each yere do thus. To the *Epactæ* of the yere that last went before that yere for which thou wouldst finde the *Epactæ*, adde 11 and the somme of these two make the *Epactæ*. If it surmounte 30, then take 30 owte, and that which resteth above 30 is the *Epactæ*. For example, let us finde owte the *Epactæ* of the yere 1569. To do this you muste seeke owte the *Epactæ* of the yere 1568 which was 1, adde to this the number of the *Epactæ*, which is, (as we have sayed) 11, and it maketh 12 which is the *Epactæ* for the yere 1569. Againe, in the yere 1562 the *Epactæ* was 25, adde 11 hereto and it maketh 36, take 30 thereowte as often as you can, and there resteth 6, which is the *Epactæ* of the Yere 1563.

Another waye more easie: Multiplie the *Golden Number* of the yere which you wil, with the *Epact*: owte of the multiplication take owte 30 as ofte as you can, and that that resteth shal be the *Epactæ*. This rule is verie sure. To knowe how olde the Moone is doe thus. The 6 of *November* 1562 to the number of the daye of the moneth which is 6, ad the *Epactæ* of that year which is 25, and it maketh 31. then rekon howe many moneths are past sithence *Marche*, counting *Marche* one, and thou shalte find 9, adde this to 31 and it maketh 40, take here owte 30 as ofte as thou canst, and there resteth 10, thus old was the Moone the same 6 of *November* 1562.

To know the change do thus: Finde owte the age of the Moone as already hath been shewed, and then rekone how many more you must have to make uppe 29 and an half, and those shewe when the change shall be. The reason is: because at the ende of eche 29 dayes and an half you have the newe Moone. For example, the 6 of *November* 1562 the Moone was olde 10 dayes as you have already founde out: to this there must be added 19 to make it 29, then also add the day of the moneth wherein you aske, which is 6, and doth with the rest make 25, and thus you shall see that the change shall be betweene the 25 and 26 of *November* by reason of an half odde daye.

A Supputation of the Yeres of the World, from the Creation thereof, unto this present Yere 1576, according as it is counted by D. M. LUTHER.

From the creation unto the } 1656.
 Floode. - - - - -
 From the Floode to *Moses*. - 797.
 From *Moses* to *Christ*. - - - 1514.
 From *Christ* unto this yere. - - 1576.
 —————
 Summe total, 5543.
 —————

The yere containeth 365 dayes and 6 houres.

The daye artificial 12 houres: the natural 24.

The *Jews* count their houres short or long as the season maketh the daye, and counte 12 in a day, thus, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

We count ours thus, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

JANUARIE

JANUARIE.

The first Moneth hath xxxj dayes. The Moone xxx.
The Day is ix hours. The night is xv.

19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f
Calend.	4	3	Pr. Non.	Nonæ.	8	7	6	5	4	3	Prid. Id.	Idus.	18	17	16	15	14	13	12

M A R C H E.

The iij Moneth xxij daies. The Moone xxx.
The day xij houres. The night xij.

19	8	16	5	13	2	0	18	7	15	4	12	1	9	17	6	14	3	11	0
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b
Calen.	6	5	4	3	Pr. No.	Non.	8	7	6	5	4	3	Pr. Id.	Idus.	17	16	15	14	13
															12	11	10	9	8
															7	6	5	4	3
															Pr.	Cal.			

APRIL.

The iiij Moneth xxx daies. The Moone xxix.
The daie is xiiij hours. The night xj.

8	1	g	Calen.	Noe opened the cover of the
16	2	A	4	Arke, <i>Genes. viii.</i>
5	3	b	3	<i>Moses</i> reared the Tabernacle,
	4	c	Pr. Non.	<i>Exod. xl. 2.</i>
13	5	d	Non.	4. Christ appeared to his disciples,
2	6	e	8	and to <i>Thomas</i> .
	7	f	7	6. <i>Josue</i> and the <i>Jews</i> camped at
	8	g	6	<i>Jordan</i> 3 daies, <i>Jos. iii.</i>
	9	A	5	10. The yeere before <i>Moses's</i>
10	10	b	4	death, and before Christ 14 ⁵⁷ ,
18	11	c	3	the <i>Israelites</i> passed <i>Jordan</i> this
7	12	d	Pr. Id.	day, <i>Jos. iii.</i> and iv.
	13	e	Idus.	11. <i>Sol</i> in <i>Taurus</i> .
15	14	f	18	13. <i>Assuerus</i> gave precept of
4	15	g	17	slaying the <i>Jews</i> , <i>Est. iii. 11.</i>
	16	A	16	14. The <i>Israelites</i> kept passover.
12	17	b	15	Manna ceased, <i>Jos. v.</i>
1	18	c	14	15. The people came out of
	19	d	13	<i>Egypt</i> , <i>Exod. xii. 37.</i>
9	20	e	12	18. They passed the red sea.
	21	f	11	22. They come to <i>Mara</i> , <i>Exod.</i>
17	22	g	10	xv. 22.
6	23	A	9	
	24	b	8	
14	25	c	7	
3	26	d	6	
	27	e	5	
27	28	f	4	
	29	g	3	
19	30	A	Pr. Cal.	
20				

JULY.

The vij Moneth xxxj dayes. The Moone xxx.
The daye is xv houres. 'The night ix.

5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	
Calend. 6 5 4 3 Pr. Non. Non. 8 7 6 5 4 3 Pr. Idus. Idus. 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 Pr. Cal.																															

Jerusalem assieged by the King
of *Babel* the space of eighteen
monethes, was taken, 2 *Kings*
xv. *Jerem.* xxxix.
Sol in *Leo*.

18. The beginning of the yere
with the *Egyptians*, as *Plinie*
faieth.

Dogge dayes.

AUGUST:

The viij Moneth xxxj dayes. The Moone xxx.
The day is xiiij hours. The nighte x.

Calend.	4	3	Pr. No.	Non.	8	7	6	5	4	3	Pr. Id.	Idus.	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	Pr. Cal.
c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

7. *Naturararian* setteth the citie
and temple of *Jerusalem* on
fire, 2 *Kings* xxv. 9.

10. The souldiers of *Titus* burn *Jerusalem*, and it was never since repaired, *Fojetb. de bello*, lib. 6. cap. 26.

Aaron aged 123 yeares, dieth in the mountain *Hor*, 40 yeres after the coming out of *Egypt*, Numb. xx. and xxxiii.

The same day *Eldras* entreth into *Jerusalem*; with a great multitude of *Jewes*, and is honorably received of those that 80 yeres before came thither with *Zerubbabel*; before Christs coming 457. 1 *E/d.* vii.

11. Dogge dayes end.

13. Sol in Virgo.

27. Religion reformed, according
to God's expresse truth, in the
most renowned Citie of GE-
NEVA, 1535.

SEPTEMBER.

The ix Moneth xxx daies. The Moone xxix.
The day xij houres. The night xij.

1	f	Calen.		
2	g	4		
3	A	3	Pri. No.	
4	b		Non.	
5	c	8		
6	d	7		
7	e	6		
8	f	5		
9	g	4		
10	A	3	Pri. Id.	
11	b		Idus.	
12	c	18		
13	d	17		
14	e	16		
15	f	15		
16	g	14		
17	A	13		
18	b	12		
19	c	11		
20	d	10		
21	e	9		
22	f	8		
23	g	7		
24	A	6		
25	b	5		
26	c	4		
27	d	3	Pri. Cal.	
28	e			
29	f			
30	g			

9. *Jerusalem* sacked with fire and sword is utterlie rased, 73 yeres after the birth of Chrifte, who prophesied the same 40 yeres before, *Josaph. lib. 7.* cap 25.
12. Autumne.
16. *Sol* in *Libra*.

25. *Nebemias* finished the walles of *Jerusalem* 450 yeres before Chrif, *Nehem. vi.*

OCTOBER.

The x Moneth xxxj dayes. The Moone xxx.
The daie x hours. The night xiiij.

1	A	Calen.		
2	b	6		
3	c	5		
4	d	4		
5	e	3	Pri. Non.	
6	f		Non.	
7	g	8		
8	A	7		
9	b	6		
10	c	5		
11	d	4		
12	e	3	Pri. Id.	
13	f		Idus.	
14	g	17		
15	A	16		
16	b	15		
17	c	14		
18	d	13		
19	e	12		
20	f	11		
21	g	10		
22	A	9		
23	b	8		
24	c	7		
25	d	6		
26	e	5		
27	f	4		
28	g	3	Pri. Cal.	
29	A			
30	b			
31	c			

The feast of trumpets, *Levit. xxiii.*
4. The *Jewes* fast and mourne for *Gedalias*, *Jer. xli. 42.*
13. The feast of reconciliation, which is the onely daie of faste expressely injoyned by God, *Levit. xxiii.*
14. *Sol* in *Scorpius*.
15. The feast of Tabernacles which continued 7 daies, *Levit. xxii.*
17. The Arke, after 160 daies, rested on the mountains of *Ararat* in *Armenia*.

NOVEMBER.

The xj Moneth xxx daies. The Moone xxix.
The daie is ix houres. The night xv.

Calen.	4	3	Pr. No.	Non.	8	7	6	5	4	3	Pr. Id.	Idus.	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	Pr. Cal.
d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	q	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e	f	g	A	b	c	d	e
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30

13. Sol in Sagittarius.
15. The devised holy day of Jeroboam, 1 King. xii.
Titus useth no less cruelty against the Jewes his prisoners, in the Citie of Beryte in Syria, keeping the birth daie of his father Vespasian, then he did on the birth daie of his brother Domitian, Joseph. lib. 7. cap. 20.

DECEMBER.

The xij Moneth xxxj daies. The Moone xxx.
The daie is viij houres, and night xvj.

Calen.																																Pr. No.																																Id.																																Cal.																																																																																															
4																																3																																8																																19																																Pr.																																																															
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10. Shortest day in the yere,
12. The yere 165 before Christ, Antiochus Epiphanes erected an idole in Jerusalem, 1 Mac. cab. i.
13. Sol in Capricornus.
16. Esdras gave a commandment that the Israelites should leave their strange wives, 1 Esd. ix.
The Birth of Christ the yere of the world 3962.
St. John aged 89 yeres, died at Ephesus in the raigin of Trajan the Emperor, 30 yeres after Jerusalem destroyed.

*The NAMES and ORDER of all the Bookes of the Old and
Newe Testament, with the Number of their Chapters,
and the Lease where they beginne.*

A Map of the Situation of the Garden of *Eden*.

A Cut of the Ark.

Egyptians pursuing the *Israelites*.

Ark of the Testimonie.

Mercy Seate.

Table of the Shewe-Bread.

Candlesticke.

First covering of the Tabernacle.

Curtaines of Goate's Heare.

Tabernacle.

Altar of Burnt-Offering.

Garments of the High Priest.

Altar of Sweet perfume.

Laver of brasse.

Two Tables. 1. *Consanguinitie* hindring marriage.

2. *Affinitie* hindring marriage.

The Figure of the Tabernacle erected, and of the Tents pitched round
about it.

A Map declaring the way which the *Israelites* went for the space of fourty
yeres from *Egypt* through the Wilderness of *Arabia*, untill they entered into
the land of *Canaan*, as it is mentioned in *Exod. Numb.* and *Deut.* It con-
taineth also the 42 places where they pitched their Tents, which are named
Numb. xxxiii, with the observation of the Degrees, concerning the length
and the breadth, and the places of their abode set out by numbers.

A Map of the land of *Canaan.* *Josh.* xiv.

A Cut of the Temple uncovered. 1 *Kings* vi.

Ditto covered

The first Figure of the King's House in the Wood of *Lebanon*.

The second Figure of the same House.

The Forme of the Piller. 1 *Kings* vii. 16.

The Sea or great Caldron.

The Forme of the Caldrons.

The Royal Throne of *Salomon*. 1 *Kings* x.

The Vision of *Ezekiel.* Chap. ii.

The description of the Figure which beginneth chap. xl. V. 5.

The Figure of the Temple. *ibid.*

The Figure of the Altar. Chap. xliii.

The Forme of the Temple and citie restored at the end of *Ezekiel.*

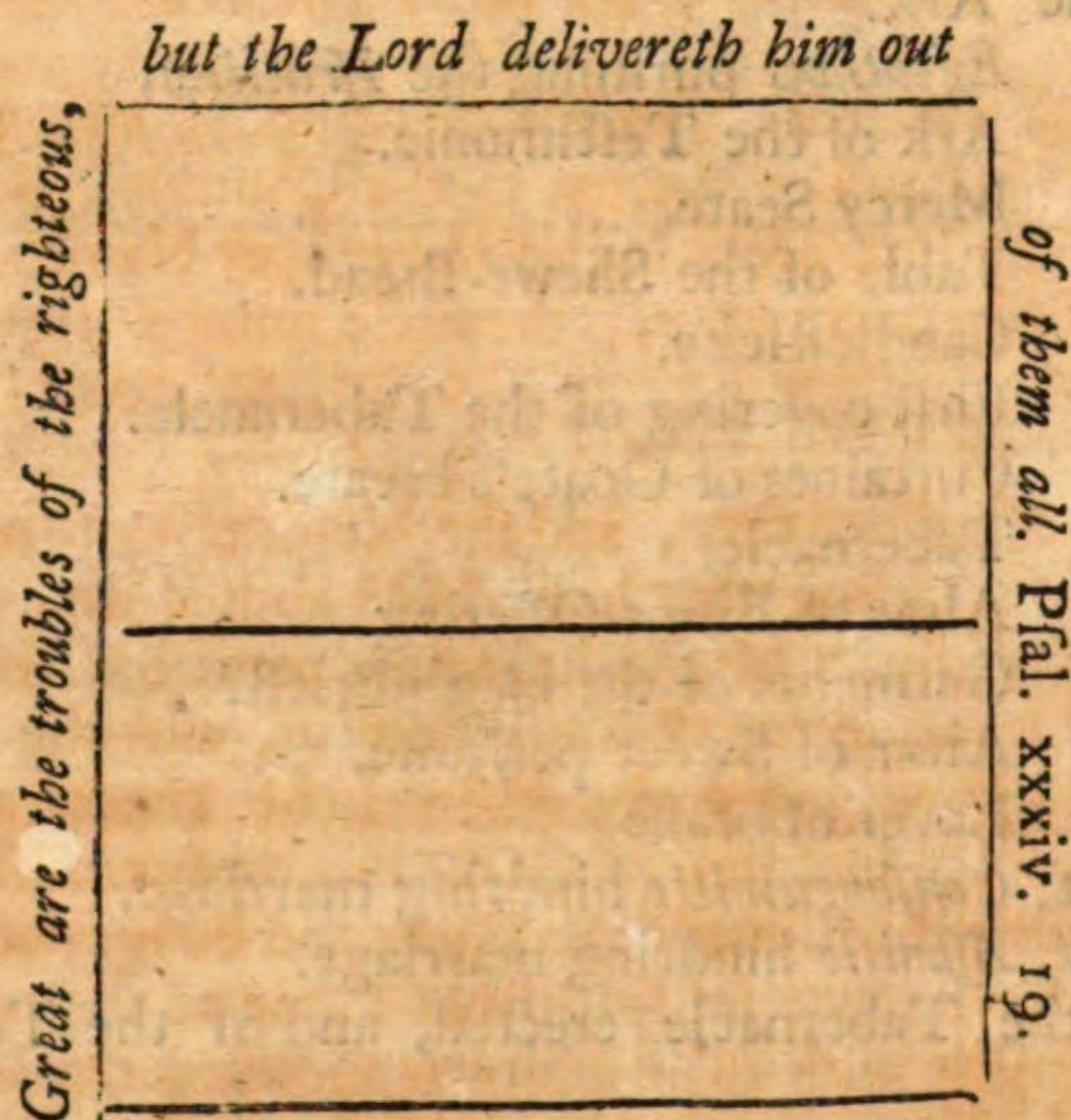
Apocbry.

Apocrypha.

The *Newe Testament* of our Lord Jesus Christ, Conferr'd diligently with the *Greeke*, and best approved translations in divers languages.

Exod. xiv. V. 13.

Feare ye not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which he wil shewe to you this day.



Exod. xiv. verse 14.

The Lord shall fight for you : therefore bolde you your peace.

Imprinted at LONDON by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Powles-Church-Yard, at the signe of the Tygres Head. 1576.

Cum privilegio.

TH E description of the Holie Land conteining the places mentioned in the foure Evangelists with other places about the Sea-coasts, wherein may be seene the waies and journeys of Christ and His Apostles in *Judea, Samaria,* and *Galile*: for into these three parts this land is devided.

The places specified in this Mappe with their situation by the observation of the degrees concerning their length and breadth.

The Description of the Countries and places mencioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, from *Italie* on the West part unto the *Medes and Persians* towards the East, containing about 2200 miles in length. The which description serveth for

for the peregrination of *S. Paul*, and other of the Apostles, and for the understanding of manie things conteined in this booke.

The names of the Yles and countreis mentioned in this Mappe.

The Townes specified in this Mappe and their situation with the observation of their length and breadth.

At the end of the Newe Testament.

The Order of the Yeres from *Paul's* Conversion shewing the Time of his peregrination and of his Epistles written to the Churches. See p. 27.

A Brief Table of the Interpretation of the proper Names which are chiefly founde in the olde Testament, wherein the firste number signifieth the chapter, the second the verse.

Whereas the wickednesse of time, and the blindnesse of the former age hath bene such, that all things altogether have bene abused and corrupted, so that the very right names of divers of the holy men named in the Scriptures have bene forgotten, and nowe seeme strange unto us, and the names of infants that should ever have some godly advertisements in them, and should be memorials and markes of the children of GOD received into his Household, hath bene hereby also chaunged and made the signes and badges of idolatrie and heathenish impietie, we have nowe set forth this Table of the names that be moste used in the old Testament with their interpretations, as the *Hebrewes* importeth, partly to call backe the godly from that abuse when they shall knowe the true names of the godly fathers, and what they signifie, that their children nowe named after them may have testimonies by their very names, that they are within that faythful familie that in all their doings had ever GOD before their eyes, and that they are bound by these their names to serve GOD from their infancie, and have occasion to prayse him for his workes wrought in him and their fathers; but chiefly to restore the names to their integritie, whereby many places of the Scriptures and secret mysteries of the Holy Ghost shall better be understood. We have medled rarely with the *Greeke* names, because their interpretation is uncertaine, and many of them are corrupted from their originall, as we may also see these *Hebrewes* names set in the margent of this Table which have bene corrupted by the *Grecians*. Nowe for the other *Hebrewes* names that are not here interpreted, let not the diligent Reader be carefull: for he shall find them in places most convenient amongst the annotations: at least so many as may seeme to make for any edification, and understanding of the Scriptures.

A Table of the principall things that are conteyned in the Bible, after the order of the Alphabet,

42 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

A perfite Supputation of the yeres and times from *Adam* unto *Christ*, proved by the Scriptures after the collection of divers Authors.

Joshua Chap. I. verse 8.

Let not this Booke of the Lawe depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe and do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe.

Editions of the English BIBLE and TESTAMENT refer'd to by the Doway and Rhemish Translators. 1582, 1609.

T HE new Testamen.	an.	1580.	—	—	—	Rhem: p.	198.
The English Bible	—	1579.	—	—	—		290.
<i>Ordained by election.</i>							332.
The Bible	—	an.	1577.	—	—	—	349.
No. Test.	—	—	1580.	—	—	—	393.
Bible	—	—	1562.	—	—	—	434.
Idolaters—worshipper of Images. 1. Cor. V. 10, 11. VI. 10. Altar, Temple, 1. Cor. IX. 13.							
The English Bible	—	1577.	falsely translateth	<i>Prepareth.</i>			478.
No. Testa.	—	an.	1580.	—	—	—	498.

It is much to be noted that in the first English Bibles there is not once the name of CHURCH in all the Bible, but instead thereof *Congregation.* 522.

See the Bible printed 1562 :

In this [1 *Thess.* II. 9] and the like places, the Heretikes maliciously and most falsly translate, construe, and apply all things meant of the Heathen Idols to the memories and images of Christ and his Sainctes, namely the English Bibles of the Yeres 1562, 1577. p. 546.

The Hereticks purposely, guilfully and of ill conscience (that belike reprehendeth them) refraine in their translations from the ecclesiastical and most usual word TRADITION— they translate it *Instructions, Constitutions, Ordinances.* 559.

They translate this sentence [because of the passion of death, crowned with glorie and honour] heretically, by transposing the words. In the Bible printed the yere 1579. 605.

Its a known treachery of Hereticks to translate *Idola* images, as in a number of places, specially of the English Bible printed the yere 1562. 687.

Put *Idols* in the text and *Images* in the margin in the Bible of the Yere 1577. 688.

In the Bible printed 1552, and 1557. preface to the translater of the old Testament printed at *Doway*, 1609. 1579, 1503. in a new edition which we have not yet seen. The

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 43

The former English Editions otherwise corrupt in many places, 1572.
have *Cainan* in the Text of St. *Luke's* Gospel, but their latter transl- 1575.
aters are in this point pure *Bezites*. p. 46.

Images of false gods are most properly called idols. See *Hosea* III. p. 103.

The second table of the Bible printed at *London* 1602. — that which was
printed the Yere following 1603. p. 118.

Beza in his annotations set forth in English in the yere 1603. Vol. II. p. 972.

Church Canterbury Library. *Deest titulus.*

At the end of a Bible in a small thick Folio.

Here endeth the whole Bible after the translation of *Thomas Mathew* with
all hys prologues, that is to say upon the 5 bokes of *Moses*, the prophet *Jonas*,
and to every of the IV *Evangelistes*, and before everye Epistle of the New
Testament. And after every chapter of the booke are there added many
playne Annotations and Expoficions of fuche places as unto the fymple un-
learned feame harde to understand, with other dyuers notable matters, as ye
shall fynde noted next unto the Calender; Diligentlye perused and correct-
ed.

¶ Imprynted at LONDON by *Nicolas Hyl* for *Roberte Teye* dwellynge in
Paules church yearde at the signe of the Bell. In the Yere of our Lorde
GOD 1551.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Printed before it.

¶ These thinges ensuyng are joyned with this present Volume of the
Bible.

¶ A Kalendar with an Almanack.

A description and successe of the Kynges of *Juda* and *Jerusalem*, declaring
when and under what Kynges every prophet lyved: and what notable thynges
happened in theyr tymes.

An exhortacion to the studye of the holy Scripture gathered out of the
Bible.

The summe and content of all the holy Scripture bothe of the Olde and
Newe Testamente.

A table for to fynde many of the chief and principall matters conteyned in
the Byble.

The names of all the bokes of the Byble, with the contente of the Chap-
ters.

A brief reherfall declarynge how longe the worlde hath endured from the
creacion of *Adam* unto this presente yere of oure LORDE.

The Holy Bible &c.

Imprynted at LONDON by *Christopher Barker* printer to the Queene's most
excellent Majestie. 1585.

Cum privilegio regie Majestatis.

Extracted from an old Parish Book belonging to the Parish of Cründal in Kent.

IN the reign of *Philip* and *Mary* the Church-wardens charge themselves yearly with money received at **GOD's** board toward the paschal light, varying in the Summ but never exceeding. ———— 3 s. 7 d.

And once with money received from the gatherers of the *Fifteenth* Anno 5th et 6th *Phil.* et *Mary* being an overplus of the Sesse and to remain to the use of the Church by consent of the Parishioners. ———— 7 s. 10 d.

In their disbursements of the same Reign there is an yearly charge for Wax from 2 to 4 l. $\frac{3}{4}$ and for strekyng the same for the paschal or Font's Taper, as it is once said, sometimes only for the paschal, or the paschal Light, or for the Rood light never exceeding ———— 3 s. 9 d.

Itm. Paid a Joiner in *Canterbury* for making the Rood *Mary* } and *John* and painting the same ———— 40 s. 0.

For setting up the Rood *Mary* and *John* and for Paper and } thread to trusse the same ———— 1 s. 6 d.

For a book of Articles of Injunctions at the Visitation at } *Canterbury* ———— 0. 2 d.

For certain Church goods bought in K. *Edward 6th's* time ———— 3 s. 0.

Making a Coffin for the Sepulchre ———— 0. 9 d.

Making a Desk and little Cupboard for the Chrismatory ———— 0. 10 d.

For a Lock and Key to the Font. ———— 0. 5 d.

Making 2 Childres Rochets, mending of the Albs, Reveffes, } Vestments, and Crosse cloths, and for new cloth put in ———— 2 s. 6 d.

Paid for washing the Church gere for 2 years ———— 1 s. 0.

For a Paper book for Burying, Marrying and Christening ———— 0. 3 d.

Supplication to my Lord Cardinal for the Church-house ———— 2 s. 0.

Paid at the Lord Cardinals Visitation at *Easter* ———— 1 s. 3 d.

Paid the Somner and Register when the Archdeacon was at } *Crundale* ———— 0. 10 d.

A reward given to my Lord Suffragan's Servants when the } Chalice and Corpus Cloth were hallowed ———— 0. 4 d.

For making a Bill at the Visitation ———— 0. 3 d.

Anno 1^o *Elizab.* the Churchwardens charge themselves with money received at **GOD's** board toward the paschal Light of old time accustomed ———— 3 s. 0.

Itm. From the gatherers of the XVths, being an overplus of their Collections ———— 2 s. 11 d.

In

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 45

In their Disbursements D^o they charge for 2l. $\frac{3}{4}$ of Wax for the paschal Taper and for strekying it _____ 2 s. 3 d.

But no mention is made of either of these Articles in the following years.

1585.	Paid for lack of a Bible at <i>Canterbury</i>	_____	1 s. 3 d.
1592.	Called before the Commissary about hunting on the Sabbath day before Morning prayer _____	paid	2 s. 6 d.
1593.	Call'd before the High Commissioners about the State of the Church _____	_____	1 s. 6 d.
	Call'd divers times before them about Recusants, whether there were any in <i>Crundale</i> _____	_____	4 s. 8 d.
	Paid at the Court at <i>Canterbury</i> Nov. 26. for not going the perambulation _____	_____	3 s. 8 d.
1597.	Paid the Somner for a new Prayer-book to be used in the Church _____	_____	0. 4 d.
1603.	2 New prayer books in time of the Plague. _____	_____	1 s. 0.
1605	<i>Nov.</i> 30. 2 Prayer books (gun-powder treason) _____	_____	1 s. 4.
1610	Paid for Bishop <i>Jewels</i> works _____	_____	26 s. 0.
1633.	Book of lawful recreation _____	_____	0. 6 d.
1636.	A Childwife pew _____	_____	26 s. 8 d.
1638.	Paid at <i>Canterbury</i> upon a citation about the Communion Table _____	_____	3 s. 8 d.
	Paid for posts and Rails and boards D ^o . _____	_____	25 s. 0.
	For framing and setting up D ^o . _____	_____	18 s. 0.
1639.	Paid at <i>Canterbury</i> on a citation to certify whether the Communion Table was according to order rail'd in _____	_____	1 s. 6 d.
	Paid our Minister towards a Hood _____	_____	10 s. 0.
1645	For the Directory, _____	_____	2 s. 0.

*A SERMON preached at St. Maries in Oxford, the 17 * day of November 1602, in defence of the Festivities of the Church of England, and namely that of Her Majesties Coronation. By JOHN HOWSON, Doctor of Divinitie, one of her Highnes Chaplaines, and Vicechancellor of the Universitie of Oxford.*

The second Impression.

At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes, and are to be sold in Fleete streete at the signe of the Turke's Head, by John Barnes. 1603.

To the Right Honorable, my very speciall good Lord, THOMAS Baron of Buckhurst, Lorde high Treasurer of *ENGLAND*, one of the *L.L.* of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell, Knight of the honorable Order of the Garter, and Chauncellour of the Universitie of Oxford.

RIGHT Honourable, the day now usually solemnized to the honour of GOD, and memory of those blessings wherewith he hath enriched this land in particular, and his Church in generall, by the godly and religious government of her excellent Majestie, was with the first celebrated (as we take it) in this her most loyall and Christian Universitie of Oxford, not without the example of former times, where in the like hath beene practised to some of her Majestie's Predecessors, though with different ceremonie in a different religion. Since which time it having taken progresse together with GOD's manifold blessings, and enlargement both in place and ceremonies, testifying the loyall hartes, and dutifull loving affection of her subjects both to her royall person, sincere religion, and most blessed government, as also their hartly thankfulnes unto GOD for them: it hath bin oppugned by the Preistes and Jesuits, the enemies of her gracious peace, and happy prosperitie, whether with greater malice or ignorance, I cannot well determine.——— I thought it a part of

* The day of Q. Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown.

my duty to GOD, and loyaltie to my sovereign Mistres, to undergoe the defence of the festivities of our Church, which have their adversaries at home among us, as of the celebration of the day of her most blessed Inauguration into this Kingdome, which have found some maligners both at home and abroad.

PSALM CXVIII. 24.

*This is the day which the LORD hath made, we will p. 1.
rejoice and be glad in it.*

BECAUSE there is a question made even in these daies concerning the authoritie of instituting Holy daies both under the olde and newe Testament, both among *Jews* and *Christians*, some affirming, that in the old law all were instituted by GOD himselfe, or by his commaundement by *Moses*, and that to the Mosaical law nothing might be added not in ceremonies; and forasmuch as the old feasts were abrogated by *Christ*, and no other instituted by Him or His Apostles, except peradventure the LORD's day, therefore al are unlawful for want of authority in the institution or institutors of them: may it please you to give mee leave to deliver unto you, of necessitie verie briefly, who have beene the Authors of Feasts and Holy daies in both those times to both those people. p. 9.

First by the commaundement of GOD himselfe by the mouthe of *Moses* were instituted in the olde Law, the Sabbath in remembrance of the creation of the worlde. The Pascheover in remembrance of the deliverance of the first borne: The Pentecost in remembrance of the lawe was given: the feast of the sound of trumpets, as some saye for the deliverance of *Isaac*, but more probably *propter liberationem quæ inter Israelitas fiebat*, for the deliverance from that servitude which was usual among the *Israelites* every seventh yeare: the feast of Tabernacles, in remembrance that they lived in Tabernacles in the desert: The feast of Propitiation for remission of sinnes. The feast of Unleavened bread. *Quod exierant de Egypto in magno timore & celeritate*, for that they came out of *Egypt* in great feare and hast: not having leifure to leaven the lumpe. p. 10.

These are al called *festivitates regulares*, regular, *ordinaria ordinarie*, *consuetæ usual*, and were instituted and ordained by the commandment of GOD himselfe. Others there were which were called *voluntarie*, instituted by the wil and commaundement of the Magistrates uppon some just and reasonable cause: which though they

they had their institution from the wil and pleasure of the governor, are noe part of wil-worship, ἐδελοθησκει as (a word much mistaken among many) being not *contra legem Dei* against the law of GOD, but *secundum analogiam legis*, according to the analogy of the Law, nor brought in at the pleasure of private fancies without authority.

Festum Dedicationis.

p. 11.

Such a one was the feast of the Dedication of the Temple called *Festum Encæniorum*, which was constituted in remembrance of the re-edefying of the Temple under *Zorobabel*: This is mentioned, *Ioan. 10. Facta sunt Encænias & hyems erat*. It was the feast of the Dedication and it was Winter, for it was in *December*: and was celebrated by our Saviour.

Festum Mardochei.

Hester c. 9.

Such a one was the feast which was called *Festum sortium*, the feast of lots or *Festum Mardochei Mardocheus* his Feast, when by the means of *Hester* and *Mardocheus* the *Jewes* were delivered from the slaughter of *Haman*, and it is mentioned in the booke of *Hester*.

Festum Purificationis.

Such a one was the feast of *Purification* when *Iudas* and they that were with him purified the Temple which the *Gentiles* before had polluted. Which feast the *Hebrewes* cal *Cassen*, of this *Mach. 1.*

Festum ignis.

And finally such a one was *Festum ignis*, the feaste of fire instituted by the *Jewes* after they came from the captivitie of *Babylon*, and found the fire of the Alter which lay hid in a pit or well 70 yeres, and was turned into thicke and grosse water, to be kindled againe, and with the flame thereof to consume the sacrifice upon the Alter. *2 Mach. 1.*

Moreover the *Jewes* did not only adde to the number of the feasts instituted by *Moses*, but they augmented the solemnitie of certaine of these feasts which *Moses* appointed. For where as *Dies Calendarum* or *Neomenia*, the first day of the moneth or feast of New Moones appointed only for Sacrifice unto GOD, *propter beneficium gubernationis*, and not mentioned in the 23 of *Levit.* where are named al the solemne festivities: yet the *Jewes* out of their devotion *ad augmentandum cultum divinum*, for the encrease of the service of GOD, did appoint that the *Calends* or *Neomenia* should be *Vacativa ab opere*: not onlie to offer sacrifice in, but in which they should abstaine from al servile labour and so made it an holy day and great solemnitie.

p. 12.

To this solemnity it was brought in *David's* time: *Pf. 81. Buccinate in Neomenia tuba, insigni die solennitatis vestrae*, Blow up the trumpet in the Newe Moone: &c now no day was *insignis* notable, except it were free from labour: for then every other festivitie had beene more famous.

And it seemeth to have bin thus solemnly used in *Elizeus* his time.

4. Reg. 4.

Now

Now I come to the enemies of this Solemnity which now we p. 18.
celebrate, of which since a right reverend and learned brother of Dr. Holland,
ours hath written very religiously, learnedly and largely, I shall p. 19.
neede to say the lesse; yet thus much briefly. That *Reynolds*,
Saunders, *Stapleton* and the rest of the rigide and salt humored
Papists take exception especially against two Points in this Sol-
emnity: the first is at the Institution, as if it were without auctority
(for that it is now among our solemnities we will not deny) the
Second against the manner of solemnizing it, as though we pre-
ferred it before the feastes of our Saviour *Christ*.

For the former, that the Magistrate hath had both auctority
and practise of instituting Holidays upon extraordinary occasions
of GOD's blessings, hath bin proved both by the examples under
the Law, and under the Gospel.

That the *Jewes poterant quotidie instituere festivitates quarum ob-*
servatio duraret singulis annis, vel fieret solum semel, might daily in-
stitute holidiaies, the observation whereof might either continue every
yeare, or onely be held once, is *Abulensis* assertion. 1 *Paral. cap.*
16. q. 14. That they appointed annual, you have heard before un-
der *Mardocheus*, *Nehemias*, *Iudas Machabæus*, that they augmented
in ceremonies some yeare more then other the feasts appointed in
the lawe, appeareth both in *Esdra*s time when the feast of Ta-
bernacles was so royally solemnized that it is said *Non fecerunt a*
diebus Iosue (filij Nun) talia filij Israel usque ad diem illum 2 *Esd. 8.*
The children of *Israel* never did such things, no not from the daies
of *Joshua* the Sonne of *Nun* unto that day. And *Josias* celebrated
such a passover in the 18 yeare of his raigne when he had purged
the Temple of the Idols, *Quale non fuerat actum a temporibus Iudi-*
cum Israelitarum usq; ad Iosiam, 4 *Reg. 23.* as had not beene from
the time of the Judges of *Israel* unto *Josias*. That they appointed
such as are called by the *Civilians Repentinae*, instituted for once up- p. 20.
on a suddaine occasion, appeareth by *David*, who while the Arke
was in his house, *faciebat omnes dies solennes propter honorem Arce,*
saltem ad observationem ceremoniarum, made every day a solemne
day for the honour of the Arke, at the least concerning the obser-
vation of ceremonies. *Abulens.* and solemnised the daie of his
Inauguration into his Kingdom in this Psalm.

That the Christian Magistrate hath at least as much authoritie
in constituting Newe Festivities, and augmenting the olde, as the
Jewes had, cannot with any probabilitie be denied. They not
only appointed the feastes which concerne our redemption, but the
Memorials of the Apostles, and some holy Martyres. *Constantine*
held a feast for joy of the serling of the Gospel and Christianity in
his time: Other Emperors celebrated *auspicio lucis*, the day of their
birth: Others *Ortum Imperij*, the beginning of their reigne:

H

Other

Other *festivitates repentinas*, suddaine feastes, upon joye for victorie over GOD's enemies, the *Turkes* and *Infidels*. All which argue sufficient auctority, both for the institution and augmentation of this festivity.

Which although it had his original at the first from that of St. *Paule*, 1 *Tim.* 2. where he exhorteth Supplications, praiers, thanksgivings, intercessions, to be made for Kings and for all that are in auctority: Especially seeing we had attained to that end proposed by the Apostle, namely, by reason of her Majesties raigne to have liberty to leade a peaceable and quiet life in all godlines and honesty: Yet forasmuch as since that time it hath bin confirmed by the consent and approbation of the Magistrate, and by note in the Calendar, and by special prayers appointed for it, I see no reason, but an high measure of Malice only, in *Reynolds* in his *Calvino-Ture*, to liken it to the encrease and progresse of that Idolatrie mentioned in the 14 of *Wisdomes*, ver. 14, 15, 16. Where the Father made an image for his dead son, and worshipped it as GOD, and ordained ceremonies and sacrafices, which grewe to a custome in proceffe of time, and was made a law: except peradventure he thinke that there is only a progress in sinne, and not in virtue, as in their societies from flander to libelling: a progress in Idolatrie, as in their Churches from an Image to an Idol, from an Idol to all heathenish ceremonies and superstitions, but no progresse in true religion either inwardly from faith to faith, and from grace to grace, or outwardlye from lesse to more worship, from fewer to more devout and religious ceremonies, which I have observed before to have beene the course of GOD's Church, both in the olde and new Testament.

To conclude this pointe. If the particular Church of *England* had auctority in Queene *Maries* daies to appoint 'two
'solemne and anniversarie Masses to be yerely celebrated in St.
'*Maries*, the one on the 18 of *Februarie* being the Nativitie of
'Queene *Marie*, and the other on the first of *October*, on which she
'was crowned, at which Masses the whole Universitie should be
'present from the beginning to the end, and there devoutlie praie
'for the good estate of the King and the Queene, and for the peace
'of this their graces Realme,' and moreover appointed two solemne processions upon the same daies, being matters of greater solemnitie then now we use in these our meetings: I doubt not to affirme that the particular Church of *England* hath also auctority sufficient to institute, if so it please, the celebration of the Nativitie and Inauguration of her excellent Majestie with publike Sermons, common praiers and thanksgiving for her godly and peaceable reigne, and the unspeakeable blessing received by her, the chosen instrument of GOD for our good.

The

The other accusation is against the *manner* of solemnizing it, with ringing and bonfires and anthems, and sermons and feasting, Saunders: not onely solemnly but *solemnissime*, most solemnly, as though it were preferred before *Easter* and *Christmas*, the blessed memorials of our Saviour Christ.

The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie Princess Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, from the Pallace of Westminster, called White-hall: To the Cathedrall Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

FIRST, the Knight Marshals man, to make way.

Next, the 240 poore Women by four and four.

Then Servants of Gentlemen Esquires, and Knights.

Two Porters.

Next, four Trumpetors.

After them,

Rose, Pursuant at Armes.

Two Serjants at Arms.

The Standard of the Dragon.

Two Querries leading a Horse.

Then the Messengers of the Chamber four and four.

Children of the Almondry.

Children of the Woodyard.

Children of the Skullery.

Children and furners of the Pastry.

The Skalding house.

The Larder.

After them,

Groomes.

Wheat Porters.

Coopers.

Wine Porters.

Conducts in the Bakehouse.

Bell-ringer.

Maker of Spice-bags.

Cart-takers, chosen by the bord.

Long Cartes,

Cart-takers,

Of the Almery.

Of the Stable.

Of the Wood-yard.

Skullery.

Pastrie.

Skalding-House.

Poultre.

Caterie.

Boyling house.

Larder.

Kitchin.

Laundrie.

Ewry.

Confectionary.

Wafery.

Chaundry.

Pitcher-house.

Butterie.

Seller.

Pantrie.

Bake-house.

Counting-house.

Then Noblemens and Ambassadors,
Servants.

Grooms

52 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

Grooms of the Chamber.	The Standard of the Lion.
Four Trumpetors.	Two Querries leading a horfe,
Blewmantle.	trapped with Veluet.
A Serjant at Armes.	Serjeant of the Vestry.
The Standard of the Gray-hound.	Children of the Chappell in Sur-
Two Querries leading a horfe.	pleffes.
Yeomen of the Servitors in the Hall	Gent. of the Chappell in Copes.
four and four.	Clarkes.
Cart-takers.	Deputie Clarke of the Market.
Porters.	Clarkes Extraordinarie.
Almondrie.	Cofferer.
Herbengers.	Diet.
Woodyard.	M. Cooke for the houshold.
Skullery.	Pastrie.
Pastrie.	Larder.
Poultry and Skalding house.	Skullerie.
Purveyors of the Poultry.	Woodyard.
Purveyors of the Acatrie.	Poultry.
Stable,	Bake-house.
Boyling-house.	Acatrie.
Larder.	Stable.
Kitchin.	Serjeants.
Ewrie.	Gent. Harbinger.
Confectionarie.	Woodyard.
Waferie.	Skullery.
Purveyor of the Wax.	Pastrie.
Tallow Chandler.	Caterie.
Chaundrie.	Larder.
Pitcher-house.	Ewry.
Brewers.	Seller.
Butterie.	Pantry.
Purveyors.	Bake-house.
Seller.	Master Cooke of the Kitchin.
Pantry.	Clarkes of the Querrie.
Garneter.	Second and third Clarke of the
Bake-house.	Chaundrie.
Counting-house.	Second and third Clarke of the Kitch-
Spicery.	in.
Chamber.	Superuifors of the Dreffer.
Robes.	Surveyors of the Dreffer.
Wardrobe.	Surveyor of the Dreffer, for the
Earls and Countesses Servants.	Chamber.
Four Trumpetors.	Mufitions.
Portcullis.	Apothecaries and Chirurgions.
A Serjeant at Armes.	Se wers of the hall.

Sewers

Sewers of the Chamber	Controller and Treasurer of the House-
Groom Porter.	hold.
Gentlemen Ushers and Waiters.	Barons.
Clarke, Marshall, and Auenor.	Bishoppes.
Cheife Clarke of the Wardrop.	Earles Eldest Sonnes.
Cheife Clarke of the Kitchin.	Viscounts.
Two Clarks Controllers.	Dukes Second Sonnes.
Clarke of the Green cloath.	Earles.
Master of the Houshold.	Marqueses.
Cofferer.	Bishop Almoner. Preacher.
<i>Rouge Dragon.</i>	Lord Keeper.
A Sergeant at Armes.	The <i>French</i> Ambassador.
The Banner of Chester.	Arch-Bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .
Clarks of the Councell four and four.	Four Sergeants of Arms.
Clarkes of the Privie Seale.	The Great embrother'd Banner of
Clarkes of the Signet.	<i>England.</i>
Clarkes of the Parliament.	<i>Somerset and Richmond.</i>
Doctors of Physick.	<i>Yorke</i> , Helme and Crest.
The Queens Chaplaines.	<i>Nerroy</i> King at Arms, Sword.
Secretaries for the <i>Latin</i> and <i>French</i>	<i>Clarenceaux</i> King at Arms, Coate.
tongue.	After them the Gentlemen ushers
<i>Rouge Crosse.</i>	with white Rods.
Two Sergeants of Armes.	The lively Picture of her Highnesse
The Banner of <i>Cornwall</i> .	whole body, crowned in her Parli-
Aldermen of <i>London</i> ,	ment Robes, lying on the Corps
Solicitor, Attorney, and Sergeant.	balmed and leaded, couered with
Master of the Reuels, and M. of the	Veluet, borne on a Chariot, drawn
Tents.	by four Horses trapt in Black Vel-
Knights Bachelors.	uet.
Lord Chiefe Baron, and Lord Chiefe	About it Six Banner Rolls on each
Justice of the Common Pleas.	Side: Gentlemen pentioners with
Master of the Jewell House.	their axes downward.
Knights Ambassadors, and Gentlemen	With them the Footmen.
Agents.	A Canopy borne ouer the Chariot by
Sewers for the Queene.	four Noblemen.
Sewers for the Body.	The Earl of <i>Worcester</i> master of the
Esquires of the Body.	Horse, leading the Palfrie of Hon-
<i>Lancaster</i> and <i>Windsor</i> .	our.
The Banner of <i>Wales</i> .	Two Esquires and a Groome, to at-
The Banner of <i>Ireland</i> .	tend and leade him a way.
Master of Requests.	Gentlemen Usher, Garter King of
Agents for Venice, and the Estates.	Armes.
Lord Mayor of <i>London</i> .	Lady Marchionesse of <i>Northampton</i> ,
Sir <i>John Popham</i> . Sir <i>John Fortescue</i> .	assisted by the Lord Treasurer and
Sir <i>Robert Cicell</i> principall Secretary.	Lord Admiral.

Chiefe

Chiefe Mourner, her Traine supported
by Master Vice-Chamberlaine.

Two Earles assistants to her.

Fourteen Countesses assistants.

Gentlewoman of the Privy chamber.

Countesses.

Viscountesses.

Earles daughters.

Baronesses.

Maids of Honour, of the Privy
Chamber.

Captain of the Guard, with all the
Guard following, five and five in a
rank, their Halbords downward.

Farewell.

HEN. CHETLE.

*Cicely de Rydgeway in the 31. EDWARD 3. being indicted
and condemn'd for Killing her Husband, fasted 40
Days together in Arcta Prisons, without any Meat or
Drink: For proof of this extraordinary Abstinence, the
Copy of the following Record Lodg'd in the Tower of
London, is a Proof.*

*Ex Rot. de Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Tertii. 31. Parte 1,
Memb. 11.*

REX omnibus Ballivis & Fidelibus suis, Ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis
quod cum Cecilia quæ fuit Vxor *Johannis de Rygeyway*, nuper indictata
de Morte ipsius *Johannis* Viri sui, & de Morte illa coram Dilect. & Fidelibus
Nostreis *Henrico Grove*, & Sociis suis Justic. Nostreis *Gaolam Nostram Notyngh.*
Deliberand. Assign. Allocuta, pro eo quod se tenuit mutam ad Pœnam suam
extitit Adjudicata, ut dicitur, in qua sine Cibo & Potu, in Arcta Prisons per
Quadraginta Dies vitam sustinuit, Via Miraculi, et quasi contra Naturam
humanam, sicut ex Testimonio accepimus fide digno. Nos ea de Causa, pietate
Moti, ad Laudem Dei, & Gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ Matris suæ, unde dictum
Miraculum processit, ut creditur. De Gratia Nostra speciali Pardonavimus
eidem *Ciceliæ* Executionem Judicii prædicti; Volentes quod eadem *Cecilia* a
Prisona prædicta deliberetur, & de corpore suo ulterius non sit impetita, oc-
casione Judicii supradicti: in cujus, &c. Testimonium, R. apud *West.* xxv.
die *Aprilis*.

Per Bre. de Privato Sigillo.

Convenit cum Record,

LAUR. HALSTEAD, Deput.

ALGERN. MAY, Mil.

The

*The Constitution of the EXCHEQUER of IRELAND,
with the Manner and Method of their Proceedings in
Reference to the King's Revenue, Law, and Equitie, &c.
And all the Officers to that Court belonging.*

THE Exchequer of *Ireland* differs in many respects from the Exchequer of *England*, and is more certain, and easy, and adapted to a Settlement of a forreigne Plantation than that of *England*.

It is an original Court, not constituted by the King's Patent or Charter, but by Prescription.

It is a Court of Record, at first erected for the King's Household; and holding Pleas for determining all Matters both in Law and Equity respecting them, and for managing his Revenue.

It has enlarged its Power, and extended it to others besides the King's Servants; so that whoever will, may commence any Suit in Law or Equity in that Court, under the Notion or Pretence, that they are the King's Debtors or Farmers: Though there is an Act of Parliament, That whoever shall bring any Suit either in Law or Equity into that Court, that is not the King's Officer, Farmer or Tenant, shall for every such Action forfeit Ten Pounds; but that being never looked after, there are more Causes in that Court both in Law and Equity, then in the Chancery, and the other two Courts.

No Officer belonging to the King's Revenue is to be sued, or prosecuted in Law or Equitie, but in that Court; and in case any Action be brought against such Officers in any other Court, the Third Baron demands the sayd Priviledge, which is never denied, but the Cause transmitted thither.

The Constitution of that Court is such, that if the Officers be faithfull, it is not possible that either the King or the Subject can be defrauded of their Rights relating to any part of the Revenue, or the Accompts thereof, there being Cheques upon every Branch, and on all Monys that are received or payd.

All Revenues belonging to the King, and all the Accounts whereof are under the Power, and Care of this Court, except where it is otherwise settled by Act of Parliament, or by Special Commission under the Great Seale, as the Vice Treasurer's Accounts and Hannaper Accounts are.

All Persons that are Debtors, or Farmers to the King, may claim the Ayd of this Court to recover any Debts in the King's Name, to Capacitate them to pay what is due from them to the King. And such Debt is recovered by Process, Bill, Plaint, or Information in the King's Name, as his Revenue, they assigning by Deed such Debt unto the King: And when the Debt is recovered,

covered, the King detains what is due to him, from such Persons, and pays them the Overplus.

The King cannot recover or take any Money, Debt, Land, or Estate, but by Matter of Record appearing in that Court, and in the proper Office to which the Care thereof appertaines, and for that reason cannot take Interest for any Debt or Sum of Money due to him.

The RESPECTIVE OFFICERS belonging to that COURT, according to their Degrees therein.

The Chancellor.

Who is concerned only in Matters of Equity.

The Lord Treasurer.

Who hath Power to apppoint all inferior Officers relating to the Customes, and is concerned onely in Matters of the Revenue.

The Vice Treasurer.

Who receives all the Revenue, and Accompts for it; he is only concerned in Revenue Matters.

The Chief Baron.

The Second Baron.

The Third Baron.

These have Power in all Causes of Equity, Law, and Revenue. In the two First, they manage themselves by the common Rules of Chancery, and the Common Pleas; and in the Last by the Rules of their owne: And with respect thereunto, the Court is always open, as well out of, as in, Terme.

The Attorney Generall.

Hath a speciall Charge of the Revenue. No Rent can be discharged, or abated, but by his Confession, or Consent; nor no Information or *English* Bill be brought in the King's Name, but what is signed by him; nor can he therein act but by *Debit. Constat*, or Certificate from the proper Officer, in whose Office, the Debt, or Matter for which such Information or Bill brought, is recorded.

The

The Solicitor Generall,

Is assisting to the Attorney in all the Matters aforesayd, as to Pleadings in the Court; and for all Patents of Lands, Estates, Honours, Offices, &c. He may, as well as the Attorney Generall, prepare the *Fiats*, according to the Method herein after mentioned.

The King's Remembrancer : Or, Cheif Remembrancer;

In whose Office are all the Bookes relating to the Customes and Roll of the Clergy's Tenth Parts; and all Bills, Answers, Pleas, Demurrers and Proceedings in Equity; he takes the Rules, and Orders of the Court relating thereunto, and makes out Process accordingly; as likewise for the Hearth-Money, Subsidies, Excise, Pole-Money, and other such-like Revenues, being not by Act of Parliament directed to be otherwise managed, than according to the Course of the Exchequer.

The Auditor Generall.

In his Office are entred (*verbatim*) all Grants for Lands and Offices, where any Rent is payable to the King, or Stipend payable by him; and a Rent-Roll made of all Rents in his Office. With him are also entered all Deed of Assignments, and Purchase of any Lands or Estate, out of which any Rent or Duty is payable to the King, else the Rent is always continewd in the Name of the former Proprietor. In this Office are likewise all the Accompts of the Vice-treasurer, Clerk of the Hannaper, and of Money impressed for any particular Use or Service; which Accompts are made up by him, and passed by the Commissioners of Accounts constituted for that purpose, under the Great Seale of *England*, or *Ireland*, after they are compared by the Commissioners, with the Vouchers and the Auditor, with the Vice-Treasurer's, the Pells, and Chamberlain's Books; and what Rents are unaccompted for, and remain in Arrear, he writes out a Particular, and transmits them unto the Treasurer's Remembrancer, to issue Process for the levying thereof.

The Surveyor Generall,

Hath in his Office all the Surveys, and Inquisitions, relating to the King's Title for Lands, Houses, &c. And if any Controversie ariseth concerning the Extent or Boundaries of any Lands or Mannors, &c. he appoints Surveyors to settle such Metes, and Bounds, and the Quantities of such Estate, together with the yearly Value thereof, if requisite; for which purpose Inquisitions are taken by Jury's, and the Escheater assists therein. And when any Grant is to be passed of any Estate, a Warrant from the Lord-Lieutenant is directed to him, and to the Auditor General, to make out a Particular of such

Estate. Upon which the Surveyor Generall makes out the Survey in Parchment, and the Auditor the Particular, and out of the Survey ascertains the Quantity, and the Rents payable to the King. The Survey remains with the Auditor, and the Particular is returned by him to the Surveyor, to re-examine and signe, and then transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, under both their Hands, upon which a Warrant is made, directed to the Attorney or Solicitor General, to prepare a Grant pursuant to such Particular which remains with either the Attorney or Solicitor General.

The Treasurer's Remembrancer : Or, Second Remembrancer,

Hath in his Office a Docket of all the Grants that are passed for any Lands, Houses, Estates, &c. which is twice a Year brought by the Master of the Rolls, and delivered to the Court, and by them transmitted into this Office, to be compared with the Entry in the Auditor's Office, least any thing should pass not entered by him; and so this Office is a Checque on the Auditor's as to all the King's Rents. He takes Notes of all Rules and Orders given in the Court relating to the King's Revenue, (except for the Customs, Excise, Pole-money, that is in the first Remembrancer's Office) and issues Process for all Arrears or Debts, &c. Which Orders are signed by the Chief Baron, and the Original filed in this Office, and Copies thereof made out and signed by the Officer, and transmitted to the respective Offices, or Persons that are concerned therein. The first Process of this Office is but in the Nature of a *Scire Facias*, on which the Sheriff notwithstanding must Levy, or take Security from the Party concerned, to pay or answer such Rent or Debt in the Court. In this Office are likewise all Inquisitions of Estates seized for any Forfeiture, Rent, or Debt, or for Treasure Trove, or other Casualties, except Wrecks, or what relates to the Customs, which is in the Chief Remembrancer's Office.

The Clerk of the Pipe.

Makes a yearly Roll of all Rents, and Debts whatever that are brought in by Process, in any of the Offices, and accounted for in the Court; and of all Rents, and Debts that are in Arrear unanswered for the Sheriffs on their Accompts: All Orders of Discharge, Respite, or Installment of any such Rent or Debts are entered with him, who also makes out *Custodiams* upon any Seizure or Sequestration of any Estate, whether it be for Term of Years, not exceeding seven Years, or during Pleasure, according to an Order for that purpose; and likewise makes out, and from time to time renews Process for all such Arrears that stand upon such Roll. In this Office likewise the Sheriffs *Quietus est* is prepared, as being the last Office of Account of the Process. The Attorney Generall, Solicitor Generall, King's Remembrancer, Auditor, Surveyor, Treasurer's Remembrancer, the Clerk of the Pipe, have Seates in the Court, and Priviledge to sit covered when they please.

The

The Clerk of the Pells,

Is a late Officer, and not of the originall Constitution of the Court. His Work is to signe and enter all Acquittances that are given by the Vice-Treasurer or his Deputy for any Rent, Debt or Summe of Money payd into the Treasury ; and of all Payments made by Warrant directed to the Vice-Treasurer, without which he makes no Payment.

The Chief
AND
The Second } *Chamberlain,*

Are ancient Officers, whose Work is the same with the Clerk of the Pells, as to all Receipts and Payments into the Treasurie ; and whose Bookes as well as the Pells are transmitted to the Auditor to be compared with Rent Rolls in his Office, to adjust, and ascertain what is received, and what remains on Arrears, in order to the issuing out of Procefs, and ascertaineing all Receipts.

The Clerk of the Common Pleas.

In his Office all Proceedings at Law between Party and Party, not immediately respecting the Revenue, are entered and recorded ; in which he observes the usual Practise of the Common Pleas.

The Clerk of the First Fruits.

In his Office are all Presentations, and Inductions, and Bonds for the Installing of their First Fruits ; as likewise a Roll containing what Bishops, or Clergymen are yeerly to pay for their Tenth Part. He receives the Money so payable, and accompts for the same, and makes out Procefs for what is in Arrear of the Tenth Part. The Bonds unpayd for the First Fruits are by him transmitted into the King's Remembrancer's Office, and there prosecuted.

The Comptroller of the Pipe,

Hath a Counter-Roll of all Arrears, and is assisting to the Clerk of the Pipe, and makes out the Procefs, and Counter-signes them with the Clerk of the Pipe.

The Clerk of the Estreats,
The Summonister,

Have the Care of all Fines, Amerciaments, and Casualties of that kind,
I 2 that

that ariseth either in Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, the Affizes, or Sessions, Clerk of the Market, &c. which are brought to the Clerk of the Estreats in Manner following: *Viz.*

From the Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, by an Officer belonging to those Courts; and from the Affizes and Sessions, by the Clerk of the Affizes, and of the Peace; and by the Clerk of the Market themselves. Upon which the Summonister makes out Process signed by them both, and then transmitted under the Seale of the Court to the Sheriff to levy such Fines, Forfeitures, and Debts, which Process is but in the Nature of a *Scire facias*, which, notwithstanding he must answer for on his Account, or take Bonds from the Partie to clear such Debt in Court.

The Clerk of Reducements.

He attends the Court of Reducements which is in the Exchequer, and consists of the Lord-Treasurer, Vice-Treasurer, Barons, Attorney and Solicitor General, who are constituted by Commission under the Great Seale, who, at the End of each Term, receive Petitions for the moderating of Recognizances, Bonds, Fines, &c. which are heard in open Court, and Certificates produced by the Petitioner, from either the Judges, Justice, or Persons of Note, or Quality, concerning the State, and Merit of the Petitioner, and Cause depending. The Orders for such Reducements are, according to a Docket signed by the Barons, prepared by the said Clerk, and signed by the Chief Baron, and entered in the respective Offices where such Charge remains against the Party concerned.

The Escheater,

Was an Office of great Service and Business so long as the Court of Wards continued, and a Relief was payd, which was a Yeer's Rent upon the Death, or Allienation of the King's Tenant: But now their Work and Business is by Inquisition, to find out the King's Title to any Land, or Estate concealed or obtained by Fraud, which Inquisition is returned into the King's Remembrancer's Office, if for Honor, and into the Treasurer's Remembrancer's, if for Title; as also into the Surveyor's Office.

Besides which, in each Office there are Secondaries and Attornies that attend the Concern of the Subject, taking Care of the King's Business.

There is also a Cryer, who only with the Attornies are appointed by the Court; all other Officers are by Patent, with Power to execute their Offices by Deputies.

A Rent is created to the King after this Manner, viz.

When Inquisitions are requisite, they are taken either by speciall Commission, or by the Escheater as before: which Inquisitions are returned as before;

fore; and a Survey, and Particular thereof made out by the Surveyor, and Auditor as before; and a Grant, or *Fiat* prepared by the Attorney, or Solicitor Generall as before; which *Fiat* is lodged in the Rolls, and Grant when sealed inrolled in that Office, and the *Fiat* there filed: But the Patent is not given directly to the Party concerned therein, but brought by one of the Clerkes belonging to the Rolls, unto the Auditor, to be by him entered as before, and by the Auditor delivered to the Party concerned; of which the Master of the Rolls delivers into Court twice a Yeer a Schedule as before.

How Rents are Reduced or Discharged.

The Party aggrieved, or sueing for such Reducements or Discharge, moves the Court, on a *Constat* of such Rent which expresse the Grounds thereof; which *Constat*, by Order of Court, is carryed to the Attorney Generall, who proceeds either to Demurr or Plead. If he confesseth the Matter of Fact, and Equity for such Discharge, it is filed in the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, and the Court againe moved; and as Matters appear, Orders are given accordingly. The Originall of which Orders are filed in the Court, or that Office as before, and Copies given and entred in the respective Offices where such Rents so appear; but if it be a Rent issueing out of an Intire Estate, and part thereof scould, that Rent shall not be divided notwithstanding such Sale, for the Court will not lessen the King's Security, but the whole Estate continues liable to answer the whole Rent.

How the King's Revenue is Received.

The Party that is to pay any Rent, produces a *Debit* from the Auditor; or if it be any other Summe of Money, the like *Debit* from the respective Offices, where the same appears, which with his Money is tendered to the Receiver General, or his Tellers; and when payd, the Receiver General (who is Deputy to the Vice Treasurer) gives an Acquittance, expressing the Summe of Money received, when it grew due, and for what, and how; which Acquittance is not delivered to the Party paying the Money, but transmitted to the Chamberlains, who likewise enter, and signe such Acquittance, and then by them delivered over to the Clerk of the Pells, to be entred and signed by him, and delivered to the Party concerned; no Mistake therein barrs the King's Right, nor extinguisheth any Arreare that grew due before the Time exprest in such Acquittance.

How Arrears of Debts are recovered.

The respective Offices in Manner aforesaid make out Procefs, to be issued under the Seale of the Court; if for a Casualty, out of the Clerk of the Estreates.

Estreats and Summonister's Office, which as before, is in the nature of a *Scire facias*, yet with Power to levy.

If for a Rent, and issueing out of the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, the first Process is much of the same Kind, in Case the Rent or Debt be disputable. The second Process of that Office extends to Goods, and Lands; and then the Sheriff thereupon must answer, that there is none such to be found in his Baylywick, and for which he must make an Inquisition by Jury.

If out of the Pipe, it is a *Levare*, that seizes Body, Goods, and Land, which Process is from time to time renewed, untill the Debt be recovered or transmitted into an exannuall Roll.

The Summonister transmits what is unanswered for in his Office, to the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, to renew the second Process as before.

If the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office by Process cannot recover those Arrears and Debts, he transmits them to the Pipe.

The Pipe from time to time issues his Process, and when there is no Possibility of recovering the Debt, then all the Revenue Officers meet, and examine those Arrears, and make them up into an exannuall Roll, to remaine there, that if at any time they can be recovered they may, and then by Order of Court the Process stops.

The Manner of the Sheriff's Accompting in the Court.

He delivers in to the respective Offices his original Process, and the respective Officers attend his Opposeat: He begins with the Casualties, which are read over by the Clerk of the Escheats, or the Summonister; and his Answer, if he have received the Money, is *Tot*; if not, *Nil* to each Charge.

If for Rent or Casualties transmitted to the second Remembrancer's Office, it is either *Tot*; or, Neither Body, Goods, nor Land.

If for the Process of the Pipe, either *Oni*. (as an Abbreviation of *Honorati*) or, Neither Body, Goods, nor Land.

The Auditor in the mean time sits in Court, and with his Counters casts up each Summe that is *Totted*, and gives in the total Summe to the Treasurer's Remembrancer, who enters it in his Book.

This is done the Court sitting, who give such Orders as are requisite for securing the Debt, or reliefe of the Subject.

For the Process in the cheif Remembrancer's Office, they are not called over openly in Court, but settled in the Office.

If the Sheriff make an insufficient Answer, or an Answer the Court is not satisfied with, they *Tot* such Charge upon the Sheriff, and in that case a Writ of Assistance is granted to levy that Money for the Sheriff, and he made to answer it upon his Accompt. If the Sheriff appears not on his Account at his Day prefixed he is fined, and for the third Default taken into Custody, and so made to Account.

For the Sheriff's Discharge.

When he is gone through all the Offices, and settled all Matters, a *Debit* is given him in the respective Offices, and when his Money is paid into the Treasury in Manner as before; and he hath entered his Acquittance in those respective Offices, and produced *Constats* thereof to the Clerk of the Pipe, he prepares his *Quietus est*, and tenders it to the Court, and then by Proclamation in the Court he is discharged, but his Bonds are not canceled, but remaine as a Security, to answer any Matter that afterwards might happen or appeare.

How the King may recover any Lands, or Debts.

If Land by Inquisition the King's Title is found, and a Seizure issues out of the Court thereupon, which the Partie may traverse; the King may also recover by *Latin Information* or *English Bill*, according to the common Method of the Courts of Chancery or Law.

If it be an Arrear of Land, or Rent due upon Record, the King may issue a *Levare* without *Scire facias*, and may raise it upon any Lands or Goods of the Debtor, and transmit the Debt from one County to another, on any Land the Party had when the Debt grew due; and in that case there is no Replevy lyes against the King, but if the Party hath any Matter of Complaint, it must be made to the Court, such Process may be directed immediately to the Sheriff; or the King, if he please, may appoint Collectors or Receivers by special Commission, to receive and to distrein for such Rents, on any Goods or Cattle on the Ground; and in case of Non-payment, or that the Debtor drives off his Cattle from the Ground, on Affidavies thereof, a Seizure may be issued, and a *Custodium* of the Estate granted, reserving onely the growing Rent, untill the Party concerned therein shall pay such Arrear. But the Sheriff and such Collectors, if they seize any Cattle, must impound them, and keep them for seven Days before they are appraised and sold; and what remaines after the King's and Charges of keeping are payd, must be returned or payd back to the Owner.

If it be an Arrear of Custome, Excise, Hearth-money, or other casual Revenue, or Bonds, Recognizances, transmitted into the cheif Remembrancer's Office, a *Scire facias* issues to the Sheriffe to summon the Party concerned, whose Returne is openly read in Court; and if the Party appear not, such Process are a second and third Time renewed, and upon the third, Judgment passes for the King, and levying Process issues accordingly as before, and seizeth Body, Goods, and Land.

The King hath preference of all Men, and shall receive his Debt in the first Place, though the Estate be seized or extended by Judgment, Statute, Recognizance, &c. and will not satisfie any more but the King's Debt, (except Chattles actually seized before Judgment past for the King, or Process of

of *Levare* issued for his Debt or Arrear, which cannot be recoverable for the King, but he is barred as to such Chattles only) but the King may enter upon all other of his Chattles and Lands, though extended as before, notwithstanding such Judgment or Extent.

The Court will not suffer their Constitution and Method to be interrupted. The King can make an Establishment for what Payments shall be made to his Army and Officers, civil and militarie, and Pensions for whom he pleaseth, and direct what Rents shall be abated, discharged, or instated; but yet no Warrant signed by the King, or under his Privie Seale or Great Seale, can immediately or directly charge his Revenue, or is a sufficient Warrant to any of the Officers, except allowed of by the Court, and inrolled in the proper Offices thereof, otherwise the King might be defrauded, and his Revenue anticipated or disordered; the Court many times reject such Warrants and Parents, especially if they finde the Allegations not true, or the King deceived therein.

The IRISH Establishment signed by the QUEEN,
March 31. 1601.

OFFICERS GENERAL.

THE Lord Deputy for his Diet 100 *l. per mensem*; a Band of Horse 3 *l. 4 s. per diem*; fifty Foot, each at 8 *d. per diem*; for Allowance in lieu of Cesse 10 *l. per annum*, besides his Companies of Horse and Foot in the Army; in all *per diem* 12 *l. 6 s. 6 d. $\frac{3}{4}$* , *per annum* 4444 *l. 17 s. 1 d. $\frac{3}{4}$* .

The Lieutenant of the Army 3 *l. per diem*, 1095 *l. per annum*.

The Treasurer of War 1 *l. 15 s. per diem*; 638 *l. 15 s. per annum*.

The Marshal, besides his thirty Horse, at 1 *s. per diem*; without Cheque in the Army 5 *s. 9 d. per diem*; 104 *l. 18 s. 9 d. per annum*.

The Serjeant Major of the Army 1 *l. per diem*; 364 *l. per annum*.

The Master of the Ordnance 1 *l. 6 s. 11 d. per diem*; 491 *l. 4 s. 7 d. per annum*.

Ministers of the Ordnance 1 *l. 5 s. 2 d. per diem*; 459 *l. 5 s. 10 d. per annum*.

Muste Master General 11 *s. 6 d. per diem*; 209 *l. 17 s. 6 d. per annum*.

Comptrollor of the Victuals 10 *s. per diem*; 182 *l. 10 s. per annum*.

Five Commissaries of Victuals, one at 8 *s.* and four each at 6 *s. per diem*; 1 *l. 12 s. per diem*, 584 *l. per annum*.

Fourteen Colonels each at 10 *s. per diem*; 7 *l. per diem*, 2555 *l. per annum*.

Scout Master, besides six Horse each, at 1 *s. per diem*; part of the Army 6 *s. 8 d. per diem*, 121 *l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum*.

Provost-Marshal of the Army for himself and four horsemen 4 *s. 3 d. per diem*, 77 *l. 11 s. 3 d. per annum*.

OFFI-

OFFICERS PROVINCIAL.

President of *Munster* at 133 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum. His Diet and the Councils at 10 l. the Week. His Retinue of thirty Horse and twenty Foot at 1 l. 10 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per diem; 3 l. 6 s. 6 d. per diem; 1213 l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum.

Provost-Marshal of *Munster* 14 s. per diem, 255 l. 10 s. per annum.

The Commander of the Forces in *Connaught* at 10 s. per diem, with an Increase of 100 l. per annum; 15 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per diem, 282 l. 10 s. per annum.

Provost Marshal of *Connaught*, besides twelve Horsemen of the Army, 5 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per diem, 102 l. 14 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum.

Commander of the Forces at *Loughfoyle* besides his Pay of 10 s. per diem, as Colonel, hath 3 s. 4 d. per diem, 60 l. 16 s. 8 d. per annum.

Provost Marshal there 4 s. per diem, 73 l. per annum.

Provost Marshal of *Ballistrannon* 4 s. per diem, 73 l. per annum.

Lieutenant of the Queen's-County 6 s. 8 d. per diem, 121 l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum.

Provost Marshal in *Leinster* for himself and six Horsemen 5 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per diem, 102 l. 14 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum.

Warders in *Leinster*, per annum, 1310 l. 19 s. 2 d.

Warders in *Ulster*, per annum, 821 l. 5 s.

Warders in *Munster*, per annum, 542 l. 13 s. 9 d.

Warders in *Connaught*, per annum, 200 l.

Twelve hundred Horsemen distributed into twenty-four Bands; the Captain 4 s. the Lieutenant 2 s. 6 d. the Cornet 2 s. per diem, and three hundred Horsemen each at 1 s. 6 d. per diem, on Condition they be *English* both Horse and Men, or else to have but 1 s. per diem, and two hundred Horsemen at 1 s. 3 d. per diem, and seven hundred Horsemen at 1 s. per diem, per annum 29273 l.

Fourteen thousand Footmen distributed into a hundred and forty Bands; the Captain 4 s. Lieutenant 2 s. Ensign 1 s. 6 d. per diem; two Serjeants, one Drum, and one Surgeon each 1 s. a-piece per diem, and each Soldier at 8 d. per diem, per ann. 199715 l. 16 s.

Pensioners on the Muster Book, per annum, 1809 l. 15 s. 10 d.

Pensioners by Letters Patent, per annum, 874 l. 5 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

Thirteen Almsmen, per annum, 88 l. 19 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

Officers of the Musters which are payable out of the Checks, namely, one Muster Master at 6 s. 8 d. one Comptroller at 10 s. and twenty Commissaries, each at 3 s. 4 d. per diem, per annum 1520 l. 16 s. 8 d.

Extraordinary Allowance for Messengers, Espials, Post-Barks, Rewards of Services, &c. per annum 6000 l.

Total of this Establishment, per annum 255773 l. 1 s. 2 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. *What the Establishment was in the Time of K. Charles I. being inserted in Rushworth, which is in most Libraries, we therefore omit here.*

The IRISH Establishment, beginning from Michaelmas, 1669.

<i>Courts of EXCHEQUER.</i>					<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
V ICE Treasurer	—	—	—	—	50	0	0
Chancellor	—	—	—	—	100	0	0
Chief Baron	—	—	—	—	400	0	0
Second Baron	—	—	—	—	300	0	0
Third Baron	—	—	—	—	200	0	0
Prime Serjeant	—	—	—	—	20	10	0
Attorney General	—	—	—	—	75	0	0
Solicitor General	—	—	—	—	75	0	0
Chief Remembrancer	—	—	—	—	30	0	0
Auditor General	—	—	—	—	234	6	3
Surveyor General	—	—	—	—	60	0	0
Escheater of <i>Leimster</i>	—	—	—	—	6	12	4
— of <i>Munster</i>	—	—	—	—	1	5	0
— of <i>Connaught</i>	—	—	—	—	1	5	0
— of <i>Ulster</i>	—	—	—	—	1	5	0
Second Remembrancer	—	—	—	—	7	15	6
Clerk of the Pipe	—	—	—	—	15	0	0
Chief Chamberlayne	—	—	—	—	5	0	0
Comptroller of the Pipe	—	—	—	—	7	0	0
Usher of the Exchequer	—	—	—	—	12	10	0
Transcriptor and foreign Appost	—	—	—	—	15	0	0
Summonister	—	—	—	—	7	10	0
Marshal of the Lower Courts	—	—	—	—	4	0	0
Clerk of the Pels	—	—	—	—	30	0	0
Clerk of the First Fruits	—	—	—	—	27	10	0
Cryer of the Exchequer	—	—	—	—	1	13	0
Total					1687	12	1

<i>Court of KING'S BENCH.</i>							
Chief Justice	—	—	—	—	500	0	0
2d Justice	—	—	—	—	300	0	0
3d Justice	—	—	—	—	300	0	0
Clerke of the Crowns	—	—	—	—	7	10	0
Total					1107	10	0

CHANCERY.

				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Chancellor of <i>Ireland</i>	—	—	—	500	0	0
Master of the Rolls	—	—	—	144	3	3
Two Masters of Chancery	—	—	—	40	0	0
Clerk of the Crown	—	—	—	25	0	0
Clerk of the Hannaper	—	—	—	35	10	0
Total				744	13	3

COMMON PLEAS.

Chief Justice	—	—	—	400	0	0
Second Justice	—	—	—	300	0	0
Third Justice	—	—	—	300	0	0
Prothonotary	—	—	—	907	10	0
Total				1907	10	0

STAR CHAMBER.

Clerk of the Star Chamber	—	—	—	10	0	0
Marshal of the same	—	—	—	10	0	0
Total				20	0	0

Officers attending the State.

Secretary of State	—	—	—	200	0	0
For his Intelligence	—	—	—	100	0	0
Clerk of the Council	—	—	—	47	10	0
<i>Ulster</i> King at Arms	—	—	—	26	13	4
<i>Athlone</i> Pursuivant	—	—	—	13	13	9
Serjeant at Arms	—	—	—	25	0	0
<i>Wakefield</i> Pursuivant	—	—	—	13	13	0
<i>Roe</i> Pursuivant	—	—	—	10	0	0
Keeper of the Council Chamber	—	—	—	18	5	0
Total				454	15	1

CIRCUITS.

Judges of the Circuits	—	—	—	1000	0	0
A Share to be paid only to those that goe, the rest saved to the King.						

INCIDENTS.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Judges, Master of the Rolls, and the King's Counsellors Robes	173	6	8
Liberals of the Officers of the Exchequer	82	1	8
For the _____ House	25	0	0
Keepers of the same	5	0	0
Singers of Christ Church	2	0	0
Pursuivant of the Exchequer	150	0	0
Total	437	8	4

PROVINCIAL *Officers of* MUNSTER.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Chief Justice of <i>Munster</i>	100	0	0
Second Justice	66	13	4
Attorney	13	6	8
Clerk of the Council	7	10	0
Serjeant at Arms	20	0	0
Total	207	10	0

PROVINCIAL *Officers of* CONNAUGHT.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Chief Justice	100	0	0
Second Justice	66	13	4
Attorney	20	0	0
Clerk of the Council	7	10	0
Serjeant at Arms	20	0	0
Total	214	3	4

OFFICERS *of the* CUSTOMS.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customer of <i>Dublin</i>	7	10	0
Comptroller	7	10	0
Searcher	5	0	0
Officers of all other Parts	205	16	8
Lower Commissioners of Appeals	400	0	0
Accomptant General of the Customs and Excise	200	0	0
Total	825	16	8

CREA-

CREATION MONEY.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Duke of Ormonde	40	0	0
Marquiss of Antrim	40	0	0
Earl of Castlehaven	20	0	0
— of Desmond	15	0	0
— of Westmeath	15	0	0
— of Arglash	15	0	0
— of Carbury	15	0	0
— of Caven	15	0	0
— of Dunagall	15	0	0
— of Clangrazill	20	0	0
— of Inchequin	20	0	0
— of Orrery	20	0	0
— of Morntrath	20	0	0
— of Tyrconnell	20	0	0
— of Mount Alexander	20	0	0
— of Corlingford	20	0	0
Lord Viscount Graidison	10	0	0
— Willmot	10	0	0
— Vallintin	10	0	0
— Dillon	10	0	0
— Nettervill	10	0	0
— Killultagh	10	0	0
— Maguennis	10	0	0
— Sarsfield	10	0	0
— Rawliegh	10	0	0
— Wenman	10	0	0
— Shannon	13	6	8
— Clare	10	0	0
Lord Baron of Casber	11	5	0

Total 464 11 8

PERPETUITIES.

Colledge of Dublin	183	15	0
Archbishop of Dublin	18	5	6
Dean of Christ Church Dublin	45	6	8
Bp. of Meath out of the Manor of Trim	1	15	0
Citizens of Dublin	500	0	0
Chanter of Christ Church for the Rent of a Plot of Ground	27	0	0

Total 981 2 2

TEM-

TEMPORARY PAYMENTS.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Lord Treasurer	30	0	0
Keepers of the Castle Room	19	5	0
of the Records in <i>Birmungam</i>	10	0	0
Total	59	5	0

PENSIONS and ANNUITIES.

Countess of Tyrconnell	300	0	0
Patrick Archer	205	0	0
Lord Courcy of Cork	300	0	0
Sarah King Widow	40	0	0
Mary Warren	40	0	0
Sir Isaac Dillon	500	0	0
Luke Gernon	100	0	0
John Doherty	27	7	7
Joseph Maguire	40	0	0
Anne Connock	50	0	0
William Aubrey	52	0	0
Total	1650	7	7

True Commissary of Accounts and their Clerks Allowance	150	0	0
Payments for Extraordinary Bygone Cortatums	4000	0	0
Total	4150	0	0

The Total Sum of all Payments aforesaid mounts unto — 14397 17 8

MILITARY PAYMENTS.

The Lord Lieutenant for all his Entertainments in Time of Peace	6591	16	8
In case of War, as General	3192	4	2
Lieutenant General of the Army	365	0	0
Major General	365	0	0
Commissary General	365	0	0
Total	4287	4	2

The

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 71

The 4 last Above mentioned are only to be pay'd in War and the Grants doe cease with the present Possession.

	l.	s.	d.
The Knight Marshall of Ireland	489	6	7
Muster Master	365	0	0
Comptroller of the Cheques	165	0	0
Four Commissaries	400	0	0
A Corporal of the field at 5 s. per diem	91	5	0
Advocate General at 6 s. 8 d. per diem	121	13	0
Physician General at 10 s. per diem	182	10	0
Surgeon to the Army	121	13	4
Total with the Lord Lieutenant's Entertainment	8528	4	7

OFFICERS PROVINCIAL.

President of Munster	908	19	9½
President of Connaught	908	19	9½
The Provost Marshal of 4 Provinces at 77 l. 3 s. 7 d.½ Each ? to cease with the Present Possessors	308	14	2
Total	2126	13	9

CONSTABLES.

The Constable of Dublin Castle	20	0	0
Porter	13	3	9
Constable and Porter of Limerick	20	5	3
Constable and Porter of Athlone	18	7	9
Constable of Carrickfergus	45	12	0
Total	117	8	9

OFFICERS of the ORDNANCE and ARTILLERY.

Master of the Ordnance	491	4	7
Lieutenant of the Ordnance at 7 s. per diem	127	15	0
Comptroller of Ordnance	109	10	0
Engenier and Overseer of the Fortification at 5 s. per diem	91	5	0
Several other Officers of the Ordnance in Leinster	170	14	0
Officers of the Ordnance in Munster	176	8	4
Officer of the Ordnance in Connought	176	8	4
Officers			

Officers of the Ordnance in <i>Ulster</i>	—	—	^{<i>l.</i>} 136	^{<i>s.</i>} 7	^{<i>d.</i>} 6
			—	—	—
	Total	—	1470	12	9

TEMPORARY PAYMENTS.

Knight Marshal of <i>Ireland</i>	198	1	9
Secout Master General of <i>Ireland</i>	221	13	4
Lord <i>Lanesborough</i> — of War	456	5	0
Earl of <i>Donagall</i> Governor of <i>Carrickfergus</i>	199	14	9
Major of the City of <i>Dublin</i>	146	0	0
Governor of the City of <i>Clare</i>	186	0	0
Constable of <i>Hillsborough</i>	60	16	8
Total	1468	11	6

The H O R S E.

These are Troops of Horse, besides the Life Guard, Six of which belong to the Lieutenant; 5 General Officers have 50 Troops, the other 23 have but 45 and the Lord Lieutenant hath 9 s. *per diem* allowed him for two Trumpets Extraordinary.

So these belong to the H O R S E.

	These Numbers	Their Pay
Captain	29	6820 16 0
Lieutenants	29	4383 16 1
Cornets	29	3410 8 0
Quarter Masters	29	2436 0 0
Corperals	87	3654 0 0
Trumpets	60	2587 4 0
Troops	1335	33642 0 0
Total	—	56934 4 1

The

The FOOT.

These are 61 Companies of Foot, a Share of the Lord Lieutenant hath 100 private Soldiers and 2 Drums, and all the rest have but 1 Drum and 60 private Soldiers.

These belong to the FOOT.

	Their Numbers;				their Pay			
					<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Captains	—	—	—	—	61	8189	8	0
Lieutenants	—	—	—	—	61	4099	4	0
Ensigns	—	—	—	—	61	3074	8	0
Serjeants	—	—	—	—	122	3074	8	0
Corporals	—	—	—	—	182	3074	8	0
Drummers	—	—	—	—	62	1041	12	0
Soldiers	—	—	—	—	3700	31080	0	0
Total					53633	8	0	

The Pay of an Ordinary TROOP.

Names	<i>per Diem.</i>			<i>per Mensem.</i>			<i>per sex Menses.</i>			<i>per Annum.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Captain	0	14	0	19	12	0	177	12	0	235	4	0
Lieutenant	0	9	0	12	12	0	75	12	0	151	4	0
Cornet	0	7	0	9	16	0	58	16	0	117	12	0
Quarter-Master	0	5	0	1	0	0	42	0	0	84	0	0
3 Corporals each 2 s. 6 d.	0	7	6	10	10	0	63	0	0	126	0	0
2 Trumpeters 2 s. 6 d.	0	5	0	7	0	0	42	0	0	84	0	0
45 Troopers each 1 s. 6 d.	3	7	6	193	10	0	567	0	0	1134	0	0
Total	5	15	0	254	0	0	1026	0	0	1932	0	0
Ld. Lieutenant's Troop	6	11	6	184	2	0	1104	12	0	2209	4	0
Gen. Officers Troop	6	2	6	171	10	0	1029	0	0	2058	4	0
Total of 23 Troops	132	5	0	1703	0	0	22218	0	0	44436	0	0
Total of 60 Troops	737	4	0	1041	12	0	6249	12	0	12499	4	0
Total of the Horse.	169	9	1	4744	12	0	28467	12	0	56935	4	0

The Life-Gaurd consists of a Captain at 9 *l.* 12 *s.* *per mensem.* A Lieutenant and Cornet at 12 *l.* 12 *s.* each. A Quarter-Master at 9 *l.* 16 *s.* Six Corporals at 6 *l.* 6 *s.* each. Six Trumpeters, whereof two at 6 *l.* 6 *s.* and the other four and a Kettle Drum at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* each. A Farrier, Sadler, Armourer, at 4 *l.* 18 *s.* each, and 100 Horsemen at 3 *s.* 6 *d.* *per diem.* 4 *l.* 18 *s.* *per mensem.*

Amounting to 22 8 0 | 627 4 0 | 3763 4 0 | 7526 8 0
V O L. I. L The

The Pay of a FOOT COMPANY.

Names	per diem.			per mensem.			per sex menses.			per annum.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Captain — —	0	8	0	11	4	0	67	4	0	134	8	0
Lieutenant: —	0	4	0	5	12	0	33	12	0	67	4	0
Ensign — —	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Serjeants each 18 d.	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Corporals each 12 d.	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Drummer — —	0	1	0	1	8	0	8	8	0	16	16	0
Soldiers each 6 d.	10	10	0	42	0	0	252	0	0	504	0	0
Total — — —	11	12	0	72	16	0	436	16	0	873	12	0
Lieutenant's Company	3	3	0	102	4	0	613	4	0	1226	8	0
Pay of the 6 Comp.	159	13	0	4407	4	0	26821	4	0	53642	8	0
Pay of all the Army	329	2	0	9214	16	0	55288	16	0	110577	12	0

The ROYAL REGIMENT,

Consists of a Colonel at 28 *l.* per mensem, a Lieutenant Col. at 12 *l.* per mensem. a Major at 16 *l.* 16 *s.* Nine Captains at 11 *l.* 4 *s.* Twelve Lieutenants at 5 *l.* 2 *s.* each. Forty Serjeants at 2 *l.* 2 *s.* each. Thirty-six Corporals at 1 *l.* 8 *s.* each. A Drum-major at 2 *l.* 16 *s.* Twenty-four Drummers and a Piper to the King's Company at 1 *l.* 8 *s.* each. One Thousand Two Hundred at 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* each. A Chaplain at 9 *l.* 16 *s.* an Adjutant, Quarter Master, and Surgeon at 5 *l.* 2 *s.* each. A Surgeon's Mate at 3 *l.* 12 *s.* Twelve at 4 *l.* 4 *s.* each.

	per diem.			per mensem.			per sex menses.			per annum.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Amounting to —	67	2	10	1880	0	0	11280	4	0	22560	8	0
Pay of the Horse and Foot Guards. }	89	10	10	2507	4	8	15043	8	8	30086	16	0

Signed

Signed George R.

*An Establishment, or List, Containing all PAYMENTS
to be made for Civil Affairs for Our Kingdom of IRE-
LAND, Commencing the 25th Day of March 1715,
in the First Year of Our Reign.*

Court of EXCHEQUER.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
L ORD Treasurer	365	0	0
Vice Treasurer for his Ancient Fee	50	0	0
Chancellor of the Exchequer	200	0	0
Lord Chief Baron for his Fee and Robes	500	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Second Baron for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Third Baron for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Prime Serjeant for his Fee and Robes	100	0	0
Second Serjeant	30	6	0
Attorney General for his Fee and Robes	88	6	8
Sollicitor General for his Fee and Robes	88	6	8
Auditor General for Ancient Fee	184	0	0
And to him more in full Satisfaction of all Fees due to him on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	31	0	0
To him more for transmitting yearly Accounts into Great Britain	50	0	0
Surveyor General	60	0	0
Escheator of the Province of <i>Lienster</i>	6	13	4
— of the Province of <i>Munster</i>	1	5	0
— of the Province of <i>Connaught</i>	1	5	0
— of the Province of <i>Ulster</i>	1	5	0
Chief Remembrancer	30	0	0
To him more in full Satisfaction of all Fees due to him on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	21	19	2
Second Remembrancer	7	15	6
To him more in full Satisfaction of all Fees due to him on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	45	6	9
L 2			Clerk

76 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Clerk of the Pipe	45	0	0
To him more in full Satisfaction of all Fees due to him on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	111	12	0
Chief Chamberlain	52	3	4
Second Chamberlain	52	3	4
Comptroller of the Pipe	7	0	0
To him more in full Satisfaction of all Fees due to him on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	46	10	0
Usher of the Exchequer for his Fee at 50 <i>s.</i> per annum, and for his Allowance for Ink for the Exchequer at 10 <i>l.</i> per annum	12	10	0
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	11	12	6
Transcriptor and Foreign Opposer	15	0	0
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	38	15	0
Summonister and Clerk of the Estreats	7	10	0
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	36	8	6
Marshal of the Four Courts over and above the lawful Fees of his Office, computed at 120 <i>l.</i> per annum	280	0	0
Clerk of the Pells	30	0	0
Clerk of the First Fruits, and 20th Parts	27	10	0
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	11	4	9
Cryer of the Exchequer	1	13	4
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	7	15	0
Pursuivant of the Exchequer	71	5	0
To him more on Passing Sheriff's Accompts	7	15	0
Auditor of the Foreign Accounts, and Imprest	121	13	4
Total	4257	10	2

Court of KING'S BENCH.

Lord Chief Justice for his Fee and Robes	600	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Second Justice for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Third Justice for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentations	200	0	0
Clerk of the Crown	7	10	0
Total	2007	10	0

Court of CHANCERY.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland	2000	0	0
Master of the Rolls	157	19	11
Four Masters in Chancery at 60 <i>l.</i> per annum each	240	0	0

Clerk

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 77

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery	25	0	0
Clerk of the Hannaper at 10 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per annum</i> , and for Paper and Parchment for the Chancery at 25 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> <i>annum</i>	35	10	0
Total	2458	9	11

Court of COMMON PLEAS.

Lord Chief Justice for his Fee and Robes	500	0	0
And for his Augmentation	200	0	0
Second Justice for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentation	200	0	0
Third Justice for his Fee and Robes	400	0	0
And for his Augmentation	200	0	0
Prothonotary	7	10	0
Total	1907	10	0

OFFICERS *and* MINISTERS *attending the State*

Principal Secretary of State	300	0	0
Clerk of the Council for his constant Fee	400	0	0
To him more for Paper and Parchment	40	0	0
Physician to the State	66	13	4
<i>Ulster</i> King at Arms	26	13	4
<i>Atblone</i> Pursuivant	13	13	9
Chief Serjeant at Arms	100	0	0
Second Serjeant at Arms	100	0	0
Three Pursuivants at 30 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> each	90	0	0
Keeper of the Council Chamber	18	5	0
— of the Rooms in <i>Dublin</i> Castle	16	16	0
— of the Records in <i>Birmingham's</i> Tower	400	0	0
Clerk of the Paper Office	200	0	0
Constable of the Castle of <i>Dublin</i>	20	0	0
A Kettle Drummer and Six Trumpeters at 7 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i>	490	0	0
Lord Mayor and Citizens of <i>Dublin</i>	500	0	0
Ranger of the <i>Phoenix</i> Park, and Master of the Game	50	0	0
Porter of the Castle of <i>Dublin</i>	13	13	9
Total	2845	15	2

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INCIDENTS.

Charge of the Circuits to every Justice of Assize, who goes at 100 <i>l.</i> which for 5 Circuits twice a Year come to the Sum of	2000	0	0
The Allowance of such as do not go to be saved to the King.			
To the Dean of Christ Church <i>Dublin</i> , for the Rent of the Exchequer Chamber and other Rooms within the Four Courts	15	10	0
Rent of <i>Shiddys</i> Castle, the Store House at <i>Cork</i>	7	10	0
To the Receiver General for Paper and Parchments	25	0	0
Keeper of the House for Receipt	5	0	0
Singers of Christ Church <i>Dublin</i> for Praying for his Majesty at 10 <i>s.</i> every Term	2	0	0
For Prosecution of Criminals	100	0	0
Rent of the Parliament House	186	0	0
To a <i>French</i> Minister of <i>Cortholough</i>	30	0	0
To the Prebend of St. <i>Andrews</i> for Visiting the Sick in the several Prisons in <i>Dublin</i>	20	0	0
King at Arms for his Attendance on State Days	12	0	0
For pumping Water for the use of <i>Dublin</i> Castle	11	13	10
To the Bayliffe of the <i>Phenix-park</i>	9	0	0
Ranger of the <i>Curragh</i> of <i>Kildare</i>	20	0	0
Gate Keepers of the <i>Phenix-park</i>	17	18	0
Vicar of <i>Castle-Knock</i> in lieu of his Glebe and Tythes of Land in the <i>Phenix-Park</i>	18	0	0
State Musicians	370	0	0
Master of the Riding House	100	0	0
Under Keeper of the <i>Phenix-Park</i> for Winter Firing	13	14	6
Rent of a Plot of Ground adjoining to <i>Carrickfergus</i> Castle	16	3	6
Ward-Robe keeper for <i>Cassels</i>	4	0	0
<i>Patrick's</i> and St. <i>Mary's</i> <i>Dublin</i>	60	0	0
Total	3043	9	10

OFFICERS of the CUSTOMS.

Dublin	{	Customer	7	10	0			
		Comptroller	7	10	0			
		Searcher	5	0	0			
						20	0	0
Wexford	{	Customer	10	0	0			
		Comptroller	5	0	0			
						15	0	0
								Warterford

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 79

				l.	s.	d.
Waterford and Ross	Customer	_____	_____	15	0	0
	Comptroller	_____	_____	15	0	0
	Searcher	_____	_____	6	13	4
					36	13 4
Youghal and Dungaran	Customer	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Comptroller	_____	_____	6	13	4
	Searcher	_____	_____	5	0	0
					25	0 0
Corke	Customer	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Searcher	_____	_____	5	0	0
					18	6 8
King'sale	Customer	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Searcher	_____	_____	6	13	4
					20	0 0
Limerick	Customer	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Comptroller	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Searcher	_____	_____	5	0	0
					31	13 4
Galway	Customer	_____	_____	13	6	8
	Searcher	_____	_____	5	0	0
					18	6 8
Drogheda Dundalk and Carlingford	Customer	_____	_____	7	10	0
	Comptroller	_____	_____	7	10	0
	Searcher	_____	_____	5	0	0
					20	0 1
Carrickfergus	Customer	_____	_____	7	10	0
	Searcher	_____	_____	6	13	4
					14	3 4
Strongford	Customer	_____	_____	7	10	0
	Searcher	_____	_____	6	13	4
					14	3 4
Dingle I Couch Customer					5	0 0
Accomptant General to be Paid by <i>Debentur</i> Quarterly out of the Exchequer, and not otherwise						
Total					738	6 3

PERPETUITIES.

To the Provost and Fellow of Trinity Colledge Dublin	—	388	15	0
To the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church Dublin	—	45	6	8
To the Lord Bp. of Meath out of the Manor of Trim	—	3	15	0

To

80 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the Lord Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> for Profit due to him out of divers Churches belonging to the late Monasteries of St. <i>Thomas</i> Court, St. <i>Mary-Abby</i> and St. <i>John's</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i> —	18	5	6
To the Chanter of <i>Christ</i> Church for the Rent of a Plot of Ground near our Castle of <i>Dublin</i> —	27	0	0
To the Rent of <i>Castleney-Park</i> whereon the Fort of <i>King'sale</i> stands —	6	13	4
To the Minister of the <i>French</i> Church <i>Dublin</i> —	50	0	0
Second Minister of the <i>French</i> Church <i>Dublin</i> —	50	0	0
For Printing the Bills of Mortality —	12	0	0
For the Rent of the Auditor General Office —	26	0	0
For Tythes of Land in the <i>Phoenix-Park</i> —	12	0	0
Total —	639	15	6

COMMISSIONERS of APPEALS.

Three Commissioners at 100 <i>l.</i> per annum each —	300	0	0
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NON-CONFORMING MINISTERS.

To be distributed among such Non-conforming Ministers by a Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors for the time being, in such Manner as he or they shall find necessary for our Service and the Good of the Kingdom, not exceeding the Sum of —	1200	0	0
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PRIZAGE.

The Duke of <i>Ormonde</i> for Prizage —	3500	0	0
Payments for Extraordinaries by Concordatures for Freight, Transportations, Carrying of Letters and other Expences, and Rewards for Sea Service, repairing and upholding sufficiently our Houses, maintaining our Forts, finishing needful Undertakings of that kind begun in apt Places but not finished, erecting of more Strength of the like Nature in other fit and necessary Places, Diet and Charge of keeping poor Prisoners, and Sick and Maimed Soldiers in Hospitals, Printing, Riding and Travelling Charges, Prest upon Account, and all other Payments, amongst which the Repairs of Fortifications and Provision of Hospitals are chiefly to be taken care of by Concordatures of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Lord Justice or other Chief Governor or Governors and Council, and the Concordatures to be every three Months certified over to our Privy Council here —	5000	0	0

And our Pleasure is, that no Payment or Allowance be made by Concordatue but by a Warrant drawn by the Clerk of the Council in *Ireland*, passed openly at our Council Board there, and signed by our Lieutenant Députy or other Chief Governor or Governors, and by any three or more of the Officers following, *viz.* our Treasurer, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Vice-Treasurer, Chancellor of our Exchequer, Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, Chief Baron, Master of the Rolls, and Sceretary of State, and for Default either by exceeding the Sums limited by Anticipation or otherwise, or by not observing this our Direction in every Point, our Will and Pleasure is, that all the Sums that shall be otherwise allowed and paid, there shall be Sets *Insuper* as Debts upon our Lieutenant or any other Chief Governor or Governors, our under Treasurer, and all Others that shall sign the same to be defaulted to our Ule upon their Several Entertainments.

P E N S I O N S.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Thomas Hughes</i> a Blindman	25	0	0
Duke of <i>St. Albans</i>	800	0	0
Baron <i>De Virazel</i>	100	0	0
<i>David Jervis</i> and his Wife	50	0	0
<i>Katherine Wynn</i>	100	0	0
Earl of <i>Ranelagh's</i> Heirs and Executors	300	0	0
Marquiss <i>de' Montandre</i>	200	0	0
Brig. <i>Belcastle's</i> Heirs and Executors	500	0	0
<i>Ulick Lord Roch</i>	100	0	0
<i>Ellin Roch</i>	50	0	0
<i>Daniel Dering</i> Esq;	100	0	0
Sir <i>George Barnwell</i>	100	0	0
Dame <i>Sarah Davie</i>	50	0	0
<i>Elizabeth Ronsell</i>	50	0	0
<i>Elizabeth</i> Countess of <i>Thanet</i>	300	0	0
<i>Katherine Talbot</i>	50	0	0
<i>Mary Murray</i>	91	5	0
<i>John Outing</i> Esq;	200	0	0
<i>Barbara Chantrel</i>	100	0	0
Dame <i>Antonata Mowat</i>	100	0	0
Lord <i>Athenree</i>	200	0	0
Countess of <i>Caven</i>	100	0	0
<i>Harry Power</i> , Esq;	250	0	0
<i>Deborah Rollston</i>	20	0	0
<i>Faith Steel</i>	10	0	0
<i>John Whittle</i> , Clerk	16	0	0
<i>Jane Campsey</i>	20	0	0
VOL. I.	M	Francis	

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Francis Tippin</i> —————	10	0	0
<i>Robert Fanning</i> —————	10	0	0
<i>Daniel M'Gwyre</i> —————	10	0	0
<i>Elizabeth Shallcross</i> —————	12	0	0
<i>James Roch, Esq;</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Earl of Roscommon</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Sir William Russell and his Brother</i> —————	200	0	0
<i>John Walker, Esq;</i> —————	200	0	0
<i>Benjamin Parry, Esq; Publick Rigister</i> —————	500	0	0
<i>Elizabeth Caldwell</i> —————	100	0	0
<i>Earl of Caven</i> —————	200	0	0
<i>John Pratt, Esq; and John Bayley, Gent.</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Joanna Cutts</i> —————	100	0	0
<i>Earl of Grantham</i> —————	1500	0	0
<i>Duke of Ormonde in lieu of Treasurer, Deduction out of the</i> } <i>Prizage</i> —————	108	4	11½
<i>Lawrence Stanyan Esq;</i> —————	100	0	0
<i>Katherine Cadroy</i> —————	54	15	0
<i>Jane Cathcart</i> —————	54	15	0
<i>Ignatius Nugent Esq;</i> —————	146	0	0
<i>William Phillips, Esq;</i> —————	200	0	0
<i>Duke of Ormonde</i> —————	5000	0	0
<i>Thomas Keightley, Esq;</i> —————	1000	0	0
<i>Samuell Hinton, Esq;</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Lord Bellew, and his Sister</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Earl of Clerendon</i> —————	2000	0	0
<i>Mary Hide</i> —————	20	0	0
<i>Dame Jane Douglass</i> —————	60	0	0
<i>Abraham Jacobs</i> —————	20	0	0
<i>Alicia Reader</i> —————	40	0	0
<i>Isabella Berkley</i> —————	30	0	0
<i>Mary Hartlib</i> —————	20	0	0
<i>James Shaw, Clerk</i> —————	40	0	0
<i>Ellinor South</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Alice Collins</i> —————	60	0	0
<i>Bouhereau, Under Keeper of the Publick Library at</i> } <i>Dublin</i> —————	30	0	0
<i>Captain Ferdinando Callaghan</i> —————	80	0	0
<i>Renatus de Saurieres L'Hermitage</i> —————	500	0	0
<i>John Hansard, Esq;</i> —————	100	0	0
<i>Richard Leving, Esq;</i> —————	300	0	0
<i>Le Estanquet, Widow</i> —————	50	0	0
<i>Mary Barry</i> —————	50	0	0
<i>Manon Senry De'Olivier</i> —————	60	0	0
Total —————	18847	19	11½

FRENCH PENSIONERS.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One at 15 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> —	0	15	0	Two at 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	1	0	0
Three at 8 <i>s.</i> — —	1	4	0	Two at 7 <i>s.</i> —	0	14	0
Nine at 6 <i>s.</i> —	2	14	0	Thirteen at 5 <i>s.</i> —	3	3	0
Twenty-four at 4 <i>s.</i>	4	16	0	Two at 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> —	0	7	0
Forty-nine at 3 <i>s.</i> —	7	7	0	Seventy-seven at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	9	2	6
Seventy-six at 2 <i>s.</i> —	7	12	0	Eighty at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	6	0	0
Fifty at 1 <i>s.</i> —	2	10	0	Three at 8 <i>d.</i> —	0	2	0
One at 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> 151	0	1	1	Nine at 6 <i>d.</i> and one at 1 <i>s.</i>	0	5	6
				Total <i>per diem</i> —	47	13	1

CIVIL LIST.

Exchequer	—	—	—	4257	10	2
King's Bench	—	—	—	2007	10	0
Chancery	—	—	—	2457	19	11
Common Pleas	—	—	—	1907	10	0
State Officers	—	—	—	2845	15	2
Incidents	—	—	—	3642	17	10
Custom Officers	—	—	—	638	6	8
Perpetuities	—	—	—	639	15	6
Appeals	—	—	—	300	0	0
Non-Conforming Ministers	—	—	—	1200	0	0
Prizage	—	—	—	3500	0	0
Concordatums	—	—	—	5000	0	0
Penfions	—	—	—	18547	9	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
French Penfions	—	—	—	17605	7	11
Total				64950	3	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Signed George R.

An Establishment, or List, Containing all PAYMENTS to be made to Our ARMY, ORDNANCE, and other Officers therein mentioned, for Military Affairs, for Our Kingdom of IRELAND, to Commence from the 25th Day of March 1715, in the First Year of Our Reign.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

	<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
L O R D Lieutenant, Deputy, Justices, or other Chief Governor or Governors General of <i>Ireland</i> , for their Allowances and Entertainments	18	1	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	6493	6	8
Two Aid de Camps at 10 s. each	1	0	0	365	0	0
One Lieutenant General	4	0	0	1460	0	0
One Aid de Camp	0	10	0	182	10	0
Three Major Generals at 2 l. each	6	0	0	2190	0	0
Six Brigadier Generals at 30 s. each	9	0	0	3285	0	0
Muste Master General, Clerk of the Cheques in full of all Allowances and not to receive the Day's Pay	1	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	500	0	0
Six Deputy's Commissioners at 8 d. each	2	8	0	876	0	0
Quarter Master General	1	0	0	365	0	0
Adjutant General	1	0	0	365	0	0
Judge Advocate General	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon General	0	6	8	121	13	4
Provost Marshal General	0	4	0	73	0	0
Physician General	0	10	0	182	10	0
Total	45	14	0 $\frac{1}{8}$	16580	17	4

Military CONTINGENCES.

To be Issued by Warrants from our Chief Governor for the Time being	8	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3000	0	0
						Mili-

Military INCIDENTS.

	<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rent of the Horse Guard Stables	0	6	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	110	0	0
Allowance for Fire and Candle to the Guards in <i>Dublin</i> , if not otherwise provided for	0	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	60	0	0
Total	0	9	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	170	0	0

**One Regiment of FOOT, FIELD and
STAFF OFFICERS.**

Colonel as Colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant Colonel, as Lieutenant Colonel	0	8	0	146	0	0
Major as Major	0	5	6	100	7	6
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon	0	4	0	73	0	0
Kettle Drummer	0	2	6	45	12	6
Total	1	18	8	705	13	4

One TROOP.

Captain 10 <i>s.</i> and 2 Horses at 2 <i>s.</i> each	0	14	0	255	10	0
Lieutenant 5 <i>s.</i> and 2 Horses 2 <i>s.</i> each	0	9	0	164	5	0
Cornet 3 <i>s.</i> and 2 Horses 2 <i>s.</i> each	0	7	0	127	15	0
Quarter Master for Himself and Horse	0	5	0	91	5	0
2 Corporals each 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	0	5	0	91	5	0
1 Trumpeter	0	2	6	45	12	6
36 Private Soldiers at 18 <i>d.</i> each	2	14	0	985	11	0
Total	4	16	6	1761	3	6

The Pay of five Troops more of the like Number and at the same Rate

Total for this Regiment

The Pay of four Regiments more of Horse of the like Numbers and at the same Rate

Total of the Horse

One

One Regiment of DRAGOONS, FIELD and STAFF OFFICERS.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Colonel as Colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant Colonel as such	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major as Major	0	5	0	91	5	0
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon	0	4	0	75	0	0
Total	1	14	8	932	13	0

One TROOP.

Captain	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lieutenant	0	5	0	91	5	0
Cornet	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quarter Master	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Serjeant	0	2	6	45	12	6
2 Corporals 1 s. 6 d. each	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Drummer	0	1	6	27	7	6
1 Hautboy	0	1	6	27	7	6
36 Dragoons at 1 s. 2 d. each	2	2	0	766	10	0
Total	3	12	6	1323	2	6

The Pay of five Troops more of the like Number and the same Rates } 18 2 6 6615 12 6

Total of the Regiment 25 9 8 8571 8 4

Another Regiment of DRAGOONS FIELD and STAFF OFFICERS.

Colonel as Colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant Colonel as such	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major as Major	0	5	0	91	5	0
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon	0	4	0	73	0	0
Total	1	14	8	632	13	4

One

One TROOP.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Captain	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lieutenant	0	5	0	91	5	0
Cornet	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quarter Master	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Serjeant	0	2	6	45	12	6
Two Corporals at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Drummer	0	1	6	27	7	6
1 Hautboy	0	1	6	27	7	6
31 Dragoons at 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> each	1	16	2	660	0	10
Total	3	6	8	1216	13	4

Eight Troops more of the same Number	26	13	4	9733	6	4
Total of the Regiment	31	14	8	11582	13	4

Total of the Dragoons 55 4 4 20154 1 8

The Royal Regiment of FOOT, FIELD *and*
STAFF OFFICERS.

Colonel as Colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
2 Lieutenant Colonels as such, each 7 <i>s.</i>	0	14	0	255	10	0
Major as Major	0	4	0	73	0	0
Second Major as such	0	4	0	73	0	0
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
2 Adjutants and Quarter Masters, 4 <i>s.</i>	0	8	0	146	0	0
Surgeon 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> Mates 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	0	9	0	164	0	0
Drum Major	0	2	0	36	10	0
Piper to the Colonel's Company	0	1	0	18	5	0
Total	3	0	8	1106	18	4

One COMPANY.

Captain	0	8	0	146	0	0
Lieutenant	0	4	0	73	0	0
Ensign						

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Ensign	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Serjeants at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Corporals at 12 <i>d.</i> each	0	2	0	36	10	0
1 Drummer	0	1	0	18	5	0
36 Private Soldiers	0	18	0	328	10	0
Total	1	19	0	711	15	0

The Pay of 17 Companies more of the like }
 Numbers and the same Rates } 33 3 0 12099 15 0

One Company of GRANADIERS.

Captain	0	8	0	146	0	0
2 Lieutenants, each 4 <i>s.</i>	0	8	0	146	0	0
2 Serjeants at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Corporals at 1 <i>s.</i>	0	2	0	36	10	0
1 Drummer	0	1	0	18	5	0
36 Private Soldiers at 6 <i>d.</i> each	0	18	0	328	10	0
Total	2	0	0	730	0	0

One other Company of Granadiers of the same }
 Number and Rates to Compleat this Regi- } 2 0 0 730 0 0
 ment

Total of this Regiment 42 2 8 15378 13 4

One Regiment of FOOT, FIELD and STAFF OFFICERS.

Colonel as Colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant Colonel as such	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major as Major	0	4	0	73	0	0
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon	0	6	6	118	12	6
Adjutant and Quarter Master	0	4	0	73	0	0
Total	2	0	2	733	0	10

One

One COMPANY.

	<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Captain	0	8	0	146	0	0
Lieutenant	0	4	0	73	0	0
Ensign	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Serjeants at 1 s. 6 d. each	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Corporals at 1 s.	0	2	0	36	10	0
1 Drummer	0	1	0	18	5	0
36 Private Men at 6 d. each	0	18	0	328	10	0
Total	1	19	0	711	15	0

The Pay of Eight Companies more of the like }
Numbers and same Rates 15 12 0 5694 0 0

One Company of Grenadiers to compleat this }
Regiment 2 0 0 730 0 0

Total of this Regiment 21 11 2 7860 15 10

The Pay of twenty Regiments more of the }
like Numbers and the same Rates 431 3 4 157375 16 8

Total 494 17 2 180623 5 10

Company of FOOT GUARDS.

A Captain at 15 l. each Kalender Month	0	9	10 ³ / ₄	180	0	0
2 Lieutenants at 9 l. each	0	18	10	216	0	0
2 Serjeants at 2 s. each <i>per diem</i>	0	4	0	73	0	0
50 Yeomer at 10 d. each	2	0	8	760	8	4
Total	3	13	4 ³ / ₄	1229	8	4

Charge of the ORDNANCE, SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

Master of the Ordnance	1	7	4 ¹ / ₂	500	0	0
Lieutenant of the Ordnance	0	16	5 ¹ / ₄	300	0	0
Major of the Train of Artillery	0	10	11	200	0	0
VOL. I.	N			Surveyor		

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Surveyor and Comptroller	_____		0	10	11½	200	0	0
Clerk of the Ordnance	_____		0	5	5½	100	0	0
Engenier, Overseer and SurveyorGeneral of the Fortifications and Buildings	_____	}	0	16	5¼	300	0	0
Second Engenier	_____		0	10	0	182	0	0
Third Engenier to attend the Train	_____		0	8	0	146	0	0
Inferior Officers in <i>Dublin</i> —Two Gentlemen of the Ordnance	_____	}	0	8	0	146	0	0
Store-Keeper	_____		0	5	5¾	100	0	0
Two Fire Masters, each 4 s.	_____		0	8	0	146	0	0
Two Bombardiers, each 2 s.	_____		0	4	0	73	0	0
Armourer at <i>Dublin</i>	_____		0	4	0	73	0	0
4 Assistant Armourers to move from Store to } Store, as Occasion requires, 2 s. each		}	0	8	0	146	0	0
Wheel-Wright	_____		0	2	0	36	10	0
Waggon and Carriage-Maker	_____		0	2	0	36	10	0
Master Gunner to attend the Train	_____		0	2	8½	500	0	0
Gunner's Mate	_____		0	1	4½	50	0	0
8 Gunners to attend the Train, 1 s. each	_____		0	8	0	146	0	0
8 Matrosses to attend the Train 9 d. each	_____		0	6	0	109	10	0
Paymaster to the Train	_____		0	2	6	45	10	6
Clerk to the Surveyor, and Comptroller of the } Ordnance	_____	}	0	2	0	36	10	0
<i>Londonderry</i> {	Store-Keepers _____		0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	2 Gunners _____		0	2	0	36	10	0
	2 Matrosses _____		0	1	6	27	17	6
<i>Charlemont</i> {	One Gunner _____		0	1	0	18	5	0
	One Matross _____		0	0	9	13	13	9
<i>Limerick</i> {	Store-keeper _____		0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Four Gunners _____		0	4	0	73	0	0
	Two Matrosses _____		0	1	6	27	7	6
<i>King'sale</i> {	Master Gunner _____		0	2	0	36	10	0
	Eight Gunners _____		0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Store-keeper _____		0	8	0	146	0	0
	Four Matrosses _____		0	3	0	54	15	0
<i>Galway</i> {	Store-keeper _____		0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Three Gunners _____		0	3	0	54	15	0
	Two Matrosses _____		0	1	6	27	7	6
	One Gunner _____		0	1	0	18	5	0
<i>Athlone</i> {	One Matross _____		0	0	9	13	13	9
	Store-keeper _____		0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Master Gunner _____		0	2	0	36	10	0
<i>Duncannon</i> {	Two Gunners _____		0	2	0	36	10	0
	Two Matrosses _____		0	1	0	27	7	6

Waterford

			<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Waterford</i>	Store-keeper	—	0	2	2½	40	0	0
<i>Carrickfergus</i>	One Gunner	—	0	1	0	18	5	0
	One Matrofs	—	0	0	9	13	13	9

CONTINGENCIES.

For Firing, Candles, Postage of Letters, and divers other Necessaries for the Office of Ordnance, to be applied according to the particular Warrants, or Directions of our Lieutenant Deputy or other Chief Governor, or Governors of *Ireland*, for the Time being, any Sum not exceeding ——— 600 0 0

WHEREAS the Safety of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, does much depend upon a useful and proper Train of Artillery, with able Officers and Artificers to attend the same: We do therefore think fit, and accordingly require the Chief Governor or Governors of *Ireland* for the Time being, to enquire into the Ability and Condition of the present Superior and Inferior Officers of our Ordnance and Train, to the end that such as shall be found either unqualified for their respective Employments, or do not constantly reside and execute the same, be removed from such Employment, and others fitly qualify'd placed therein; and that in future no Inferior Officer or Artificer belonging to the Ordnance or Train, shall be admitted to serve therein, before they shall be approved of by the said Chief Governors of that our Kingdom. And for the farther Improvement of the said Office of Ordnance, We do hereby empower the said Chief Governor or Governors of that Kingdom, to consider and adjust with the Master of our Ordnance there, such Rules and Orders for the Government and Management of the said Office and Train, as shall be deem'd most useful for our Services: Which Rules and Orders shall be sufficient Authority to our said Master of the Ordnance and the Officers under him to act by.

ADDITIONAL PAY to such Troops of HORSE, and Regiments of FOOT, as shall be Commanded on Duty in DUBLIN.

The Allowance of Three Troops of Horse on Duty in *Dublin*, being 105 private Men and Non-Commissioned at 3*s.* *per diem* each, (the Widows Men excluded) with a Kettle Drummer, for Six Months in the Year ——— *per diem.* *per annum.*

1	8	7½	522	8	1½
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The Allowance for 3 Regiments of Foot on Duty in *Dublin*, according to the present Numbers consisting of private Men and Non-Com-

	<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
missioned Officers, Four hundred in each Regiment, (the Widows Men excluded) at 1 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> each	—	—	—	5	0	0
Total	6	8	7½	1825	0	0
	—	—	—	2347	8	1½

GOVERNORS of GARRISONS.

<i>Londonderry and Culmore Fort</i>	{	Governor 10 <i>s</i> a Day, whereof 40 <i>l.</i> <i>per an.</i> is to be applied for Fire and Candles for the Gunners and Garrison —					
		—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Cork Governor</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Limerick</i>	{	Governor	—	—	—	—	—
		Town Major	—	—	—	—	—
<i>King'sale</i>	{	Governor	—	—	—	—	—
		Lieutenant Governor	—	—	—	—	—
		Fort Major	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Duncannon</i>	{	Governor	—	—	—	—	—
		Fort Major	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Ross Castle</i>	—	Governor	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Dublin</i>	—	Town Major	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Charlemont</i>	—	Governor	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

FIRE and CANDLE for the GUARDS, &c.

<i>Dublin</i>	Town Guards	—	—	—	—
<i>Limerick</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Galway</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Charles Fort</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Atblone</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—

MILITARY PENSIONS.

Col. Henry Lutterell	—	—	—	—	—
Earl of Galway	—	—	—	—	—
— of Mount Alexander	—	—	—	—	—
Major General Gustavus Hamilton	—	—	—	—	—
Col. William Culliford	—	—	—	—	—
Lord Viscount Longford	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—

						<i>per annum.</i>		
						<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Lord Blancy	—	—	—	—	—	182	10	0
Capt. Adam Blair	—	—	—	—	—	100	0	0
Capt. James Peltior	—	—	—	—	—	91	5	0
Col. Henry Hawley	—	—	—	—	—	182	10	0
Peter Pouffin	—	—	—	—	—	27	7	6
Captain George Lindon	—	—	—	—	—	54	15	0
— John Augustus Clavarie	—	—	—	—	—	45	12	6
— Peter Dolom	—	—	—	—	—	63	17	6
Philip Janssen de Tendbeuf	—	—	—	—	—	91	5	0
Capt. Richard Hill	—	—	—	—	—	91	5	0
Cornelius Kennedy, Esq;	—	—	—	—	—	200	0	0
Marquiss De Merimont	—	—	—	—	—	1000	0	0
Major Charles Lancaster	—	—	—	—	—	150	0	0
Col. Richard Barry	—	—	—	—	—	200	0	0
Major General Sherrington, in lieu of a Troop in his Regiment till one become vacant	—	—	—	—	—	310	5	0
Margaret Fleming	—	—	—	—	—	30	0	0
Catherine Barton	—	—	—	—	—	80	0	0
Lord Frederick Howard, till otherwise provided for	—	—	—	—	—	200	0	0
Lieutenant William Napier	—	—	—	—	—	54	15	0
Frederick William, Earl of Lifford	—	—	—	—	—	500	0	0
Total						7078	17	6

OUR Will and Pleasure is, that no Payment be made upon the foregoing Pensions we shall hereafter be pleased to Grant Payable out of Our Revenue of that our Kingdom of *Ireland*, unless the Person to whom the same be Granted do actually reside in our said Kingdom, or be absent by Leave and Licence of us or our Lieutenant Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of our said Kingdom for the Time being. And unless such Pensioner, when each Payment of his Pension shall be made, do personally appear before our Vice-Treasurer of that our Kingdom or his Deputy, or that there be delivered unto him an authentick Certificate of such Pensioner's being a-live at the Time when the said Payment became due to be filed in the Office of our Treasury there. And whereas it may happen that some of the Persons inserted in the foregoing List of Pensions are dead, by reason whereof their Pensions ought to cease, notwithstanding their being inserted in this our Establishment,

H A L F - P A Y.

				<i>per diem.</i>			<i>per annum.</i>		
Brig. Wolesley's Regiment of Horse	—	—	—	1	13	0	602	5	0
Echlin's Dragoons	—	—	—	0	5	6	110	7	6
Cunningham's	—	—	—	0	2	6	45	12	6
							Col.		

94 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	per diem.			per annum.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Col. <i>Michellurus</i> Foot	1	2	0	401	10	0
Col. <i>St. John's</i> Foot	1	1	0	383	5	0
— <i>Creighton's</i>	0	7	0	127	15	0
— <i>Villiers</i>	0	5	0	91	5	0
Brig. <i>Tyffin's</i>	0	5	0	91	5	0
Lord <i>Mountjoy's</i>	0	2	0	36	10	0
— <i>Charlemont's</i>	0	4	0	73	0	0
Col. <i>Seymour's</i>	0	1	6	27	7	6
— <i>Frederick Hamilton</i>	0	2	0	36	10	0
Earl of <i>Wharton's</i> Dragoons	2	7	0	857	15	0
Brig. <i>Creighton's</i> Foot	4	10	10	1657	14	2
Col. <i>Lucas's</i>	4	17	4	1776	6	8
Sir <i>John Whittewrong's</i>	4	4	4	1539	1	8
Col. <i>Morris's</i> Dragoons	3	14	4	1356	11	8
Major General <i>Pearce's</i>	3	12	4	1320	1	8
Earl <i>De Lorrain's</i> Foot	4	12	10	1694	4	2
Marquis <i>De Montandre</i>	4	14	4	1721	11	8
Earl of <i>Hyndford's</i> Dragoons	3	14	4	1136	11	8
Brig. <i>Bowles's</i> Foot	4	15	10	1748	19	2
Brig. <i>Dormer's</i>	4	15	10	1748	19	2
— <i>Grant's</i>	5	0	4	1831	1	8
Colonel <i>Harrison's</i>	0	8	6	155	2	6
General <i>Stuart's</i>	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lord <i>Windsor's</i> Horse	3	2	4	1265	6	0
Colonel <i>Clayton's</i> Foot	0	13	0	237	5	0
Lieutenant General <i>George's</i>	0	13	0	237	5	0
Colonel <i>Windress</i>	0	13	0	237	5	0
Brig. <i>Windsor's</i>	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lord <i>Ashburnham's</i> Horse	3	9	4	1265	6	8
Colonel <i>Backwell's</i>	0	2	0	36	10	0
Lord <i>Harwich's</i>	0	2	0	36	10	0
Major General <i>Wade's</i> Foot	0	7	0	127	15	0
Colonel <i>Chudley's</i>	4	2	10	1511	14	2
Colonel <i>Kerris's</i> Dragoons	3	11	10	1310	19	2
Major General <i>Pepper's</i>	4	16	4	1758	1	8
Colonel <i>Churchil's</i> Foot	4	2	10	1511	14	2
Lord <i>Mountjoy's</i>	4	13	10	1712	9	2
Colonel <i>Corbett's</i>	4	2	10	1511	4	2
Additional Officers	6	14	4	2451	11	8
Total	99	5	2	36229	5	10

OUR

96 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

Kilkenny	— — —	I 4	Wexford	— — —	0 2
Longford-town	— — —	I 0	Troops of Horse	— — —	14 0
Mary Burrough	— — —	I 0	Companies of Foot	— — —	0 53

MUNSTER

PROVINCE.

Abbingdon	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dingle	— — —	0 1
Bantry	— — —	0 1	4 Mile Water	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Caperquin	— — —	I 0	Galbally	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corke	— — —	0 9	Kilm. Thomas	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Charles Fort	— — —	0 10	Kingale	— — —	0 10
Coolecormack	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Kilmedy	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Charville	— — —	I 0	Negragh	— — —	I 2
Killenaull	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 Mile House	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Limerick	— — —	0 22	Ross Castle	— — —	0 2
Longford Pass	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Roxercagh	— — —	0 1
Macroome	— — —	0 1	Silvermine	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mallow	— — —	I 0	Threrles	— — —	I 0
Needen	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Tralee	— — —	0 1
Newmarket	— — —	0 1	Waterford	— — —	0 7
Clonwell	— — —	2 0	Xoughball	— — —	0 2
Cullen	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Dungarvan	— — —	0 1			
			Total	— — —	7 77

CONAUGHT

PROVINCE.

Athlone	— — —	I 4	Galway	— — —	0 1
Bryans Bridge	— — —	0 1	Headford	— — —	I 0
Bannaghar	— — —	0 1	James-town	— — —	0 1
Beldare	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Loughbrea	— — —	I 0
Bellexgby	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lanesborough	— — —	0 1
Boyle	— — —	I 0	Portumna	— — —	I 2
Clare Castle	— — —	0 2	Roscommon	— — —	I 0
Castle Barr	— — —	I 0	Sagoe	— — —	0 2
Cooloney	— — —	I 0			
Carrick Druminrush	— — —	0 1			
			Total	— — —	8 27

ULSTER

PROVINCE.

Ardmagh	— — —	0 1	Ballyshanon	— — —	0 1
Altomore	— — —	0 1	Belfast	— — —	0 2
Bolturbat	— — —	I 0	Black Bank	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ballyconnell	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Cavan	— — —	I 0
Belcoe	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Clonaneley	— — —	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
					Culmore

<i>Culmore</i>	—	—	0	1	<i>Garrison</i>	—	0	0
<i>Coleraine</i>	—	—	0	3	<i>Garridevellin</i>	—	0	0

PROVINCE.

<i>Carrickfergus</i>	—	—	1	5	<i>Newtown</i>	—	—	—
<i>Charlemont</i>	—	—	0	2	<i>Newtown Camedy</i>	—	—	—
<i>Downpatrick</i>	—	—	1	0	<i>Virgirra</i>	—	—	0 0
<i>Doumbart</i>	—	—	0	$\frac{1}{2}$				
<i>Dungannon</i>	—	—	0	0				
<i>Enniskilling</i>	—	—	0	0				
					Total	—	7	30

Keeping the Barracks, Houses, &c. in constant Order and Repair, for which the Barrack-Masters have contracted twenty-one Years from 1703	—	—	1263	3	4
To supply Earthen-Ware Trenchers, &c. subject to break	—	—	500	0	0
To keep the Bedding, Sheeting, Curtains and Utensils in the Country Barracks in constant Repair, according to Contract made by the Overseers of the Barracks for Ninety Years from 1705	—	—	2342	10	2
The same for <i>Dublin</i> Barracks for two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, as by Contract made by the Overseers of Barracks for Fifteen Years and an half from 1708	—	—	324	8	8
Sallaries for Twenty-five Barrack-Masters at 50 <i>l.</i> each <i>per annum</i> , comes to	—	—	1250	0	0
Sallaries for Two Inspectors General, who view the Barracks twice a Year round the Kingdom, at 157 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each <i>per annum</i>	—	—	315	0	0
For measuring the Coals in and measuring them out to the two Regiments of Foot and two Troops of Horse quartered in <i>Dublin</i>	—	—	10	0	0
To the Surveyor General's extraordinary Clerk, and for Books, Ink, &c. on the Barracks Account	—	—	40	0	0
Barrack-Master of <i>Dublin</i> , 80 <i>l.</i> Assistant 20 <i>l.</i>	—	—	100	0	0
Register for his constant attending the Services at the Barrack Office in <i>Dublin</i>	—	—	157	10	0
To two Clerks, Door-keeper, Messenger, Books, Paper, Ink, Quills, Wax, &c.	—	—	100	0	0
Firing and Candle for thirty-six Troops of Horse and Dragoons, and one hundred thirty-six Companies of Foot	—	—	6000	0	0
To provide Straw for filling the Soldiers Beds to be shifted four times a Year	—	—	360	0	0
Watching empty Barracks	—	—	400	0	0
	0				Rent

Rent of the Ground whereon several of the Barracks are built
according to Contract, and other Contingencies

172 17 10

Total 13355 10 0

WHEREAS there is allowed upon the foregoing Establishment the Sum of 13335*l.* 10*s.* for the Charge of maintaining the Barracks, in Bedding, Utensils, Repairs, and for our Forces quartered in our several Barracks in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and for the Sallaries of Barrack-Masters, and other Expences attending the same.

And whereas several Alterations may hereafter happen as to the Number of Forces being Reduced or drawn off from any of the said Barracks, whereby Part of the Allowance for Fire and Candle will be saved, our Will and Pleasure is, and we give and grant full Power and Authority unto our Lieutenant Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of that our Kingdom for the Time being, to change and alter from Time to Time, as he or they shall see Occasion, the Disposition of the said establish'd Sum of 13335*l.* 10*s.* so as that the same Sum be still appropriated to the Service of the said Barracks only, any Order or Instruction to the contrary at any Time heretofore notwithstanding.

MILITARY LIST.

General Officers	16680	13	4
Military Contingencies	3000	0	0
Incidents	170	0	0
Four Regiments of Horse	56362	1	8
Two — of Dragoons	20154	1	8
Twenty-two — of Foot	257139	9	2
One Company of Foot Guards	18623	5	10
Ordnance	1229	8	4
Additional Pay	4687	11	9
Governors of Garrisons	2347	8	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fire and Candle for Guard and Garrisons	2682	15	0
Military Pensions	166	0	0
Half-Pay Officers	7087	17	6
Barracks	36229	5	10
	13335	10	0
Total	439895	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total of the Civil List	63950	13	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Military List	439895	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total of the Establishment	503846	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

*A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the QUEENE of
ENGLAND to give aide to the Defence of the
People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe COUNTRIES.
1585.*

ALTHOUGH Kings and Princes Soveraignes, owing their homage and service onely unto the Almighty God the king of all kings, are in that respect not bounde to yeeld account or render the reasons of their actions to any others but to God their onely Soueraigne Lorde: and that amongst the most ancient and Christian Monarches the same Lorde GOD hath committed to us the Soueraignetie of this Realme of *Englande* and other our dominions, which we holde immediatly of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable onely to his divine Majestie: yet we are notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time specially mooved, for divers reasons hereafter briefly remembred, to publish not onely to our owne naturall loving Subiectes, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subiectes cause of commerce with our Countreys and People, what our intention is at this time, and upon what iust and reasonable groundes we are mooved to give aid to our next Neighbours the naturall People of the lowe Countries, being by long Warres and persecutions of strange Nations there, lamentable afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall servitude.

Kinges and Princes Soueraignes, are to yeeld account of their actions onely to almighty God, the King of Kings.

First it is to be understoode (which percase is not perfectly knowen to a great number of persons) that there hath beene, time out of minde, euen by the natural situation of those lowe Countreys and our Realme of *Englande*, one directly opposite to the other, and by reason of the ready crossing of the Seas, and multitude of large and commodious Hauens respectiuey on both sides, a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the People of *Englande*, and the Naturall people of these lowe Countries, and so continued in all ancient times when the seuerall Prouinces thereof, as *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by seuerall Lordes, and not vnited together, as of late yeeres they haue beene by entermariages, and at length by concurrences of many and sundrie titles haue also beene reduced to be vnder the gouernment of their Lordes that

Naturall causes of the Ancient continuall traffique betwixt the people of England and them of the lowe countries.

Confederations both betwixt the kings of England

and Lordes of the low Countries, and also the subjects of both Countries. succeeded to the Dukedome of *Burgundie*, whereby there hath beene in former ages many speciall alliances and confederations, not onely betwixt the Kinges of *England* our Progenitours and the Lordes of the said Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and their adherentes: but also betwixt the very naturall subiectes of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgeses, and other Comminalties of the great Cities and porte Townes of either

The people of both the Countries bound by speciall obligations interchangeablie, for mutuall fauours & friendly offices.

countrie reciproquellie by speciall Obligations and Stipulations vnder their Seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and entercourse of Marchantes, and also of speciall mutuall amitie to bee obserued betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular: and very expresse prouision in such Treaties contained for mutuall fauours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be vsed and prosecuted by the people of the one Nation towards the other. By which mutuall Bondes, there hath continued perpetuall vnions of the peoples heartes together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall loue hath bene inuiolablie kept and exercised, as it had bene by the worke of nature, and neuer vtterly dissolued, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoeuer the kinges, and the Lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) haue bene at difference by sinister meanes of some other Princes their Neighbours, enuying the felicitie of these two Countries.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundie*, for the commerce betwixt their Countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these natural vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sundrie autentique Treaties and Transactions for mutuall commerce, entercourse and straight amitie of ancient times: as for example, some very solemnely accorded in the times of King *Henrie* the sixth our progenitour, and *Philip* the second Duke of *Burgundie*, and inheritour to the Countie of *Flanders* by the Ladie *Margaret* his Grandmother, which was aboue one hundred and fortie yeeres past, and the same also renewed by the noble Duke *Charles* his sonne, Father to the King of *Spaynes* Grandmother, and husband to the Ladie *Margaret* sister to our great Grandfather King *Edward* the fourth: and after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our most Noble and sage Grandfather King *Henrie* the seuenth, and the Archduke *Philip* Grandfather to the King of *Spayne* now being: and in later times, often renewed betwixt our Father of Noble memorie King *Henrie* the eight, and *Charles* the fifth Emperour of *Almaigne*, Father also to the present King of *Spayne*.

Conventions for the subiectes of either side, to shewe mutuall fauours one to the other.

In all which Treaties, Transactions, and Confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in expresse wordes, by conuentions, concordies and conclusions, that the naturall people and subjects of either side,

side, should shewe mutuall fauours and dueties one to the other, and should safely, freely and securely commerce together in euery their countries, and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concurrence and commerce bene without interruption continued in many ages, farre aboue the like example of any other countries in Christendome, to the honour and strength of the Princes, and to the singular great benefite and enriching of their people, vntill of late yeeres that the King of *Spayne* departing out of his lowe countries into *Spayne*, hath beene (as it is to be thought) counsell- ed by his counsellors of *Spayne*, to appoynt *Spaniards*, forreiners and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres then in peaceable gouernment, and some of them notably delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefeft gouernours of all his sayde lowe countries, contrary to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturally borne, and such as the Emperour *Charles*, and the King himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue bene employed in the rule of those countries. But these *Spaniards*, being meere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and natural manner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise Emperour *Charles*, yea, and as his sonne king *Philip* himselfe had, whilest he remain- in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the States and natural of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrarywise, these *Spaniards* being exalted to absolute go- uernment, by ambition, and for priuate lucre haue violently broken the ancient laws and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed without order of lawe within the space of a fewe monethes, many of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of gouernement. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretence thereof was for main- tenance of the *Romish* religion, yet they spared not to depriue very many *Catholiques* and *Ecclesiasticall* persons of their franchises and priuiledges: and of the chiefeft that were executed of the No- bilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that re- ligion then was the noble and valiant Countie of *Egmond*, the very glorie of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of *Spaine* can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for euer lamented in the heartes of the naturall people of that countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to *Spayne*, these forreine gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of *Spaniards*, and with some fewe *Italians* and *Almains*,

Spaniards and strangers lately appoynted gouerners in the lowe Countries, to the violation of the liberties of the Countrie.

The destruction of the Nobilitie, and the people of the Countries by the Spanish gouernment.

The lamentable violent death of the Countie of Egmond, the glory of those Countries.

The riche
townes and
strengthes
with the wealth
thereof posses-
sed by the
Spaniardes.

The French
kings offers to
haue aided
and receiued
to his subiecti-
on the oppres-
sed people of
the lowe coun-
tries.

The Queene
of Englandes
continually
friendly adui-
ces to the king
of Spaine for
restraining of
the tyrannie
of his gouer-
nours.

Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation, answered the Emperour *Charles* equally to his *Indias*) in a manner desolate, and haue also lamentably destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruell manners of death, a great part of the naturall people, and nowe the rich townes and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the *Spaniardes*.

All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this day, euen of such as in auncient tyme, haue bene at frequent discord with them, thorowe naturall compassion very greatly pitied, which appeared specially this present yeere, when the *French* king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the States of the countrey and their deputies were answered) that certayne vntimely and vnlooked for complottes of the house of *Guyse*, stirred and maintained by money out of *Spayne*, disturbed the good and generall peace of *Fraunce*, and thereby vrged the king to forbear from the resolution hee had made, not only to ayde the oppressed people of the lowe countries against the *Spaniardes*, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiectes. But in verie truth, howsoeuer they were pitied, and in a sort for a tyme comforted and kept in hope in *Fraunce* by the *French* king, who also hath oftentimes earnestly solicited vs as Queene of *Englande*, both by message and writing to bee carefull of their defence: yet in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitt in auncient friendship to this realme then to any other countrey, wee are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long tyme with more cause and grieve generally, then of our subiects of this our realme of *England*, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our realme of *England* and those countries haue bene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife. And for these vrgent causes and many others, we haue by many friendly messages and Ambassadors, by many letters and writings to the said king of *Spayne* our brother and allie, declared our compassion of this so euill and cruel vsage of his naturall and loyall people by fundrie his martiall gouernours and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good louing sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, wee haue often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if hee did not otherwise by his wisdom and princely clemencie restraine the tyranny of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, wee feared that the people of his countries shoulde bee forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their natieue countrey in their former state of
their

their liberties, to seek the protection of some other forreyne Lord, or rather to yeeld themselves wholly to the soueraigntie of some mightie Prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuiledges graunted by some of the Lordes and Dukes of the countries to the people, they doe pretend and affirme, that in such cases of general iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages; and at libertie to make choise of any other prince to bee their prince and Head. The prooffe whereof, by examples past is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of diuers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of *Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland*, and other countries to them vnited by the States and people of the countries, and that by some such alterations, as the stories doe testifie, *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his tytle, from which the king of *Spayne* interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the viewe of the monuments and records of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yeelding themselves in any like sort to the soueraigntie of any other strange Prince, certaine yeeres past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the King, such as were the Duke of *Ascot*, and the Marques of *Hauery* yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the Emperour *Charles*, wee yeelded at their importunate requests, to graunt them prefts of money, onely to continue them as his subiects, and to maintaine themselves in their iust defence against the violence and cruelties of the *Spaniards* their oppressours, thereby staying them from yeelding their subiection to any other Prince from the said king of *Spayne*: and during the time of that our aide giuen to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of *Spaine*, wee did freely acquainte the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly aduices to him, to moue him to commaund his gouernours and men of warre, not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despayre of his fauours, and seeke some other Lord.

The Queenes
of Englande
meanes vsed
to staie the
States of the
lowe coun-
tries from
yeelding their
subiection to
any other
forreine
Prince.

And in these kinds of perswasions and actions wee continued many yeeres, not onely for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of straight amitie and commerce for our kingdomes and people to continue with the States and the people of the saide Dukedome of *Burgundie* and the appendants, and namely with our next neyghbours the countries of *Flanders, Holland* and *Zeland*. For wee did manifestly see, if the nation of *Spayne* shoulde make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantly intended, and plant themselves there as they haue done in *Naples* and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile

en-

The enter-
prise of the
Spaniards in
Ireland sent
by the king of
Spain and
the Pope.

The refusall
of the Queenes
messenger,
and her let-
ters to the
King of
Spain.

The iust cau-
ses of dismis-
sing of Ber-
nardin Men-
doza out of
England.

enterprise of a power of *Spaniards*, being sent within these few yeeres by the king of *Spain* and the *Pope* into our Realme of *Ireland*, with an intent manifestly confessed by the captaines, that those numbers were sent aforehand to sease vpon some strength there, to the intent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof: wee did we say againe, manifestly see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortly bee, if in conuenient time wee did not speedily otherwise regard to preuent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our sayde often requests and aduises giuen to the King of *Spain*, manifestly for his owne weale and honour, wee found him by his counsell of *Spain* so vnwilling in any sort to encline to our friendly counsell, that his gouernours and chieftaines in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in *Spain* offered dayly greater iniuries to ours, resorting thither for traffique: yea, they of his counsell, in *Spain*, would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the King their masters presence: a matter very strange, and against the lawe of nations.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the King, proceeded of matter that was worthy to be knowne to the King, and not vnmeet now also to be declared to the worlde, to shewe both our good disposition towards the King in imparting to him our grieues, and to let it appeare howe euill we haue beene vsed by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although wee coulde not haue these many yeeres past any of our seruants whome we sent at sundrie times as our Ambassadors to the King our good brother as was meete, suffered to continue there without many iniuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuers times to their owne persons by the greatest of his Counsellours, so as they were constrained to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the Country, without cause giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the King, as his good Sister, did of long time and maney yeeres giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his Ambassadors to vs, sauing onely vpon manifest dangerous practises attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a very turbulent spirited person, and altogether vnskillfull and vnapt to deale in Princes affaires being in amitie, as at his retourne into *Spain* hee was so there also reputed: The other and last was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whom we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestly seene in our Court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe, but yet of late yeeres (we know not by what direction,) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiectes, not onely to such as lurked in our Realme, but also

also to such as fled the same being notoriously condemned as open Rebelles and Traitours, with whome by his letters, messages and secret counsels hee did in the ende deuise how with a power of men, partly to come out of *Spayne*, partly out of the low Countries, whereof hee gaue them great comfort in the Kinges name, an inuasion might bee made into our Realme, setting downe in writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes and places of our Realme by special name, and who the persons should be in our Realme of no small account, that should fauour this Inuasion and take part with the Inuadours, with many other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our Realme very dangerously, as hath been most clearly proued and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now do frequent his companie in *France*, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course herein helde by the saide Ambassadour, as was manifestly of late time published to the worlde vpon *Francis Throgmorton* a principall Traitours examination. And when we found manifestly this Ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a Head to a rebellion and Inuasion, and that for a yeere or more together hee neuer brought to vs any letter from the King his Master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that hee woulde by some letter from the King to vs, let it appeare that it was the Kings will that he should deale with vs in his Masters name sundrie thinges that he propounded to vs as his Ambassadour, which wee did iudge to be contrary to the King his Masters will: wee did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with many other circumstances, we knew it, and therefore caused him in very gentle sort to be content within some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people: for the which, we graunted him fauorable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and thereupon we did speedily send a seruant of ours into *Spaine* with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant vnto him: and this was the messenger afore mentioned that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in *England* by meanes of certaine rebelles, to haue procured sundry inuasions of our Realme, by their forces out of *Spayne* and the low Countries: very hard recompences (we may say) for so many our good offices. Herevpon we hope no reasonable per-

The Queene
of Englandes
proceeding
for the deliue-
rie of Scot-
land from the
seruitude
wherein the
House of
Guise meant
to haue
brought it.

son can blame vs, if we haue disposed our selues to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of our selfe and our people : and finding our own dangers in deed very great and imminent, we haue been the more vrgently prouoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy, for that besides many other aduices giuen vs both at home and from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the general disposition of al our own faithful people very ready in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in Parliaments and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and preuent this present common danger to our Realm and themselves, euidently seene and feared by the subuerting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the *Spanish* nation and men of warre, enemies to our countries, there so nere vnto vs. And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also cal to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding by God's special favor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against vs in *Scotland* by certaine *French* men, who then were directed only by the house of *Guise*, by colour of the marriage of their Neece the Queen of *Scots* with the *Dolphin* of *France*, in like maner as the offsprings of the said house haue euen now lately sought to attaine to the like vnordinate power in *France* : a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider, although we hope the king our good brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnes of that house, that neither himself nor the Princes of his blood be ouerruled, nor wee (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king and his blood) be by the said house of *Guise* and their faction disquieted or disturbed in our Countries. But nowe to returne to this like example of *Scotland* aforefaide, when the *French* had in like manner (as the *Spaniards* haue now of long time attempted in the lowe Countries) fought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the Crowne of *France*, and also by the ambitious desires of the faide house of *Guise*, to haue proceeded to a warre by way of *Scotland*, for the conquest of our crowne for their Neece the Queen of *Scottes* (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the worlde) : it pleased Almighty God, as remaineth in good memorie to our honour and comfort, to further our intention and honourable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding them of the nation of *Scotland* being sore oppressed with the *French*, and vniuersally requiring our aide, wee procured to that Realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole Countrie, which hath continued there euer since many yeeres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of cer-
taine

taine of the Noble men, as hath beene vsuall in that Countrie, in the mynoritie of the young King there hath risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauour of the King and his Gouvernours vsed meanes to pacifie: so as at this day such is the quietnes in *Scotland*, as the King our deare brother and cousin, by name, *James* the sixth, a Prince of great hope for many good Princely respectes, raigneth there in honour and loue of his people, and in very good and perfect amitie with vs and our Countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe by the goodnes of God as both our owne Realme, and that of *Scotland*, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace then can be remembered these manie hundred yeeres before, and yet nothing heereby done by vs, nor any cause iustly giuen, but that also the *French* kings that haue since succeeded, which haue bene three in number and all brethren, haue made and concluded diuers treaties for good peace with vs, which presently continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaide actions attempted for remoouing out of *Scotland* of the saide *French* forces, so transported by the onely direction of the house of *Guyse*.

The Realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedom, and so possessed by the present King by the meanes onely of the Queene of England.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, wee hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by parciality, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall States of the countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Guelders* and other prouinces with them vnited (being desperate of the king of *Spayne*s fauours) for our succours to bee yeelded to them, onely for their defence against the *Spaniards* and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunate requests and aduices giuen to the king of *Spaine*, no hope of relief of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereto by dayly conquests of their townes and slaughter of their people, (though in very trueth wee cannot impute the increase of any late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the tytle of generall gouernour, shewing his natural disposition more inclynable to mercie and clemencie, then it seemeth hee can direct the heartes of the *Spaniards* vnder him, that haue bene so long trayned in shedding of blood vnder the former *Spanish* gouernors :) And ioyning thereunto our own danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accessse and planting of the great forces of the *Spaniards* so neere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attemptes against our Realme: we did therefore by good aduice and after long deliberation determine, to sende certaine companies of souldiers to ayde the naturall people of those countries, onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certaine companies of English souldiers to the defence of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this Realme.

honour of God, whome they desire to serue sincerely as christian people according to his holy word, and to enioye their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequently to preferue and contynue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

Three special things reasonably desired by the Queene of England.

1. The ende of wars with Restoration of the low Countries to their ancient liberties.

2. Suretie from invasion of her own Realme.

3. And renewing of the mutual Traffique between the Countries.

The causes of taking some Townes into her Maiesties custodie.

And so, we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauour both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselues, and their partizans) in that wee meane not heereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two rootes of al iniustice) to make any particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people, onely desiring at this time to obtaine by Gods fauour for the countries, A deliuerance of them from warre by the *Spaniards* and Forrainers, A restitution of their ancient liberties and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby, a suretie for our selues and our realme to be free from inuading neighbours, And our people to enioy in those countries their lawful commerce and entercourse of friendship and marchandise, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of entercourse, made betwixt our Progenitors and the Lordes and Earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

And though our further intention also is or may be to take into our guard, some fewe townes vpon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country: yet therein considering we have no meaning at this tyme to take and retaine the same to our owne proper vse, we hope that al persons wil thinke it agreeable with good reason and princely policie, that we should haue the guard and vse of somesuch places for sure accesse and recesso of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals and other things requisite and necessary, whilst it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries and imminent danger, and vntill the countries may be deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recouer their ancient lawfull liberties and manner of gouernement to liue in peace as they have heretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to doe, which are the very onely true ends of all our actions now intended, howsoeuer tongues may vtter their cankred conceits to the contrary, as at this day the worlde aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the Deuill hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickednesse to vtter his rage against professors of Christian Religion. But thereof we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, wil
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graunt good successe to our intentions, whereby a Christian peace may ensue to his diuine honour, and comfort to al them that love peace truely, and will seek it sincerely.

An ADDITION to the Declaration :

Touching the Slanders published of her MAIESTIE.

AFTER we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a Pamphlet written in *Italian*, printed at *Milan*, entituled *Nuouo aduiso*, directed to the Archbishop of *Milan*, conteyning a report of the expugnation of *Antwerpe* by the Prince of *Parma* : by the which we found our selfe most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hatefull to the worlde, then most repugnant and contrary to our owne naturall inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the King of *Spaine*, who (as the authour saith) saued our life being iustly by sentence adiudged to death in our sisters time : The other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these wordes (*as it was said*) that the life of the Prince of *Parma* should be taken away : and for the better proouing and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in the saide Pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world, both to iudge, speak and write maliciously, falsly and vnreuerently of Princes : and holding nothing so deare vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputation and honour to be blamelesse : we found it verie expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputations to passe vnder silence, least for lacke of answere, it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by vs for our iustification in that behalfe, might most aptly be ioyned vnto this former Declaration now to be published, to lay open before the worlde the manner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the lowe Countreyes.

And for answere of the first point wherewith wee are charged touching our ingratitude towardes the King of *Spaine*, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and haue sought many wayes since in like sort to require, as in our former Declaration by our actions may appeare : so doe wee vtterly denie as a most manifest vntrueth, that euer he was the cause of the sauing of our life as a person by course of Iustice sentenced vnto death, who euer carried our selfe towardes our saide sister in duetifull sort, as our loyaltie was neuer called in question, much lesse any sentence of death pronounced against vs : a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in Lawe, by place of triall, by the Iudge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases vsuall, especially against one of our qualitie, as it coulde not but haue bene publiquely knownen,
if

if any such thing had bene put in execution This then being true, wee leaue to the worlde to iudge howe maliciously and iniuriously the authour of the saide Pamphlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable an vntrueth with a vice that of all others we doe most hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vntrueth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easely discern what vntrueth is contained in the second, by the which wee are charged to haue bene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said Prince: a matter if any such thing should haue bene by vs intended, must haue proceeded either of a misliking wee had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the lowe Countreyes was so committed vnto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could neuer learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speache, done any thing that might iustly breede a mislike in vs towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to bee either priuie or assenting to the taking away of his life: Besides, he is one of whome wee haue euer had an honourable conceite, in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies haue noted in him, which hath wonne vnto him as great reputation, as any man this day liuing carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwayes deliuered out by speache vnto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the prosecution committed vnto him of the warres in the lowe Countreys, as all men of iudgement knowe that the takeing away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke any ende of the said prosecution: so is it manifestly knowen, that no man hath dealt more honourable then the saide Prince, either in duely obseruing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie where mercie and deserte hath craued the same: and therefore no greater impietie by any coulde bee wrought, nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe, (so long as the King shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible fort he now doeth) then to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent meanes, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed vnto him, then any other that hath euer gone before him, or is likely to succede after him.

Nowe therefore how vnlikely it is, that we hauing neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres shoulde cease by losse of him, should be either author, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, wee referre to the iudgement of such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but doe measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had bene true that we had bene any way chargeable, (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed, (importing such matter, as by him is alledged) would haue bene both produced and published: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that may nourish the venime of that humour.

The best course therefore that both we and all other Princes can holde in this vnfortunate age that ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of Almightye God, to direct our course in
such

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* III

such sort, as they may rather shewe their willes through malice, then with iust cause by desert, to say ill or deface Princes either by speech or writing: assuring our selues, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellours shall receiue at the handes of the Almightye for depriuing of Princes and lawfull Magistrates who are Gods ministers, they both are and alwayes shall be thought by all good men, vnworthie to liue vpon the face of the earth.

Giuen at Richmount the first of October, 1585. and the 27 yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady the Queene, to be published.

A Declaration of the Causes mouing the QUEENES MAIESTIE of ENGLAND, to prepare and send a NAUY to the Seas, for the defence of her Realmes against the KING of SPAINES Forces, to be published by the Generalls of the saide Nauy, to the intent that it shall appeare to the World, that her Maiestie armed her Nauy onely to defend her selfe, and to offend her enemies, and not to offend any other, that shall forbear to strengthen her enemye, but to use them with all lawfull fauours.

Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1596.

TO all Christian people, to whom this Declaration shall come to be read or heard, greeting. We Robert, Earl of Essex, and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourgher, and Louane, &c. And Charles lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord high Admirall of England, &c. hauing the charge of a Royall Nauy of Ships, prepared and sent to the Seas, by the most excellent Princeesse the Lady Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. doe giue all men knowledge, that the said Nauy under our charge is by her Maiestie prepared and sent to serue on the Seas, for defence of her Maiesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subjects, against such mightie Forces, as we are aduertised from all partes of Christendome, to be already prepared by the King of Spaine, and by further prouisions of Men and Ships dayly sent for, are to be mightily increased, to invade her Maiesties Realmes: as heretofore in the yeere of our Lord 1588. was attempted (euen when there was

was a Treaty continued by both their Commissioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then ever before in his time was sent to the Seas : though by Gods goodnesse, and the valour and wisdom of her Noble and faithfull Subjects the same was notably made frustrate. And because her Maiestie hath good intelligence of perfite amitie with all Kings and Princes of *Christendom*, having with the King of *Spaine*, who hath this many yeeres most vniustly professed openly great enmitie by divers actions, both against her Royall person, and her people, and Countries, without any iust cause first giuen on her Maiesties part. Therefore we the said Earle, and Lord Admirall, doe ascertaine all persons, that wee are most straightly commanded by her excellent Maiestie to forbear from offending in this our Voyage of any manner of persons of what Nation soeuer, except the said Kings naturall Subjects, or such others borne Strangers, as shall give to the said King manifest aide, with Men, Ships, Artillerie, Victual, and other Warlike provisions for inuasion of her Maiestie, Which her Maiesties commandment we meane duetifully to obserue : and doe therefore giue straight charge to al persons that shal serue in this Nauy vnderneath vs, vpon paine of extreme punishment to obserue the same. Yet to auoyde all occasions that may breede question, who they are, being not the King of *Spaines* Subjects, that shall be charged by vs to be manifest aiders for the furnishing and strengthening of the Kings forces, prouided either by land or Sea, to attempt any inuasion of her Maiesties Countries : We do for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly in Gods Name, require and charge all persons, that are not the saide Kings naturall Subjects, and yet that haue giuen ayde with their Ships, Victuall, and Munition, as is aboue saide, to withdrawe all their said Ships prepared for the warre, and all their provisions of hostilitie out of any Havens of *Spaine*, or *Portugall*, or from the company and seruice of the Kings Ships against our Nauy, and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or, if they so shall like, to come to our Nauy : to whom in the reuerend name of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Majestie, we do promise all securitie, both for their persons and goods to be vsed and defended as friends, and to suffer al their Ships and prouisions, that were either taken by the King of *Spaine*, or intended for his seruice, or that shall bee by the owners withdrawn from his ayde, to remaine in their owne free dispositions, so as the same be vsed in all forces as friendes, and not as enemies to the Queenes Maiestie, and to vs her Generals. And if any shall vpon knowledge of this her Maiesties most honourable order, and of our promise (to obserue the same as fauourably as we may) willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeauour to perfourme this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty, wee shall then be iustly moued, as by the lawe of Armes we may, to take and vse all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest ayders of the King of *Spaine*, with forces to inuade her Maiesties Dominions, and so manifest Enemies : and in such case of that refusall, if any harme shall happen by any attempt against their Persons, Ships, and Goods by any of our Nauie, for the ayding of the said King : there shall be no iust cause for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their naturall Princes and Lords to sollicite resti-

tutions or amends for the same. And for the more notification hereof, we haue thought good to haue the Originall hereof to be signed with our hands and with our seales, to be seene by any that will require to reade or see the same: And likewise we haue put the same in Print, in *French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish*, and have also caused the same to be distributed into as many Ports of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, as conueniently might be for the better knowledge to be had in the saide Portes, as also in all other Portes vnder his subiection.

R. Essex. C. Howard.

A BRIEFE and true DECLARATION of the sicknesse, last words, and death of the King of Spaine, PHILIP the second of that name, who died in his ABBEY of St. Laurence at Escuriall seuen miles from Madrill the 13. of September 1598.

Written from *Madrill* in a *Spanish* letter, and translated into *English* according to the true Copie.

Imprinted at *London* by *Edm. Bollifant* for *W. Aspley.* 1599.

TO satisfie my promise, and to giue answere to your letters, requiring my aduertisement of these present occurrences, I pray you vnderstand, that this yeere 1598. the Royall Majestie of our Lord Don PHILIP the third, being then but Prince, was vpon St. *Iohns*-day, in the market place at *Madrill*, to beholde the Bullbaytings and other pastymes which were there, at which sports the King his father (which is now in heauen) was not present by reason of the paine of the gout which sore troubled him. His Highnes being returned from the foresaid place, discoursed vnto his father all that he had seene, whereupon his Maiestie answered, I am right glad to see thee so pleasant, for thou shalt neuer so long as I liue see me haue any ease or comfort in this my painfull disease. And thereupon commaunded preparation to be made for his remouing to *Escuriall*. Doctor *Marcado* one of his ordinarie Phisitians tolde him, he ought not to stirre, least the extremitie of his paine should increase. The King answered, seeing I must be carried thither when I am dead, I had rather be carried thither being aliue. So that in the end to satisfie his desire, his footmen tooke him up vpon their shoulders, and spent fixe daies in going those seauen miles, where after that he came, he was better for some few daies, though he was not able to stand, but was forced

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either to sit or lie. But presently the goute reseasing him, accompanied with a feuer, made him far sicker then he was before, his Phisitians shewed all the skil they could to giue him some ease, but the extremitie of paine so increased, that presently he entred into consideration of his soule by shriuing and confessing himselfe, and receiuing the sacrament, at which instant he commanded *Garcia de Loyaza* to be consecrated Archbishop of *Toledo*, which was performed by the Popes Nuntio with all the solemnities and rites accustomed. There happened also to this good King vpon his right knee, a bile so angrie and swelling, that he could take no rest, his Phisitians being amazed thereat, one *Elias* a Phisitian of *Toledo*, by whose aduice and direction of others, one *Vergara*, a licentiate Surgeon; hauing applied all fit meanes to ripen the sore, opened it, and let forth all the bad matter therein contained: soone after the which, there arose fower other biles vpon his breast, which likewise were ripened, opened and cleansed. This corrupt matter bred a great companie of lice, which were very hard to be killed, he remaining in this mean time so weake that he was faine to be turned in sheets, and list vp with fower men, whilest two other made all things plaine, soft, and cleane vnder him. Ten daies before he died, he fell into so great a traunce (lasting fise howers) that it was easily perceiued, that his life and vitall powers began to faile, which caused diuers Lords in *Madriill* to prouide mourning garments. Being returned to himselfe, he said to the Archbishop and to those of the chamber there present: My friends and subiects, your sorrowes are of no force to recouer my health, for no humane remedie can profit me. The chiefe matter of your care ought to be to prouide in time all necessities for my funerals, and in the meane time I commaunde you to call hither your Prince, which shall be your future King, and fetch hither vnto me my coffin that I shall be laide in, and place here vpon this little cupboard, a dead mans skull crowned with my imperiall crowne, all which was forthwith done. The Prince and the *Infanta* his sister being in presence, the King called for *Iohn Ruyz de Valasco*, putting him in minde of a cofer which he had committed to his custodie, willing him to fetch it, the cofer was very little, yet when it was brought he caused it to be opened, and taking forth a pretious stone of an infinite value, caused it to be deliuered to his Daughter, speaking thus vnto hir. My daughter *Izabella Eugenia Clara*, receiue this Iewell brought vnto me by your mother, the which I bestowe vpon you for my last farewell. And then turning him to the Prince, said, are you contented with this that I giue vnto your sister? Who answered, yea sir, although you gaue her all that I haue. This answere lyking the King very wel, he willed them to looke in the cofer for another paper, and giuing it to the Prince, he told him, that therein he should see the forme how to gouerne his kingdome. Then they tooke out of the said cofer, a whip with bloudie knots, which the King holding vp said, This bloud is mine owne, and yet not mine but my fathers, who is in heauen, who made vse of this kinde of exercise, and therefore to make knowne the value of it, and the trueth of it I thought good to reueale it vnto you. After this he commaunded a paper to be taken from vnder his pillow, which
being

being read by *Iohn Ruyz*, contained these words. We PHILIP by the grace of God, King of *Castile* and *Lion* &c. hauing gouerned this Realme 40. yeeres, in the 71. yeeres of mine age, giue ouer this Kingdome vnto my God to whome it belongeth, and commend my soule into his blessed hands, to performe therewith whatsoeuer it shal please his diuine Maiestie. Commaunding that this my bodie, so soone as euer my soule shal be separated from the same, be embalmed: then apparelled with a Royall robe, and so placed in this brazen shrine heere present, and that the howers be kept, with all rites and ceremonies as the lawe requireth, and I commaund my funerals to be solemnized in this manner. Before shal be borne the Archbishops banner, then the Crosse, the Monkes and the Clergie presently shal followe, all in mourning garments. The * *Adelantado* shal beare the Royall standard trailing it vpon the ground. The Duke of *Nayara* shal carrie the crowne vnder a canopie. The Marquesse of *Aguillar* shal carrie the sword. My body shal be borne by eight of my chiefeest seruants all in mourning weedes, with burning torches in their handes. The Archbishop shal follow the Nobles, and our vniuersal Heire shal follow on the one side all in dewle. When they come to the Church, my body shal be placed in the herse there of purpose erected. All the praiers and deuotions ended, the Prelate shal place me in the vault, my last habitation which shal be giuen to me for euer. All this performed, your Prince, and third King of that name, shal goe to St. *Ierosmes* at *Madrill* there to keep the holy ceremonies of the ninth day yeerely, and my Daughter with my sister her Aunt shal goe to the gray Nunnes barefoote. Then speaking to the Prince he saide, besides all that which I haue heertofore spoken to you, I pray you haue a great care and regard to your sister, because she was my looking glasse and the light of mine eies. Keepe the common wealth in peace, placing there good gouernors to reward the good and punish the bad. Let the Marquesse of *Mondeiar* be deliuered out of prison, on this condition that he come not to the Court. Let the wife of *Antonio Perez* also be set at libertie, so that from hencefoorth she liue in a monasterie, and let her daughters inherite the patrimonie which she brought. Forgiue those which are prisoners for hunting, with all such as are condemned to die, (the Kings pardon wanting) and so I giue my last farewell to my children, commending them to all peace and safetie. Then the Prince asked *Don Christofer de Mora* for the Royall Key, commaunding him to deliuer it to him, who craued pardon of his Highnes, because it was the Key of all trust and confidence, which he could in no wise deliuer without the leaue of his Lord the King. Well, said the Prince, it is ynough. And so went into his chamber, whilest *Don Christofer* returning to the King, whome he found a little cheered, said vnto him. Sir, his Highnes asked of me the Royall Key, which I haue denied him as hauing no leaue from your Maistie. But the King told him he had done ill. Not long after he fell into another fit, whereupon he called for the extreme vnction, which was giuen vnto him by

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* *Adelantado* is the Admirall of the Gallies.

the Archbishop. Then he called for a Crucifixe which had beene kept safely in a chest, which was the very same his father held betweene his hands, when he died, with the which he desired likewise to die. Hereupon his Highnes returned to his father, at whose comming *Don Christofer* vpon his knees presented to him the Royall Key, which the Prince receiued, and gaue it to the Marquesse of *Denia*: whereupon the King saide to him. Remember I commend vnto you *Don Christofer* for the most faithfull seruant which I euer had, and so haue care of all the rest, which I commende vnto you. And so he tooke his leaue of him againe imbracing him, at which instant his speech failed. And in this sort he continued two daies, and died vpon *Sunday* the 13. of *September* about three of the clocke in the morning. The body was buried vpon *Munday* the 14. of that moneth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the Archbishop saying the masse. The new King came from *Escuriall* the 16. of that instant, leauing his sister at the gray Nunnes, and so went to *St. Ierosmes*, the Court remaining in great mourning and lamentation, making preparation for the great funerall.

The MAGNIFICENT ENTERTAINMENT: Giuen to
King JAMES, Queene ANNE his wife, and HENRY
FREDERICK the Prince, vpon the day of his Maiesties
Tryumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his
Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the
15. of March. 1603.

As well by the English as by the Strangers: With the speeches and Songes,
deliuered in the seuerall Pageants.

Mart. Templa Deis, mores populis dedit, otia ferre -
Astra suis, Cælo sydera, ferta Joui. THO. DEKKER.

Imprinted at *London* by *T. C.* for *Tho. Man the yonger.* 1604.

THE sorrow and amazement, that like an *earthquake* began to shake the distempered body of this Iland (by reason of our late Soueraigns departure,) being wisely and miraculously preuented, and the feared wounds of a euill sword, (as *Alexanders* fury was with Musicke) being stopt from bursting forth, by the sound of Trompets that proclaimed King *James*: All mens eyes were presently turnd to the *North*, standing euen stone stil in their Circles, like the poynts of so many Geometricall needles, through a fixed and Adamantine desire

desire to behold this 45. yeares wonder now brought forth by *Tyme*: their tongues neglecting all language else, saue that which spake zealous prayers, and vnceasable wishes, for his most speedy and longd-for arriuall. Insomuch that the Night was thought vnworthy to be crownd with sleepe, and the day not fit to be lookt vpon by the Sunne, which brought not some fresh tydings of his Maiesties more neare and neerer approach.

At the length *Expectation* (who is euer waking) and that so long was great, grew neare the time of her deliuery, *Rumor* coming all in a sweate to play the Midwife, whose first comfortable words were, that this *Treasure* of a Kingdome (a Man-Ruler) hid so many yeares from vs, was now brought to light, and at hand.

Et populi vox erat una, Venit.

MARTIAL.

And that he was to be conducted through some vtter part of this his Citie; to his royall Castle the *Tower*, that in the age of a man (till this very minute) had not bene acquainted nor borne the name of a Kings Court. Which Entrance of his (in this manner) being fam'd abroad, Because his louing Subiects the Citizens would giue a taste of their dutie and affection: The *Deuice* following was suddainly made vp, as the first seruice, to a more royall and serious ensuing Entertainment; And this (as it was then purposed) should haue bene performed about the Barres beyond *Bishops-gate*.

The Deuice.

S AINT *George*, Saint *Andrew*, (the Patrons of both Kingdomes) hauing along time lookt vpon each other, with countenances rather of meere strangers, then of such neare Neighbours, vpon the present aspect of his *Maiesties* approach toward *London*, were (in his sight) to issue from two seuerall places on horsebacke, and in compleate Armour, their Breasts and Caparisons suited with the Armes of *England* and *Scotland*, (as they are now quartered) to testifie their leagued Combination, and newe sworne Brotherhood. These two armed Knights, encountring one another on the way, were to ride hand in hand, till they met his *Maiestie*. But the strangeness of this newly-begotten amitie, flying ouer the earth, It calles vp the *Genius* of the Citie, who (not so much mazed, as wondring at the Noueltie) Intersepts their Passage.

And most aptly (in our Iudgement) might this *Domesticum Numen* (the *Genius* of the place) lay iust clayme to this preheminance of first bestowing Salutations and welcomes on his *Maiestie*, *Genius* being held (*Inter sanctos Deos*), to be God of Hospitalitie and Pleasure: and none but such a one was meet to receiue so excellent and princely a Guest.

Or if not worthy, for those two former respects: Yet being *Deus-Generati-onis*, and hauing a power aswell ouer Countries, hearbs and trees, as ouer men, and the Citie hauing now put on a *Regeneration*, or new birth; the
induction

induction of such a Person, might (without a Warrant from the court of *Criticks*) passe very currant.

To make a false flourish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old Maisters of the noble Science of Poesie, and to keepe a tyrannicall coyle, in Anatomizing *Genius*, from head to foote, (only to shew how nimbly we can carue vp the whole messe of the Poets) were to play the Executioner, and to lay our Cities household God on the rack, to make him confesse, how many paire of *Latin* sheets, we haue shaken and cut into shreds to make him a garment. Such feats of Actiuitie are stale, and common among Schollers, (before whom it is protested we come not now (in a Pageant) to play a Maisters prize) For *Nunc ego ventosæ Plebis suffragia venor.*

The multitude is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wooll-gathering, if we do but offer to breake them with hard words. But suppose (by the way) contrary to the opinion of all Doctors) that our *Genius* (in regarde the place is *Feminine*, and the person it selfe, drawne *Figura Humana, sed Ambiguo sexu*) should at this time be thrust into womans apparell. It is no Schisme: be it so: our *Genius* is then a Female, *Antique*; and reuerend both in yeares and habit: a Chaplet of mingled flowres, interwouen with branches of the Plane Tree (crowning her Temples: her haire long and white: her Vesture a loose roabe, Changeable and powdred with Starres: And being (on horse-backe likewise) thus furnished, this was the tune of her voyce.

Genius Locj.

*STAY: wee coniure you, by that Potent Name,
Of which each Letter's (now) a triple charme:
Stay; and deliuer vs, of whence you are,
And why you beare (alone) th'ostent of Warre,
When all hands else reare Oliue boughs and Palme:
And Halcyonean dayes assure all's calme.
When euery tongue speakes Musick: when each Pen
(Dul'd and dyde blacke in Galle) is white agen,
And dipt in Nectar, which by Delphick fire
Being heated, melts into an Orphean quire.
When Troyes proud buildings shew like Fairie-bowers,
And Streets (like Gardens) are perfum'd with Flowers;
And Windowes glazde onely with wondring eyes;
(In a Kings looke such admiration lyes!)
And when soft banded Peace, so sweetly thriues,
That Bees in Souldiers Helmets build their Hiues:
When Ioy a tip-toe stands on Fortunes Wheele,
In silken Robes: How dare you shine in Steele?*

Saint

Saint George.

Ladie, What are you that so question vs?

Genius.

*I Am the places Genius, whence now springs
A Vine, whose yongest Braunch shall produce Kings :
This little world of men; this precious Stone,
That sets out Europe : this (the glasse alone,) . .
Where the neat Sunne each Morne himselfe attires,
And gildes it with his repercussive fires.
This Jewell of the Land; Englands right Eye :
Altar of Loue; and Spheare of Maiestie :
Greene Neptunes Minion, bou't whose Virgin-waste,
Isis is like a Cristall girdle cast.
Of this are we the Genius; here haue I,
Slept (by the fauour of a Deity)
Fortie-foure Summers and as many Springs,
Not fraighted with the threats of forraine Kings.
But held vp in that gowned State I haue,
By twice Twelue-Fathers politique and graue :
Who with a sheathed Sword, and silken Law,
Do keepe (within weake Walles) Millions in awe.*

*I charge you therefore say, for what you come ?
What are you ?*

<i>Both.</i>	<i>Knights at Arms.</i>
<i>S. George.</i>	<i>Saint George.</i>
<i>Saint Andrew.</i>	<i>Saint Andrew</i>
	<i>For Scotlands honour I.</i>
<i>S. George.</i>	<i>For Englands I,</i>
	<i>Both sworne into a League of Vnitie.</i>

Genius.

*I Clap my hands for Ioy, and seate you both
Next to my heart : In leaues of purest golde,
This most auspicious loue shall be enrold.
Be ioynde to vs : And as to earth we bowe,
So, to those royall feet, bend your steelde brow.
In name of all these Senators, (on whom
Vertue builds more, then these of Antique Rome)*

Shouting

*Shouting a cheerefull welcome: Since no chyme,
Nor Age that has gon or'e the head of Time,
Did e're cast vp such Ioyes, nor the like Summe
(But here) shall stand in the world yeares to come,
Dread King, our hearts make good, what words do want,
To bid thee boldly enter Troynouant.*

Mart. *Rerum certa salus, Terrarum gloria Cæsar!*
Sospite quo, magnos credimus esse Deos:
 Idem. *Delexere prius pueri, Iuvenesque senesque,*
At nunc Infantes te quoque Cæsar amant.

This should haue beene the first Offring of the Cities Loue: and his *Maiestie* not making his *Entrance* (according to expectation) It was (not vtterly throwne from the Altar but) layd by.

Mart. *Iam Crescunt media Pægmata celsa via.*

BY this time Imagine, that *Poets* (who drawe speaking Pictures) and *Painters* (who make dumbe Poesie) had their heads and hands full, the one for native and sweet Inuention: the other for liuely Illustration of what the former should deuise: Both of them emulously contending (but not striuing) with the proprest and brightest Colours of Wit and Art, to set out the beautie of the great *Triumphant day*.

For more exact and formall managing of which Businesse, a Select number both of Aldermen and Commoners (like so many *Roman Aediles*) were (*Communi Consilio*) chosen forth, to whose discretion, the *Charge*, *Contriuings*, *Proiects*, and all other *Dependences*, owing to so troublesome a worke, was intirely, and judicially committed.

Many dayes were thriftily consumed, to molde the bodies of the *Tryumphes* comely, and to the honour of the Place: and at last, the stufte whereof to frame them, was beaten out. The Soule that should giue life, and a tongue to this *Entertainment*, being to breathe out of Writers Pens. The Limmes of it to lye at the hard-handed mercy of *Mychanitiens*.

In a moment therefore of Time, are Carpenters, Ioyners, Caruers, and other Artificers sweating at their Chizzells.

Vir. *Accingunt Omnes operi.*

Not a finger but had an Office: He was held vnworthy ever after to sucke the Hony-dew of Peace, that (against his coming, by whom our Peace weares a triple Wreathe) would offer to play the Droane. The Streets are surueyed; heighthes, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make *Fortifications*, for the *Solemnities*. Seauen pieces of ground (like so many fieldes for a battaile) are

are plotted foorth, vpon which these Arches of Tryumph must shew themselves in their glorie: aloft, in the ende they aduance their proude fore-heads.

Virg.--*Circum pueri, Innuptæque Puellæ,
Sacra canunt, funemq; manu contingere gaudent.*

Euen children (might they haue bin suffred) would gladly haue spent their little strength, about the *Engines*, that mounted vp the Frames: Such a fire of loue and ioy, was kindled in euery breast.

The day (for whose sake, these wonders of Wood, clymde thus into the clowdes) is now come; being so earely vp by reason of Artificiall Lights, which wakened it, that the Sunne ouer slept himself, and rose not in many houres after, yet bringing with it into the very bosome of the Citie, a world of people. The Streets seemde to be pauerd with men: Stalles in stead of rich wares were set out with children, open Casements fild vp with women.

All Glasse windowes taken downe, but in their places, sparkeled so many eyes, that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to haue made one: hee that should haue compared the emptie and vntrodden walkes of *London*, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying Deluge, with the thronged streets now, might haue believed, that vpon this day, began a new *Creation*, and that the Citie was the onely Work-house wherein sundry Nations were made.

A goodly and ciuil order was observed, in Martialling all the Companies according to their degrees: The first beginning at the vpper end of Saint *Marks Lane*, and the last reaching aboue the Conduit in *Fleetstreet*: the Seats, being double-railde: vpon the vpper part wheron they leaned, the Streamers, Ensignes, and Bannerets, of each particular Company decently fixed: And directly against them, (euen quite through the body of the Citie, so hie as to *Temple Barre*) a single Raile (in faire distance from the other) was likewise erected to put off the multitude. Amongst whom, tongues (which in such Conforts never lye still,) tho there were no Musicke, yet as the Poet says:

Mart. *Vox diuersa sonat, populorum est vox tamen vna.*

Nothing that they speake could be made any thing, yet all that was spoken, sounded to this purpose, that still his Maiestie was coming. They haue their longings: And behold, A farre off they spie him, richly mounted on a white Iennet, vnder a rich Canopy, sustained by eight Barons of the *Cinquedrapes*; the Tower seruing that morning but for his with-drawing Chamber, wherein hee made him ready: and from thence stept presently into his Citie of *London*, which for the time might worthily borrow the name of his *Court Royall*: His passage alongst that Court, offering it selfe for more State through seuen Gates, of which the first was erected at *Fanchurch*.

Thus presenting it selfe.

Fanchurch. **I**T was an vpright Flat-square, (for it contained fiftie foote in the perpendiculer, and fiftie foot in the the Ground-lyne) the vpper rooffe thereof (one distinct Gate) bore vp the true moddells of all the notable Houses, Turrets, and Steeples, within the Citie. The Gate vnder which his Maiestie did passe, was 12. foot wide, and 18. foot hie: A Posterne likewise (at one side of it) being foure foote wide, and 8. foote in hight: On either side of the Gate, stood a great French Terme, of stone, aduanced vpon woodden Pedestalls; two half Pilasters of Rustick, standing ouer their heads. I could shoote more Arrowes at this marke, and teach you without the Carpenters Rule how to measure all the proportions belonging to this *Fabrick*. But an excellent hand being at this instant curiously describing all the seuen, and bestowing on them their faire prospectiue limmes, your eye shall hereafter rather be delighted in beholding those Pictures, than now be wearied in looking vpon mine.

The Personages (as well Mutes as Speakers) in this Pageant, were these: viz.

- 1 **T**H E highest Person was *The Brittain Monarchy*.
 - 2 At her feet, sate *Diuine Wisdome*.
 - 3 Beneath her, stood *The Genius of the City*, A man.
 - 4 At his right hand was placed a Personage, figuring, *The Counsell of the City*.
 - 5 Vnder all these lay a person representing *Thamesis the Riuer*.
- Sixe other persons (being daughters to *Genius*) were aduanced about him, on a spreading *Ascent*, of which the first was,
- 1 *Gladnesse*.
 - 2 The second, *Veneration*.
 - 3 The third, *Promptitude*.
 - 4 The fourth, *Vigilance*.
 - 5 The fift, *Louing Affection*.
 - 6 The sixth, *Vnanimity*.

Of all which personages, *Genius* and *Thamesis* were the only Speakers: *Thamesis* being presented by one of the children of her Maiesties Reuels: *Genius* by M. *Allin* (seruant to the young Prince) his gratulatory speech (which was deliuered with excellent Action, and a well tun'd audible voyce) being to this effect:

That *London* may be proud to behold this day, and therefore in name of the Lord *Maier* and *Aldermen*, the *Councell*, *Commoners* and *Multitude*, the heartiest Welcome is tendred to his Maiesty, that euer was bestowed on any King, &c.

Which Banquet being taken away with sound of Musick, there, ready for that purpose, his Maiestie made his entrance into this his Court Royall: vnder the Battlements of the worke, in great Capitals was inscribed, thus:

The Wayts & Haultboyes of London.

L O N D I N I V M.

And vnder that, in a smaller (but not different) *Character*, was written,

C A M E R A R E G I A :

The Kings Chamber.

Too short a time (in their opinions that were glewed together so many houres, to behold him) did his Maiestie dwell upon this first place: yet too long it seemed to other happy Spirits, that higher vp in these *Elizian* fields awaiting for his presence: he sets on therefore (like the Sunne in his Zodiaque) bountifully disperfing his beames amongst particular Nations: the brightnesse and warmth of which, was now spent first vpon the *Italians*, and next vpon the *Belgians*: The space of ground, on which their *magnificent Arches* were builded, being not vnworthy to beare the name of the great Hall to this our Court Royal: wherein was to be heard and seene the fundrie languages and habits of Strangers, which vnder Princes Roofes render excellent harmony.

In a paire of Scales doe I weigh these two Nations, and find them (neither in hearty loue to his Maiestie, in aduancement of the Cities honor, nor in forwardnesse to glorifie these *Triumphes*) to differ one grain.

To dispute which haue done best, were to doubt that one had done well. Call their inuentions therefore *Twynnes*: or if they themselues doe not like that name, (for happily they are emulous of one glory) yet thus may we speake of them.

*Facies non omnibus vna,
Nec diuersa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.* Ouid.

Because, whatsoeuer (*fixis oculis*) beholds their proportions,

Expleri mentem nequit, ardescitq tuendo. Virg.

The street, vpon whose breast, this *Italian* Iewell was worne, was neuer worthy of that name which it carries, till this houre: For here did the Kings eye meete a second Obiect, that inticed him by tarrying to giue honor to the place. And thus did the quaintnesse of the *Engine* seeme to discouer it selfe before him.

Gracious street.

The *Italians* Pageant.

THE building tooke vp the whole bredth of the Street, of which, the lower part was a Square, garnished with foure great Columnes: In the midst of which Square, was cut out a fayre and spacious high Gate, arched, being twenty seuen foot in the perpendicular lyne, and eyghtene at the ground lyne: ouer the Gate, in golden Characters, these verses (in a long square) were inscribed:

*Tu regere imperio populos Iacobe memento,
Hæ tibi erunt Artes, Paci imponere morem,
Parcere Subiectis, & debellare superbos.*

And directly aboue this, was aduanc'd the Armes of the Kingdome, the Supporters fairely cut out to the life: ouer the Lyon (some prety distance from it) was written,

IACOBO REGI MAGN.

And aboue the head of the *Vnicorne*, at the like distance, this,

HENRICI VII. ABNEP.

In a large Square aboue all these, King *Henry* the seuenth was royally seated in his Imperiall Robes, to whome King *James* (mounted on horsebacke) approaches, and receyues a Scepter, ouer both their heads these wordes being written,

HIC VIR, HIC EST.

Betweene two of the *Columnes*, (on the right hand) was fixed vp a Square table, wherein, in liuely and excellent colours, was lim'd a woman, figuring *Peace*, her head securely leaning on her left hand, her body modestly bestowed (to the length) vpon the earth: In her other hand, was held an *Olive* branch, the *Ensigne* of *Peace*, her word was out of *Virgil*, being thus,

—*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

Beneath that peece, was another square Table, reaching almost to the Bases of the two *Columnes*: In which, 2. (seeming) Sea personages, were drawne to the life, both of them lying, or rather leaning on the bosome of the earth, naked; the one a woman, her back only seene; the other a man, his hand stretching and fastning it selfe vpon her shoulder: the word that this dead body spake, was this,

I Decus, I Nostrum.

Vpon

Vpon the left-hand side of the Gate, betweene the other two *Columnes*, were also two square *Tables*: In the one of which were two persons portrayed to the life, naked, and wilde in lookes, the words,

Expectate solo Trinobanti.

And ouer that, in another square, carrying the same proportion, stood a woman vpright, holding in her hand a *Shield*, beneath whom was inscribed in golden *Characters*,

—*Spes ô fidissima rerum.*

And this was the shape and front of the first great *Square*, whose top being flat, was garnished with *Pilasters*, and vpon the roote was directed a great *Pedestal*, on which stood a Person carued out to the life, (a woman) her left hand leaning on a sword, with the poynt downeward, and her right hand reaching foorth a *Diadem*, which shee seemd by bowing of her knee and head, to bestowe vpon his Maiestie.

On the foure corners of this vpper part, stood foure naked portraytures (in great) with artificiall *Trumpets* in their hands.

In the Arch of the Gate, was drawne (at one side) a company of *Palme trees*, young, and as it were but newly springing, ouer whose branches, two naked winged *Angels*, flying, held foorth a *Scroll*, which seem'd to speak thus,

Spes altera.

On the contrarie side, was a *Vine*, spread it selfe into many branches, and winding about *Oliue*, and *Palme trees*; two naked winged *Angels* hanging likewise in the *Ayre* over them, and holding a *Scroll* between them, fild with this inscription,

Vxor tua, sicut vitis abundans,

Et filii tui, sicut palmites Oliuarum.

If your imaginations (after the beholding of these obiects) will suppose, that his Maiestie is now gone to the other side of this *Italian Trophée*; doe but cast your eyes backe, and there you shall finde iust the same proportions, which the fore-part, or Brest of our Arch carrieth, with equall number of *Columnes*, *Pedestals*, *Pilasters*, Lim'd peeces, and Carued Statues. Ouer the Gate, this *Distichon* presents it selfe

Nonne tuo Imperio satis est Iacobe potiri?

Imperium in Musas, Aemule quæris? Habes.

Vnder

Vnder which verses, a wreath of *Lawrell* seem'd to be ready to be let fall on his Maiesties head, as hee went vnder it, being held between two naked Antique women, their bodies stretching (at the full length) to compasse ouer the Arch of the Gate. And aboue those verses, in a faire Azure table, this inscription was aduanc'd in golden *Capitals* :

EXPECTATIONI ORBIS TERRARVM, REGIB. GENITO
NUMEROSISS. REGVM GENITORI FAELICISS. REGI
MARTIGENARVM AVGVSTISS. REGI MVSARVM GLORIOSISS.

Itali statuerunt letitiae & cultus

Signum.

On the right hand of this backe-part, between two of the *Columnes*, was a square table, in which was drawn a Woman crown'd with beautifull and fresh flowres, a *Caduceus* in her hand : All the notes of a plenteous and liuely Spring being carried about her, the soul that gaue life to this speaking picture, was :

— *Omnis feret omnia Tellus.*

Above this peece, in another square, was portrayed a *Tryton*, his Trumpet at his mouth, seeming to utter thus much,

Dum Caelum stellas.

Vpon the left hand of this back-part, in most excellent colours, Antikely attir'd, stood the 4. kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, holding hands together ; this being the language of them all,

Concordes stabili Fatorum Numine.

The middle great Square, that was aduanced ouer the *Freeze* of the Gate, held *Apollo*, with all his Ensignes and properties belonging vnto him, as a *Sphere*, *Bookes*, a *Caduceus*, an *Octoedron*, with other *Geometricall* Bodies, and a Harpe in his left hand : his right hand with a golden Wand in it, poynting to the battle of *Lepanto* fought by the *Turks*, (of which his Maiestie hath written a *Poem*) and to doe him Honour, *Apollo* himselfe doth here seem to take vpon him to describe : his word,

Fortunate Puer.

These were the Mutes, and properties that helpt to furnish out this great *Italian Theater* : vpon whose Stage, the sound of no uoice was appointed to be heard, but of one, (and that, in the presence of the *Italians* themselues) who in two little opposite galleries vnder and within the Arch of the gate, very richly and neatly hung, deliuered thus much *Latine* to his Maiestie :

The

The Italians speech.

SALVE, Rex magne, salve. Salutem Maieitati tue Itali, felicissimum Aduentum læti, felices sub Te futuri, precamur. Ecce hic Omnes, Exigui munere, pauculi Numero: Sed magni erga Maiestatem tuam animi, multi obsequij. At nec Atlas, qui Cælum sustinet, nec ipsa Cæli conuexa, altitudinem attingant meritum Regis optimi; Hoc est, eius, quem de Teipso expressisti doctissimo (Deus!) et admirabili penicillo: Beatissimos populos, ubi & Philosophus regnat, & Rex Philosophatur. Salve, Rex nobilissime, salve, viue, Rex potentissime, feliciter. Regna, Rex sapientissime, feliciter, Itali optamus omnes, Itali clamamus omnes: Omnes, omnes.

Having hoysted vp our Sailes, and taken leaue of this *Italian* shore, let our next place of casting anker, be vpon the Land of the 17. Prouinces; where the *Belgians*, (attired in the costly habits of their own natie Countrey, without the fantasticke mixtures of other Nations) but more richly furnished with loue, stand ready to receyue his Maiestie: who (according to their expectation) does most gratiouly make himselfe and his Royall traine their Princely ghests. The house which these *Strangers* haue builded to entertaine him in, is thus contriu'de.

The PAGEANT of the DUTCH-MEN, by the
Royall Exchange.

THE Foundation of this, was (as it were by *Fate*) layd neere vnto a royall place; for it was a royall and magnificent labour: It was bound- ed in with the houses on both sides the street, so prowdly (as all the rest also did) did this extend her body in bredth. The passage of State, was a Gate, large, ascending eighteene foot high, aptly proportion'd to the other lymmes, and twelue foor wyde, arched; two lesser Posternes were for common feet, cut out and open'd on the sides of the other.

Within a small *Freeze*, (and kissing the very forehead of the Gate) the *Aedifice* spake thus,

Vnicus a Fato surgo non Degener Hæres.

Whil'st lifting vp your eye to an vpper larger *Freeze*, you may there be enriched with these golden Capitalls,

IACOBO, ANGL. SCOT. FRANC. HIBERN. REGI OPT. PRINC.
MAX. BELGAE ded.

But bestowing your sight vpon a large Azure Table, lyned quite through with Characters of gold, likewise you may for your paynes receiue this inscription,

ORBIS RESTITVTOR. PACIS FVND. RELIG. PROPVG. D. IAC.
P. F. REGI. P. P.

D.

D. ANNAE REGIAE CONIVG. SOR. FIL. NEPTI, ET D. HENRI-
CO. I. FIL. PRINC. IVVENT.
IN PVBL. VRBIS ET ORBIS LAETITIA, SECVLIQVE. FAELICI-
TAT XVII. BELGIAE PROV. MERCATORES BENIGNE REGIA
HAC IN VRBE EXCEPTI, ET
S. M. VESTRAE OB ANTIQ. SOCIALE FOEDVS, ET D. ELIZ.
BENEFICENT. DEVOTI.
FAVSTA OMNIA ET FOELICIA AD IMPERII AETERNITAT.
PRECANTVR.

Above which (being the heart of the *Trophee*) was a spacious square roome, left open, Silke Curtaines drawne before it, which (vpon the approach of his Maiestie) being put by, 17. yong *Damsels*, (all of them sumptuously adorned, after their countrey fashion,) sate as it were in so many Chaires of State, and figuring in their persons, the 17. *Prouinces* of *Belgia*, of which euery one caried in a Scutchion (excellently pencilde) the Armes and Coate of one.

Above the vpper edge of this large Square Roome, and ouer the first Battlement, in another front, aduanc'd for the purpose, a square Table was fastened vpright, in which was drawne the liuely picture of the *King*, in his Imperial Robes; a Crowne on his head, the Sword and Scepter in his handes: vpon his left side stood a woman, her face fixed vpon his, a burning hart in her right hand, her left hanging by, a *Heron* standing close vnto her: vpon his other side stood vpright (with her countenance directed likewise vpon him) another woman, winged, and in a *Freeze* beneath them, which tooke vp the full length of this Square: this inscription set out it selfe in golden wordes:

—*Vtroque Satellite Tutus.*

Suffer your eyes to be wearied no longer with gazing vp so high at those *Sun-beams*, but turne then aside to looke below through the little *Posternes*: whose State sweld quickly vp to a greatnes, by reason of 2. *Columnes*, that supported them on either side. In a Table, ouer the right-hand *Portall*, was in perfect colours, drawne a Serpent, pursude by a Lion: betweene them, Adders and Snakes, chafing one another, the Lion scornfully casting his head backe, to behold the violence of a blacke storme, that heauen powred downe, to ouertake them: the sound that came from all this, was thus:

—*Sequitur grauis Ira feroces.*

The opposite body to this (on the other side, and directly ouer the other *Portall*, whose pompe did in like manner leane vpon, and vphold it selfe by two mayne *Columnes*) was a square peece, in which were to be seene, Sheepe browzing, Lambes nibbling, Byrds flying in the Ayre, with other arguments
of

of a serene and vntrobled season, whose happineſſe was proclaymed in this manner,

—*Venit alma Cicuribus Aura.*

Directly aboue this, in a ſquare Table, were portrayed two *Kings*, reuerently and antiquely attyrde, who ſeem'd to walke vpon theſe golden lines,

*Nascitur in nostro Regum par Nobile Rege
Alter Iefiades, Alter Amoniades.*

From whome, leade but your eye, in a ſtraight line, to the other ſide, (ouer the contrary Poſterne) and there in a ſecond vpper Picture, you may meete with two other *Kings*, not fully ſo antique, but as rich in their Ornaments; both of them, out of golden letters, compoſing theſe wordes,

*Lucius ante alios, Edwardus, & inde IACOBVS
Sextus, & hic ſanxit, ſextus & ille fidem.*

And theſe were the *Nerues*, by which this great *Triumphall* Body was knit together, in the inferiour parts of it vpon the ſhoulders whereof, (which were garniſhed with rowes of *Pilaſters*, that ſupported Lions rampant, bearing vp Banners) there ſtood another leſſer Square, the head of which wore a Coronet of *Pilaſters* alſo; and aboue them, vpon a *Pedeſtal*, curiouſly cloſed in betweene the tayles of two Dolphins, was aduanced a Woman, holding in one hand, a golden Warder, and poynting with the fore-finger of the other hand vp to heauen. She figur'd *Diuine Prouidence*, for ſo at her feete was written,

Prouida Mens Cæli.

Somewhat beneath which, was to be ſeene an Imperiall Crowne, two Scepters being faſtened (croſſe-wiſe) vnto it, and deliuering this ſpeech,

—*Sceptra hæc concredidit vni.*

At the elbowes of this vpper Square, ſtood vpon the foure corners of a great *Pedeſtall*, foure *Pyramides*, hollow, and ſo neatly contriu'd, that in the night time (for anger that the Sunne would no longer look vpon theſe earthly beauties) they gaue light to themſelues, and the whole place about them: the windowes, from whence theſe artificiall beames were throwne, being cut out in ſuch a faſhion, that (as *Ouid*, deſcribing the Palace of the Sunne, ſayes)

Clara micante Auro, Flammaſq; imitante Pyropo.

So did they ſhine afarre off, like Cryſolites, and ſparkled like Carbuncles: Betweene thoſe two *Pyramides* that were lifted vp on the right hand, ſtood *Fortitude*; her Piller reſting it ſelf vpon this golden line,

Perfero curarum pondus, Discrimina temno.

Betweene the two *Pyramides* on the other ſide, Juſtice challenged her place, being knowne both by her habit and by her voyce, that ſpake thus,

Auspice me Dextra ſolium Regale perennat.

We haue held his Maieſtie too long from entring this third Gate of his *Court Royall*; It is now hie time, that thoſe eyes, which on the other ſide ake with rolling vp and downe for his gladſome preſence, ſhould inioy that happineſſe. Beholde, he is in an inſtance paſſed thorough; The Obiects that there offer themſelues before him, being theſe:

Our *Belgick Statue* of Triumph, weares on her back, as much riches, as ſhe carried vpon her breſt, being altogether as glorious in *Columnnes*, ſtanding on Tip-toe, on as loſtie and as proude *Pyramides*; her walkes encompa'ſt with as ſtrong and as neate *Pilaſters*: the colours of her garments as bright, her adornements as many: For,

In the ſquare Field, next and loweſt, ouer one of the Portals, were the Dutch Countrey people, toyling at their Huſbandrie; women carding of their Hemp, the men beating it, ſuch excellent Art being expreſt in their faces, their ſtoopings, bendings, ſweatings, &c. that nothing is wanting in them but life (which no colours can giue) to make them be thought more than the workes of Paynters.

Lift vp your eyes a little aboue them, and behold their *Exchange*; the countenaunces of the Marchants there being ſo liuely, that bargaines ſeem to come from their lippes.

But in ſtead of other ſpeech, this is onely to be had,

PIO INVICTO,

R. IACOBO,

QVOD FEL. EIVS AVSPICIIS VNIVERSVM BRIT. IMPERIVM
PACAT, MARE TVTVM PORTVS APERIT.

Ouer the other Portall, in a ſquare (proportion'd, to the bignes of thoſe other) men, women and children (in Dutch habits) are buſie at other workes: the men Weauing, the women Spinning, the children at their Hand-loomes, &c.

&c. Aboue whose heads, you may with little labour, walke into the *Mart*, where as well the *Froe*, as the *Burger*, are buying and selling, the praise of whose industrie (being worthy of it) stands publiht in gold, thus,

QVOD MVTVIS COMMERCIIIS, ET ARTIFICVM, NAVTARVM-
QVE SOLERTIA CRESCAT, DESIDIA EXVLAT, MVTVAQVE
AMICITIA CONSERVETVR.

Iust in the midst of these foure Squares, and directly ouer the Gate, in a large Table, whose feet are fastned to the *Freeze*, is their fishing and shipping liuely and sweetely set downe: The *Skipper* (euen though he be hard tugging at his Net) loudly singing this :

*Quod Celeb: hoc Emporium prudenti industria suos,
Quouis Terrarum Negotiatores emittat, externos
Humaniter admittat, foris famam, domi diuitias augeat.*

Let vs now clime vp to the vpper battlementes; where, at the right hand *Time* standes: at the left (in a direct line) his daughter *Trueth*; vnder her foot is written,
And vnder his,

Sincera.
Durant.
Sincera Durant.

In the midst of these two, three other persons are rancked togeather, *Art*, *Sedulitie*, and *Labour*: beneath whom, in a *Freeze* rouing along the whole breadth of that Square, you may find these wordes in gold.

Artes, Perfecit, Sedulitate, Labor.

As on the foreside, so on this, and equall in heighth to that of *Diuine Providence*, is the figure of a Woman aduaunced: beneath whom, is an imperiall Crown, with branches of Oliue, fixed [crosse-wise] vnto it, and giues you this word.

Sine Cæde at Sanguine.

And thus haue we bestowed vpon you, all the dead Cullours of the Picture, (wherein notwithstanding, was left so much life) as can come from Art. The speaking instrument, was a Boy, attyred all in white Silk, a wreath of Lawrell about his temples: from his voyce came this found.

Sermo ad Regem.

*QVÆ tot Sceptra tenes forti, Rex maxime, dextra;
 Prouida Mens summi Numinis illa dedit.
 Aspice ridentem per gaudia Plebis Olympum,
 Reddentem et plausus ad sua verba suos,
 Tantus honos paucis, primi post secula mundi
 Obligit, et paucis tantum vnus incubuit,
 Nam regere imperijs populum fœlicibus vnum,
 Arduares, magnis res tamen apta viris.
 At non vnanimes nutu compescere gentes,
 Non homines pensum, sed labor ille Dei,
 Ille ideò ingentes qui temperet orbis habenas,
 Adiungit longas ad tua fræna manus.
 Et menti de mente sua præluce, et Artem
 Regnandi, regnum qui dedit illa, docet.
 Crescentes varijs cumulat virtutibus annos,
 Quas inter pietas, culmina summa tenet.
 Hac proauos reddis patriæ, qui barbara Gentis
 Flexêre induceto Numine, corda feræ.
 Hac animos tractas rigidos, subigisq; rebelles,
 Et leue persuades quod trahis ipse iugum,
 Illi fida comes terram indignata profanam,
 Aut nunc te tanto Rege reuersa Themis.
 Affidat et robusta soror, ingentibus ausis
 Pro populo carum tradere prompta caput.
 Quin et Regis amor, musæ et dilectus Apollo,
 Regali gaudent subdere plectra manu.
 Aurea et vbertas solerti nata labore,
 Exhibet aggestas ruris et urbis opes.
 Sunt hæc dona Poli, certa quæ prodita fama
 Miratum ut veniat, venit uterq; polus.
 Venimus et Belgæ, patrijs Gens exul ab oris
 Quos fouit tenero mater Eliza sinu.
 Matri sacratum, Patri duplicamus amorem,
 Poscimus et simili posse fauore frui.
 Sic Deum Panthæci tibi proferat alitis æuum,
 Sceptra per innumeros qui tibi tradit Auos.
 Sic Regina tua pars altera, et altera proles,
 Spes populi longum det, capiatq; decus.*

Whilst the tongues of the Strangers were employed in extolling the gracious
 Aspect of the King, and his Princely behaviour towards them, his Maieftie
 I
 (by

(by the quicknes of *Time*, and the earnestnesse of expectation, whose eyes ran a thousand wayes to find him) had won more ground, and was gotten so far as to *St. Mildreds Church* in the *Poulterie*: close to the side of which, a Scaffold was erected; where (at the Cities cost) to delight the Queene with her own country Musicke, nine Trumpets, and a Kettle Drum, did very sprightly and actiuely sound the *Danish march*: Whose cunning and quick stops, by that time they had toucht the last Ladyes eare in the traine, behold, the *King* was aduanced vp so hie as to *Cheape-side*: into which place (if *Loue* himself had entered, and seene so many gallant Gentlemen, so many Ladyes, and beautifull creatures, in whose eyes glaunces (mixt with modest lookes) seemde to daunce courtly Measures in their motion) he could not haue chosen, to haue giuen the Roome any other name, then, *The Presence Chamber*.

The stately entraunce into which, was a faire Gate in height 18. *Sop^r lane*. foot. In breadth 12. The thicknesse of the passage vnder it, being 24. Two Posternes stood wide open on the two sides, either of them being 4. foot wide, and 8. foot high. The two Portals that ietted out before these Posternes, had their sides open four seuerall wayes, and serued as Pedestalls (of Rusticke) to support two *Pyramides*, which stood vpon four great Balles, and four great Lions: the Pedestalles, Balles, and *Pyramides*, deuowring in their full vpright heighth, from the ground line to the top, iust 60. foot. But burying this Mechanicke Body in silence, let vs now take note in what fashion it stood attyred. Thus then it went appareled.

The Deuice at Soper-lane end.

WITHIN a large Compartment, mounted aboue the forehead of the Gate, ouer the Freeze, in Capitalles was inscribed this Title:

NOVA FÆLIX ARABIA.

Vnder that shape of *Arabia*, this Iland being figured: which two names of *New*, and *Happie*, the Countrey could by no merit in it selfe, challenge to be her due, but onely by meanes of that secret influence accompanying his Maiestie wheresoeuer he goes, and working such effectes.

The most worthy personage aduanced in this place, was *Arabia Britannica*, a Woman, attyred all in White, a rich Mantle of Greene cast about her, an imperiall Crown on her head, and a Scepter in one hand, a Mound in the other; vpon which she sadly leaned: a rich Veyle (vnder the Crowne) shadowing her eyes, by reason that her countenance (which till his Maiesties approach, could by no worldly obiekt be drawne to look vp) was pensiuely deiected: her ornamentes were markes of *Chastetie* and *Youth*: the Crowne, Mound, and Scepter, badges of Soueraigntie.

Directly

Directly vnder her in a Cant by her selfe, *Fame* stood vpright: A Woman in a Watchet Roabe, thickly set with open Eyes, and Tongues, a payre of large golden Winges at her backe, a Trumpet in her hand, a Mantle of sundry cullours trauerfing her body: all these Ensignes displaying but the propertie of her swiftnesse, and aptnesse to disperse Rumors.

In a Descent beneath her, being a spacious Concaue roome, were exalted five Mounts, swelling vp with different ascensions: vpon which sate the five *Sences*, drooping: *Viz.*

- | | | |
|---|------------------|-----------|
| 1 | <i>Auditus,</i> | Hearing. |
| 2 | <i>Visus,</i> | Sight. |
| 3 | <i>Tactus,</i> | Feeling. |
| 4 | <i>Olfactus,</i> | Smelling. |
| 5 | <i>Gustus,</i> | Taste. |

Appareled in Roabes of distinct cullours, proper to their natures; and holding Scutchions in their handes: vpon which were drawne Heroglyphicall bodyes, to expresse their qualities.

Some prettie distaunce from them (and as it were in the midst before them) an artificiall Lauer or Fount was erected, called the *Fount of Arate (Vertue.)* Sundry Pipes (like veines) branching from the body of it: the water receiuing libertie but from one place, and that very slowly.

At the foot of this Fount, two personages (in greater shapes then the rest) lay sleeping: vpon their breasts stucke their names, *Detraçtio*, *Obliuio*: The one holdes an open Cuppe; about whose brim, a wreath of curled Snakes were winding, intimating that whatsoever his lippes toucht, was poysoned: the other held a blacke Cuppe couerd, in token of an enuious desire to drowne the worth and memorie of Noble persons.

Vpon an Ascent, on the right hand of these, stood the three *Charites* or *Graces*, hand in hand, attyred like three Sisters.

<i>Agla,</i>	}	Figuring	{	Brightnesse, or Maiestie.
<i>Thalia,</i>				Youthfulnes, or flourishing.
<i>Euphrosine,</i>				Cheerfulnes, or gladnes.

They were all three Virgins: their countenaunces laboring to smother an innated sweetnes and chearefulnes, that appareled their cheekes; yet hardly to be hid: their Garmentes were long Roabes of sundry coloures, hanging loose: the one had a Chaplet of sundry Flowers on her head, clustard heere
and

and there with the Fruites of the earth. The second, a Garland of eares of Corne. The third, a wreath of Vine-branches, mixt with Grapes and Oliues.

Their haire hung downe ouer their shoulders loose, and of a bright colour, for that *Epithite* is properly bestowed vpon them, by *Homer* in his Himne to *Apollo*.

PVLCHRICOMÆ CHARITES.

The Bright Hayrde Graces.

They held in their handes pensild Shieldes: vpon the first, was drawne a Rose: on the second, 3. Dyce: on the third, a branch of Mirtle.

Figuring } *Pleasantnesse.*
 } *Accord.*
 } *Florishing.*

In a direct line against them, stood the three *Howres*, to whom in this place we giue the names of *Loue*, *Iustice*, and *Peace*: they were attyred in loose Roabes of light cullours, paynted with Flowers: for so *Ouid* apparrels them.

Conueniunt pictis incinctæ vestibus Horæ.

Winges at their feete, expressing their swiftnesse, because they are Lackies to the Sunne: *Iungere equos Tytan velocibus imperat Horis.* *Ouid.*

Each of them helde two Goblets; the one full of Flowers (as Ensigne of the *Spring*,) the other full of rypened Figges, the Cognisance of *Summer*.

Vpon the approach of his Maiestie (sad and solemne Musicke hauing beaten the Ayre all the time of his absence, and now ceasing,) *Fame* speakes.

Fama.

Turne into Ice mine eye-balls, whilst the sound
Flying through this brazen trump, may back rebound
To stop *Fames* hundred tongues, leauing them mute,
As in an vntoucht Bell, or stringlesse Lute,

For

For *Vertues* Fount, which late ran deep and cleare,
 Drie, and melts all her body to a teare.
 You *Graces*! and you houres that each day runne
 On the quick errands of the golden Sunne,
 O say! to *Vertues* Fount what has befell,
 That thus her veines shrink vp.

Charites Horæ.

Wee cannot tell.

Euphrosine.

Behold the five-folde guard of *Sence* which keepes
 The sacred streame, sit drooping : neere them sleepe
 Two horred Monsters : *Fame* ! summon each *Sence*,
 To tell the cause of this strange accident.

Heerevpon *Fame* sounding her Trumpet ; *Arabia Britannica*, lookes cheere-fully vp, the fences are startled : *Detraction* and *Oblivion* throw off their iron slumber, busily bestowing all their powers to fill their cups at the Fount, with their olde malicious intention to sucke it drie ; But a strange and heavenly musicke suddainly striking through their eares, which causing a wildnes and quicke motion in their lookes, drew them to light vpon the glorious presence of the King, they were suddainly thereby daunted and sunke downe ; The Fount in the same moment of *Tyme*, flowing fresh and abundantly through severall pipes, with Milke, Wine, and Balme, whilst a person (figuring *Circumspection*) that had watcht day and night, to giue note to the world of this blessed *Tyme*, which hee forsaue would happen, steps forth on a mounted Stage extended 30. foote in length from the maine building, to deliuer to his Maie-
 stie the interpretation of this dumbe Mysterie.

This Presenter was a Boy, one of the Choristers, belonging to *Paules*.

His Speech.

Great Monarch of the West, whose glorious Stem,
 Doth now support a triple Diadem,
 Weying more than that of thy grand Grandfire *Brute*,
 Thou that maist make a King thy substitute,
 And doest besides the Red-rose and the white,
 With the rich flower of *France* that garland dight,
 Wearing aboue Kings now, or those of olde,
 A double Crowne of Lawrell and of gold,
 O let my voyce passe through thy royall eare,
 And whisper thus much, that we figure here,

A new *Arabia*, in whose spiced nest
 A *Phoenix* liu'd and died in the Sunnes breast,
 Her losse, made fight, in teares to drowne her eyes,
 The Eare grew deafe, Taste like a sick-man lyes,
 Finding no relish : euery other Sence,
 Forgat his office, worth and excellence,
 Whereby this Fount of Vertue gan to freeze,
 Threatned to be drunke by two enemies,
 Snakie *Detraction*, and *Obluion*,
 But at thy glorious presence, both are gone,
 Thou being that sacred *Phoenix*, that doest rise,
 From th' ashes of the first : Beames from thine eyes
 So vertually shining, that they bring
 To *Englands* new *Arabia*, a new Spring :
 For ioy whereof, Nimphe, Sences, Houres, and Fame,
 Eccho loud Hymnes to his imperiall name.

At the shutting vp of this Speech, his Maiestie (being readie to goe on) did most graciouſlie feed the eyes of beholders with his presence, till a Song was spent : which to a loude and excellent Musick (composed of Violins and another rare Artificiall Instrument, wherein besides fundrie seuerall sounds effus'd (all at one time) were also sensibly distinguisht the chirpings of birds, was by two Boyes (Choristers of *Paules*) deliuered in sweet and rauishing voyces.

Cant.

Troynouant is now no more a Citie,
 O great pittie ! is't not pittie ?
 And yet her Towers on tiptoe stand,
 Like Pageants built on Fairie land,
 And her Marble armes,
 Like to Magicke charmes,
 bind thousands fast vnto her,
 That for her wealth and beauty daily wooe her,
 yet for all this, is't not pittie ?

Troynouant is now no more a Citie.

2.

Troynouant is now a Sommer Arbour,
 or the nest wherein doth harbour
 The Eagle, of all birds that flie,
 The Soueraigne, for his piercing eye,
 If you wisely marke,
 Tis besides a Parke,

Where runnes (being newly borne)
 With the fierce Lyon, the faire Vnicorne,
 or else it is a wedding Hall,
 Where foure great Kingdomes hold a Festiuall.

3.

Troynouant is now a Bridall Chamber,
 whose rooffe is gold, floore is of Amber,
 By vertue of that holy light,
 That burnes in *Hymens* hand, more bright,
 Than the filuer Moone,
 or the Torch of Noone,
 Harke what the Ecchoes say!
Brittaine till now nere kept a Holiday:
 for *Ioue* dwels heere: And tis no pittie,
 If *Troynouant* be now no more a Cittie.

Nor let the scrue of any wresting comment vpon these words,

Troynouant is now no more a Cittie,

Enforce the Authors inuention away from his own cleare strength and harmlesse meaning: all the scope of this fiction stretching onely to this point, that *London* (to do honour to this day, wherein springs vp all her happines) being rauished with vnutterable ioyes makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title, to be called a Citie, because alluring these tryumphes, she puts off her formall habite of Trade and Commerce, treading euen Thrift it selfe vnder foote, but now becomes a Reueller and a Courtier. So that, albeit in the end of the first Stanza tis said,

Yet for all this, is't not pittie,

Troynouant is now no more a Cittie.

By a figure called *Castigatio* or the mender, heere followes presently a re-prooffe; wherein tytles of Sommer Arbour; The Eagles nest, a wedding Hall, &c. are throwne vpon her, the least of them being at this time by vertue of Poeticall Heraldrie, but especiallie in regard of the State that now vpholds her, thought to be names of more honour, than that of her owne. And this short Apologie, doth our verse make for it selfe, in regard that some, (to whose settled iudgement and authoritie the censure of these Deuises was referred) brought though not bitterly the life of those lines into question: But appealing with *Machetas* to *Phillip*, now these reasons haue awaked him: let vs follow King *James*, who hauing passed vnder this our third gate, is by this time, graciously receiuing a gratulatorie Oration from the mouth of Sir *Henry Mounta-*

Mountague, Recorder of the Citie, a square low gallorie, set round about with pilasters, being for that purpose erected some 4. foote from the ground, and ioyned to the front of the Crosse in *Cheap*; where likewise stood al the Aldermen, the Chamberlain, Towne-Clarke, and Counsell of the Citie.

The Recorders Speech.

High Imperiall Maiestie, it is not yet a yeere in dayes since with acclamation of the People, Citizens, and nobles, auspitiouſlie heere at this Crosse was proclaimed your true ſucceſſion to the Crowne. If then it was ioyous with Hats, hands, and hearts, liſt vp to heauen to crie King *James*, what is it now to ſee King *James*? Come therefore, O worthieſt of Kings, as a glorious Bridegroom through your Royall chamber: But to come neerer, *Adeſt quem querimus*. Twentie and more are the Soueraignes wee haue ſerued ſince our conqueſt, but Conquerour of hearts it is you and your Poſteritie, that we haue vowed to loue and wiſh to ſerue whilſt *London* is a Citie. In pledge whereof my Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and Commons of this Citie, wiſhing a golden Reigne vnto you, preſent your Greatnes with a little cup of gold.

At the end of the Oration three Cups of gold were given (in the name of the Lord Maior, and the whole Body of the Citie,) to his Maieſtie, the young Prince, and the Queene.

All which but aboue all (being gifts of greater value) the loyall hearts of the Citizens, being louingly receaued; his Grace was (at leaſt it was appointed he ſhould haue beene) met on his way neere to the Crosse, by *Syluanus* dreſt vp in greene Iuie, a Cornet in his hand, being attended on by foure other *Syluans* in Iuie likewise, their bowes and quiuers hanging on their ſhoulders, and winde Instruments in their hands.

Vpon ſight of his Maieſtie, they made a ſtand, *Syluanus* breaking forth into this abrupt paſſion of ioy.

Syluanus.

Stay *Syluanus*, and let the loudeſt voyce of Muſicke proclayme it (euen as high as Heauen) that he is come.

Alter Apollo redit, Nouus En, iam regnat Apollo.

Which acclamation of his was borne vp into the ayre, and there mingled with the breath of their muſicall Instruments: whoſe ſound being vaniſhed to nothing, Thus goes our Speaker on.

Syluanus.

Moſt happie Prince, pardon me, that being meane in habite, and wilde in apparance, (for my richeſt liuorie is but leaues, and my ſtateliſt dwelling but

in the woodes,) thus rudely with pipeing *Sylvanus*. These are my walkes : yet stand I heere, not to cut off your way, but to giue it a full and a bounteous welcome, being a Messenger sent from the Lady *Eirene* my Mistresse, to deliver an errand to the best of all these Worthies, your royall selfe. Many Kingdomes hath the Lady sought out to abide in, but from them all, hath she been most churlishly banished : not that her beautie did deserue such vnkindnes, but that (like the eye of Heauen) hers were too bright, and there were no Eagles breeding in those nests, that could truly beholde them.

At last heere she ariued, *Destinie* subscribed to this Warrant, that none but this Land should be her Inheritance. In contempt of which happines, Enuie shootes his impoisoned stings at her heart, but his Adders (being charmed) turne their dangerous heads vpon his own bosome. Those that dwell far off, pine away with vexing to see her prosper, because all the acquaintance which they haue of her, is this, that they know there is such a goodly Creature as *Eirene*, in the world, yet her face they know not : whilst all those that heere sleepe vnder the warmth of her wings, adore her by the sacred and Cœlestiall name of *Peace*, for number being (as her blessings are) infinite.

Her daughter *Euporia* (well knowne by the name of *Plentie*;) is at this present with with her, (being indeede neuer from her side) vnder yonder Arbour they sit, which after the daughters name is called, *Hortus Euporiæ* (*Plenties Bower* :) Chast are they both, and both maydens in memorie of a Virgine, to whome they were nurse children : for whose sake (because they were bound to her for their life,) mee, haue they charged to lay at your imperiall feete, (being your hereditarie due) the tribvt of their loue : And with it thus to say.

That they haue languished many heauie moneths for your presence, which to them would haue beene (and proud they are that it shall be so now,) of the same operation and influence, that the Sunne is to the spring, and the Spring to the earth : hearing therefore what trebble preferment you haue bestowed vpon this day, wherein besides the beames of a glorious Sunne, two other cleare and gracious starres shine cheerefullie on these her homely buildings : Into which (because no dutie should be wanting) she hath giuen leaue euen to Strangers, to be Sharers in her happines, by suffering them to bid you likewise welcome. By mee (once hers, now your vassaile) shee entreates, and with a knee sinking lower than the ground on which you tread, do I humbly execute her pleasure, that ere you passe further, you would deigne to walke into yonder Garden : the *Hesperides* liue not there but the Muses and the Muses no longer than vnder your protection. Thus farre am I sent to conduct you thither, prostrately begging this grace, (since I dare not, as beeing vnwoorthie, lackey by your royall side) in that yet these my greene Followers and my selfe may be ioyfull fore-runners of your expected approach, away *Sylvanus*.

And being (in this their returne) come neare to the Arbour, they gaue a signe with a short flourish from all their Cornets, that his Maiestie was at hand : whose princely eye whilest it was delighting it selfe with the quaint object before

fore it, a sweete pleasure likewise courted his eare in the shape of Musicke, sent from the voyces of nine Boyes (all of them Queristers of *Paules*) who in that place presenting the nine Muses sang the ditie following to their Viols and other Instruments.

But, least leaping too bluntly into the midst of our Garden at first, we deface the beautie of it, let vs send round about it, and suruey the Walles, Allies, and quarters of it as they lye in order.

This being the fashion of it.

The passages through it were two gates, arched and grated Arbor-wise, their heighth being 16. foote, their bredth 10. from the roose, and so on the sides, downe to the ground, Cowcumbers, Pompions, Grapes, and all other fruits growing in the land, hanging artificially in clusters: Betweene the two gates, a payre of stayres were mounted with some 20 assents: at the bottome of them (on two pillers) were fixed two Satiers carued out in wood; the sides of both the gates, being strengthened with four great *French* frames standing vpon pedestals, taking vp in their full heighth 20. foote.

The vpper part also caried the proportion, of an Arbor, being closde with their round tops, the midst whereof was exalted aboue the other two, *Fortune* standing on the top of it. The garnishments for the whole Bower, being Apples, Peares, Cherries, Grapes, Roses, Lillies, and all other both fruits and flowers most artificially molded to the life. The whole frame of this sommer banqueting house, stood (at the ground line) vpon 4 foote; the *Perpendicular* stretching it selfe to 45. Wee might (that day) haue called it, *The Musicke roome*, by reason of the chaunge of tunes, that danced round about it; for in one place were heard a noyse of cornets, in a second, a consort, the third, (which sate in sight) a set of Viols, to which the Muses sang.

The principall persons aduancde in this Bower, were *Eirene* (*Peace*) and *Euporia* (*Plenty*) who sate together.

Eirene.

Peace: Was richly attired, her vpper garment of carnation, hanging loose, a Robe of White vnder it, powdred with Starres, and girt to her: her haire of a bright colour, long, and hanging at her back, but interwouen with white ribbands, and Iewels: her browes were encompassed with a wreath compounded of the Oliue, the Lawrell, and the Date tree: In one hand shee held a *Caduceus*, (or *Mercuries* rod, the God of eloquence;) In the other, ripe eares of corne gilded: on her lap sate a Doue: All these being ensignes, and furnitures of *Peace*,

Euporie.

Plenty: Her daughter sat of the left hand, in changable colours, a rich mantle of Gold trauerfing her bodie: her haire large and loosely spreading o-
uer

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uer her shoulders : on her head a crowne of Poppy and Mustard seede ; the antique badges of *Fertilitie* and *Abundance*. In her right hand a *Cornucopia*, filde with flowers, fruits, &c.

Chrusos.

Directly vnder these, fate *Chrusos*, a person figuring Gold, his dressing, a tinsell Robe of the colour of Gold.

Argurion.

And close by him, *Argurion*, Siluer, all in white tinsell ; both of them crownde, and both their hands supported a Globe, between them, in token that they commaunded ouer the world.

Pomona.

Pomona, the goddesse of garden fruits ; fate at the one side of Gold and Siluer ; attirde in greene, a wreath of frutages circling her temples : her armes naked : haire beatifull, and long.

Ceres.

On the other side fate *Ceres*, crowned with ripened eares of Wheate, in a loose straw-coloured robe.

In two large descents (a little belowe them) were placde at one end,

The nine Muses	[	<i>Clio.</i>	]	} With musicall instruments in their hands, to which they sung all the day.
	[	<i>Euterpe.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Thalia.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Melpomene.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Terpsicore.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Erato.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Polymnia.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Vrania.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Calliope.</i>	]	

At the other ende,

The 7 liberall Arts.	[	<i>Grammer.</i>	]	} Holding shieldes in their hands, expressing their seuerall offices.
	[	<i>Logique.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Rhetorique.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Musicke.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Arithmetick.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Geometry.</i>	]	
	[	<i>Astrology.</i>	]	

Vnder

Vpon the verie vpper edge of a faire large Freeze, running quite along the full breadth of the Arbor, and iust at their feete were planted rankes of artificiall Artichocks and roses.

To describe what apparrell these Arts, and Muses wore, were a hard labour, and when it were done, all were but idle. Few Taylors know how to cut out their Garments: they haue no Wardrob at all, not a Mercer, nor Merchant, though they can all write and read verie excellently well, will suffer them to bee great in their bookes. But (as in other countries) so in this of ours, they goe attirde in such thin clothes, that the winde euerie minute is readie to blowe through them: happy was it for them, that they tooke vp their lodging in a summer arbour, and that they had so much musicke to comfort them, their ioies (of which they do not euerie daie tast,) being notwithstanding now infinitelie multiplied, in this, that where before they might haue cryed out till they grew horse, and non would heare them, now they sing.

Aderitque vocatus Apollo.

Chorus in full voices answering it thus:

*Ergo alacris Syluas, & cætera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet, Driadasque puellas,
Nec Lupus insidias pecori, nec retia Ceruis
Vlla dolum meditantur, amat bonus otia Daphnis;
Ipsi letitia voces ad sidera iactant
Intonsi montes: ipsa iam carmina Rupes,
Ipsa sonant Arbusta, Deus, Deus ille!*

Sylvanus (as you may perceiue by his office before) was but sent of an errand: there was another of a higher calling, a Trauailer, and one that had gon ouer much grownd, appointed to speake to his Maiesty, his name *Vertumnus*, the maister Gardener, and husband to *Pomona*: To tell you what cloathes he had on his backe were to do him wrong, for he had (to say truth) but one suite: homelie it was, yet meete and fit for a Gardener: In steade of a hat, his browes were bound about with flowers, out of whose thicke heapes, here and there peeped a queene apple, a cherie, or a peare, this boone-grace he made of purpose to keep his face from heate, (because he desired to looke louelie) yet the sunne found him out, and by casting a continuall eye at him, whilst the old man was dressing his arbours, his cheekes grew tawnie, which colour for the better grace, he himselfe interpreted blushing. A white head he had, and sunne-burnt hands: in the one he held a weeding hooke, in the other a grafting knife: and this was the tenor of his speech. That he was bound to giue thanks to heauen, In that the arbour and trees which growing in that fruitfull Cynthian Garden, began to droop and hang downe their greene heades, and to vncurle their crisped forlocks, as fearing and in some sort, feeling the sharpenesse of Autumnian malice, are now on the sudden by the deuiue influence

ence apparelled with a fresh and more liuely verdure than euer they were before. The nine Muses that could expect no better entertainment than sad banishment, hauing now louely and amiable faces: Arts that were threatned to be trod vnder foot by Barbarisme, now (euen at sight of his Maiestie who is the Delian Patron both of the Muses and Arts) being likewise aduanced to the most high perferment whilst the very rurall and Syluane troopes danced for ioy: the Lady therefore of the place *Eirene*, (his mistris) in the name of the Prætor, Consuls and Senators of the City, who carefully prune this garden, (weeding out al hurtful and idle branches that hinder the growth of the good,) and who are indeede, *Ergatai Pistoï*, faithfull Laborers in this peice of ground, Shee doth in al their names, (and he in behalfe of his Lady) offer them selues, this Arbor, the bowers and walkes, yea her children Gold and Siluer, with the louing and loyall harts of all those the Sons of peace, standing about him, to be disposed after his royal pleasure. And so wishing his happie Arriual, at a more glorious bower, to which he is now going, yet welcoming him to this, and praying his Maiesty not to forget this poore Arbor of his Lady, Musicke is commanded to carry all their praiers for his happie reigne, with a loud *Amen* of all his Subiects as hie as heauen.

Cant.

Shine Titan shine.
Let thy sharp raies be hurld
Not on this vnder world,
For now tis none of thine.

These first 4 lines were sung by one alone, the single lines following, by a *Chorus* in full voices.

Chor. No, no tis none of thine.

2.

But in that spheare,
Where what thine armes infolde,
Turnes all to burnisht gold,
Spend thy guilt arrowes there,

Chor. Doe, doe, shoot onelie there.

3.

Earth needes thee not:
Her childbed daies are done,
And Shee another Sunne,
Faire as thy selfe has got.

Chor. A new new Sunne is got.

4.

O this is had !
Whose new beames make our Spring,
Men glad and birdes to Sing;
Hymnes of praise, ioy, and glee.
Sing, Sing, O this is hee !

5.

That in the North
First rizing: shonne (so far)
Bright as the morning Starre,
At his gaie comming forth.
Chor. See, see, he now comes forth.

6.

How soon ioies varie ?
Here staid had still ! O then
Happie both place and men,
But here had list not tarrie.
Chor. O grieve ! had list not tarrie.

7.

No, no, his beames,
Must equall deuide,
Their heate to Orbes beside,
Like nourishing siluer streames.
Chor. Ioies slide away like streames.

8.

Yet in this lies
Sweet hope : how far foeuer,
Hee bides, no cloudes can seuer,
His glorie from our eyes.
Chor. Drie, drie, your weeping eyes.

9.

And make heauen ring,
His welcomes shoued loudelie,
For Heauen it self looks proudly,
That earth has such a King.
Chor. Earth has not such a King.

His Maiestie dwelt here a considerable long time, giuing both good allowance to the song and Musick, and liberally bestowing his eye on the workmanship of the place : from whence at the length departing, his next entrance was, as it were, into the closet or rather the priuy chamber to this our Court royall : through the windowes of which he might behold the Cathedrall Temple of Saint *Paule* : vpon whose lower batlements an Antheme was sung, by the Quiristers of the Church to the musicke of loud instruments : which being finisht, a latine Oration was *Viua voce* deliuered to his grace, by one of maister *Mulcaster's* Schollers, at the dore of the free-schole fownded by the Mercers.

Oratio habita, & ad Regem, & coram Rege præ schola
Paulina.

Beuus ero, ne ingratus sim, Rex serenissime, licet, & planè, & plenè putem Regem tam prudentem, in tam profusa suorum lætitia, ita se hodie patientia contra tædium armauisse, ne vllius tædij ipsum posset tædere. *Ædificium* hoc magno sumptu suo extructum Dominus *Johannes Collettus Ecclesiæ Paulinæ Decanus*, sub *Henrico septimo*, maiestatis tuæ prudentissimo abauo, erudiendæ pueritiæ consecrauit, ut huius scholæ infantia tuo in Regnum Anglicanum iure coetanea existat. Tanta magnificentia conditum parique magnificentia dotatum fidelissima Mercenorum huius urbis primaria semper, hodie etiam Prætoricæ societati tuendum testamento moriens commendauit. Quæ societas, & demortui fundatoris spei, & nostræ educationis studio fidem suam sanctissime exoluit. Hic nos cum multis alijs erudimur, qui communi nomine totius pueritiæ Anglicanæ, a Domino Rege, licet sponte sua ad omnia optima satis incitato, humillime tamen contendimus, ut quemadmodum sua ætatis ratione, in omni re adultioribus prospicit, ita in summæ spei Principis *Henrici* gratiam tenerioribus, parique cum ipso ætate pueris, in scholarum cura velit etiam consulere. Virgæ enim obsequium sceptri obedientiam & parit & præit, inquit preceptor meus. Quique metu didicit iuuenis parere puerque, grandibus imperiis officiosus erit. Habent scholæ Anglicanæ multa, in quibus Regiam maiestatis correctionem efflagitant, ne inde in Academias implumes euolent unde in Rempublicam implumiores etiam è prima nuditate emittuntur. Quod malum a Preceptore nostro accepimus : qui annos iam quatuor supra quinquaginta publice, priuatimque erudiendæ pueritiæ præfuit, & hæc scholarum errata, cum aliquo etiam dolore suo, & passim, & sparsim deprehendit. Nostra hæc schola fundatorem Collettum hominem tam pium ; tutores Merceros homines tam fidos consequuta, quam esset sælix, si placeret, Domino etiam Regi, quod Regibus Angliæ, ad summam apud suos charitatem sæpissime profuit, huic Mercenorum principi societati, fratrem se, & conciuem adscribere. Quantum huic urbi ornamentum, quantum societati honestamentum, Quantum scholæ nostræ emolumentum ? Quantus etiam Regi ipsi honos inde accederet, mavult, qui hoc vult alias inter alia per otium Regi suo apperire, quam hodie cum tædio & præter aream eidem explicare. Omnipotens Deus Iesus Christus & cum eo, ac per eum noster, et Pater, et Deus serenissimum Regem *Iacobum*, honoratissimam Reginam *Annam*, nobilissimum Principem *Henricum*, relinquamque Regiæ stirpis ad omnia summam natam sobolem diu nobis ita incolumis

columns tueatur, ut cum huius vita secundissimum curriculum confeceritis, beatissimam vita cælestis æternitatem consequamini. Dixi.

Our next Arch of triumph, was erected aboue the Conduit in *Fleet-street*, into which (as into the long and beauteous gallery of the Citie) his Maiestie being entered; a farre off (as if it had been some swelling Promontory, or rather some enchanted Castle guarded by tenne thousand harmelesse spirits) did his eye encounter another Tower of Pleasure.

Presenting itselfe.

Fourescore and ten foote in height, and fiftie in breadth; the gate twentie foote in the perpendicular line, and fourteene in the ground-line: The two Posternes were answerable to these that are set down before: ouer the Posternes, *viz.* Vp in proportionable measures, two turrets, with battlementes on the tops: The middest of the building was laid open to the world, and great reason it should be so, for the Globe of the world, was there seen to mooue, being fild with all the degrees, and states that are in the land; and these were the mechanicall and dead limmes of this carued bodie. As touching these that had the vse of motion in it, and for a mind durst haue spoken, but that there was no stufte fit for their mouthes.

The principall and worthiest was *Astræa*, (*Iustice*) fitting aloft, as being newly descended from heauen, gloriously attirde; all her garments being thickely strewed with starres: a crowne of starres on her head: a Siluer veile couering her eyes. Hauing told you that her name was *Iustice*; I hope you will not put me to describe what properties she held in her hands, sithence euery painted cloath can inform you.

Directly vnder her, in a Cant by her selfe, was *Arate* (vertue) inthronde, her garments white, her head crowned, and vnder her *Fortuna*: her foote treading on the Globe, that mooude beneath her: Intimating, that his Maiesties fortune, was aboue the world, but his vertues aboue his fortune.

Inuidia.

Enuy, vnhandsomely attirde all in black, her haire of the same colour, filletted about with snakes, stood in a darke and obscure place by her selfe, neere vnto *Vertue*, but making shew of a fearefulnesse to approach her and the light: yet still and anon, casting her eyes, sometimes to the one side beneath, where on seuerall Greeces fate the four cardinall vertues:

Viz. { *Iustitia.*
Fortitudo.
Temperantia.
Prudentia. } In habiliments, fitting
to their natures.

U 2

And

And sometimes throwing a distorted and repining countenance to the other opposite seate, on which, his Maiesties foure kingdomes were aduanced.

Viz. { *England.*
Scotland.
France.
Ireland. }

All of them, in rich Robes and Mantles; crownes on their heads, and Scepters with pensild scutchions in their hands, lined with the coats of the particuler kingdoms: for very madnesse, that she beheld these glorious objects, she stood feeding on the heads of Adders.

The foure Elements in proper shapes, (artificially and aptly expressing their qualities) vpon the approach of his Maiestie, went round in a proportionable and euen circle, touching that cantle of the Globe, (which was open) to the full view of his Maiestie, which being done, they bestowed themselues in such comely order, and stood so, as if the Eronie had been held vp on the tops of their fingers.

Vpon distinct Ascensions, (neatly raisde within the hollow wombe of the Globe) were placed all the states of the land, from the Nobleman to the Ploughman, among whom there was not one word to be heard, for you must imagine as *Virgil* saith:

*Ægl. 4. Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.
Iam redit at * virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

* *Astræa.*

That it was now the golden world, in which there were few parts.

All the tongues that went in this place, was the tongue of *Zeale*, whose personage was put on by *W. Bourne*, one of the seruants to the young Prince.

And thus went his speech.

THE populous Globe of this our *English* Ile,
Seemde to mooue backward, at the funerall pile,
Of her dead female Maiestie. All states
From Nobles downe to spirits of meaner Fates,
Mooude opposite to Nature and to Peace,
As if these men had bin Th' Antipodes,
But see, the vertue of a Regall eye,
Th' attractiue wonder of mans Maiestie,
Our Globe is drawne in a right line agen,
And now appeare new faces, and new men.

The

The Elements, Earth, Water, Ayre, and Fire,
(Which euer clipt a naturall desire,
To combat each with other, being at first,)
Created enemies to fight their worst,
See at the peacefull presence of their King,
How quietly they mooude, without their sting:
Earth not deuouring, Fire not defacing,
Water not drowning, and the Ayre not chafing:
But proping the queint Fabrick that heere stands,
Without the violence of their wrathfull hands.
Mirror of times, lo where thy *Fortune* sits,
Aboue the world, and all our humane wits,
But thy hye Vertue aboue that: what pen,
Or Art, or braine can reach thy vertue then?
At whose immortall brightnes and true light,
Enuies infectious eyes haue lost their sight,
Her snakes (not daring to shoot-forth their stings
Gainst such a glorious obiect) downe she flings
Their forkes of Venome into her own maw,
Whilst her ranke teeth the glittering poisons chawe,
For tis the property of *Enuies* blood,
To dry away at euery kingdomes good,
Especially when she had eyes to view
These four maine vertues figurse all in you,
Iustice in causes, *Fortitude* gainst foes,
Temprance in spleene, and *Prudence* in all those,
And then so rich an Empyre, whose fayre brest,
Contaynes four Kingdomes by your entrance blest,
By *Brute* diuided, but by you alone,
All are againe vnited and made *One*,
Whose fruitfull glories shine so far and euen,
They touch not onely earth, but they kisse heauen,
From whence *Astraea* is descended hither,
Who with our last Queenes Spirit, fled vp thither,
Fore-knowing on the earth, she could not rest,
Till you had lockt her in your rightfull brest.
And therefore all Estates, whose proper Arts,
Liue by the breath of Maiestie, had harts
Burning in holy Zeales immaculate fires,
With quenchles Ardors, and vnstaind desires,
To see what they now see, your powerful Grace,
Reflecting joyes on every subjects face:
These paynted flames and yellow burning Stripes,
Vpon this roab, being but as shoues and types,

Of that great Zeale. And therefore in the name
 Of this glad Citie, whither no Prince euer came,
 More lou'd, more long'd for, lowely I intreate,
 You'd be to her as gracious as y'are great :
 So with reuerberate shoutes our Globe shall ring,
 The Musicks close being thus: God saue our King.

If there be any glorie to be won by writing these lynes, I do freelie bestow it (as his due) on *Tho. Middleton*, in whose braine they were begotten, though they were deliuered heere: *Quæ nos non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.*

But hauing peiced vp our wings now againe with our own feathers; suffer vs a while to be pruning them, and to lay them smooth, whilst this song, which went foorth at the found of Hault-boyes, and other lowde instruments, flies along with the trayne.

Cant.

Where are all these Honors owing?
 Why are seas of people flowing?
 Tell mee, tell me Rumor,
 Though it be thy Humor
 More often to be lying,
 Than from thy breath to haue trueth flying:
 Yet alter now that fashion,
 And without the streame of passion,
 Let thy voyce swim smooth and cleare,
 When words want gilding, then they are most deer.

Behold where Ioue and all the States,
 Of Heau'n, through Heau'ns seauen siluer gates,
 All in glory riding
 (Backs of Clowds bestriding)
 The milky waie do couer,
 With starry Path being measur'd ouer,
 The Deities conuent,
 In Ioues high Court of Parliament,
 Rumor thou doest loose thine aymes,
 This is not Ioue, but One, as great, King I A M E S.

And now take we our flight vp to *Temple-bar*, (the other end of this our Gallery) where by this time, his Maiestie is vpon the poynt of giuing a gracious and Princely Fare-well to the Lord Major, and the Citie. But that his eye meeting a seauenth beautifull object, is invited by that, to delay a while his (lamented) departure.

The

The Building being set out thus.

The Front or Surface of it was proportioned in euery respect like a Temple, being dedicated to *Ianus*, as by this inscription ouer the *Ianus* head may appeare.

*Iano Quadrifronti
Sacrum.*

The height of the whole *Ædifice*, from the grownd line to the top, was 57. foot, the full bredth of it 18. foote: the thicknes of the Passage 12.

The personages that were in this Temple,
are these.

1. The principall person, *Peace*.
2. By her stood, *Wealth*.
3. Beneath the feet of *Peace*, lay *Mars* (War) groueling.
4. And vpon her right hand (but with some little defent) was seated *Quiet*, the first hand-maid of *Peace*.
5. She had lying at her feet, *Tumult*.
6. On the other side was the second hand-maid, *Libertie*, at whose feet lay a Catte.
7. This person trod vpon *Seruitude*.
8. The third hand-maid was *Safety*.
9. Beneath her was *Danger*.
10. The fourth attendant was *Felicitie*:
11. At her feet, *Vnbappines*.

Within the Temple was an Altar, to which, vpon the approach of the King, a *Flamin* appeares, and to him, the former *Genius* of the Citie.

The effect of whose speech was, that whereas the *Flamin* came to performe rites there, in honour of one *Anna* a goddesse of the *Romaines*, the *Genius* vowes, that none shall do Sacrifice there, but himselfe, the offering that he makes being, the Heart of the Citie, &c.

And thus haue we (lowely and aloofe) followed our Soueraigne through the seauen Triumphal gates of this his Court Royall, which name, as *London* receiued at the ryling of the *Sunne*; so now at his going from her (euen in a moment) She lost that honour: And being (like an Actor on a Stage) stript out of her borrowed Majestie, she resignes her former shape and title of Citie; nor is it quite lost, considering it went along with him, to whom it is due: For such Vertue is begotten in Princes, that their verie presence hath
power

power to turne a Village to a Citie, and to make a Citie appeare great as a Kingdome. Behold how glorious a Flower, Happinesse, but how fading. The Minutes (that lackey at the heeles of *Time*) run not faster away then do our joyes. What tongue could haue exprest the raptures on which the soule of the Citie was carried beyond it selfe, for the space of manie houres? What wealth could haue allurde her to haue closde her eies, at the comming of her King, and yet See, her Bridegrome is but stept from her, and in a Minute (nay in shorter time, then a thought can be borne) is she made a Widdow. All her consolation being now, to repeate ouer by roate those Honors, which lately she had perfectly by hart: And to tell of those joyes, which but euen now, she reallie behelde; yet thus of her absent, beloued, do I heare her gladly and heartily speaking.

Virg. *In freta dum Fluvii Current: dum montibus umbrae,
Lustrabunt Conuexa, Polus dum sidera pascit,
Semper Honos, Nomenque tuum, Laudesque manebunt.*

The Pageant in the Strond.

THE Citie of *Westminster* and Dutchy of *Lancaster*, perceiuing what preparation their neighbor citie made to entertain her Soueraigne; though in greatnes they could not match her, yet in greatnes of Loue and Duetie, they gaue testimonie, that both were equall. And in token they were so, hands and hearts went together: and in the Strond, erected vp a Monument of their affection.

The Inuention was a Rayne-bow, the Moone, Sunne, and the seauen Starres, called the *Pleiades*, being aduanced between two *Pyramides*: *Electra* (one of those seauen hanging in the aire, in figure of a Comet) was the speaker, her words carrying this effect.

That as his Majestie had left the Citie of *London*, happy, by deliuering it from the noyse of tumult: so he would crown this place with the like joyes; which being done, she reckons vp a number of blessings, that will follow vpon it.

The work of this was thought vpon, begun and made perfect in xij. daies.

As touching those fiue which the Citie builded, the *Arbor* in *Cheap-side*, and the Temple of *Ianus*, at Temple-bar, were both of them begun and finisht in fixe weeks. The rest were taken in hand, first in *March* last, after his Majestie was proclaymed, vpon which, at that time, they wrought till a Moneth after St. *James* his day following, and then gaue ouer by reason of the sicknes: At this second setting vpon them, six weeks more were spent.

The Citie elected sixteene Comitties, to whom the Mannaging of the whole busines was absolutely referred: of which number, four were Aldermen, the other graue Commoners.

There

There were also Committies appoynted as Ouerseers, and Serueyors of the workes.

*Artificum Operariorumque in hoc tam
celebri apparatu, summa.
Summa.*

THE Citie imployed in the Framing, building, and setting vp of their five *Arches*, these officers and work-men.

A Clarke that attended on the Committies.

Two officers that gaue Summons for their meetings, &c.

A clarke of the Workes.

Two master-Carpenters.

Painters.

Of which number, those that gaue the maine direction, and vndertook for the whole busines, were only these seauen.

{	William Friselfield.	}
	George Mosse.	
	Iohn Knight.	
	Paul Isacson.	
	Samuell Goodrick.	
	Richard Wood.	
	George Heron.	

Caruers, ————— 24
Ouer whom, *Stephen Harrison* Ioyner was appoynted chief; who was the sole Inuentor of the Architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to Caruing, Ioyning, Molding, and all other work in those five Pageants of the Citie (Paynting excepted) were set down.

Ioyners.	—————	80
Carpenters.	—————	60
Turners.	—————	6
Laborers to them,	—————	6
Sawyers.	—————	12
Laborers during all the time, and for the day of the Triumph.	—————	70

Besides these, there were other Artificers, As:
Plommers, Smythes, Molders.

To the READER.

READER, you must vnderstand, that a regard, being had that his Majestie should not be wearied with tedious speeches: A great part of
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those which are in this Booke set down, were left vnspoken: So that thou doest here receiue them as they should haue bene deliuered, not as they were. Some errours wander vp and downe in these sheetes, vnder the Printer's warrant: which notwithstanding may by thy Authoritie be brought in, and receiue their due Correction. As in F. 2 For, *From his owne cleare strength*, Read, cleare, straight, &c. And within fewe lines beneath that: *Insteede of, (Because alluring this tryumph)* Read, because that during these, &c. In the *Cant.* likewise, beginning thus, *Shine Titan Shine*, *Insteede of, O this is Had*, Read, O this is He. And in the sixt staffe: For, *Here stayd*, *Had still*. But here *Had* list not tary. Read for euery *Had*, he. Other faults pardon, these I think are the grossest.

The MARRIAGE of Prince FREDERICK, and the Kings Daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH, vpon Shrouesunday last. With the SHOWES on Land and Water, before, and after the Wedding, as also the Maskes and Reuells in his Highnes Court, with the running at the Ring, by the Kings Maiestie, the PALSEGRAUE, Prince CHARLES, and diuers others of the Nobilitie.

Now the Second time Imprinted, with many new additions, of the same TRYUMPHEs, performed by the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court in the Kings Pallace of White-Hall.

At London, Printed by T. C. for W. Barley. 1613.

BEING desirous to giue satisfaction to certaine of my acquaintance in the countrey, most willing to vnderstand the manner of the tryumphe holden at the royall marriage of his Maiesties daughter, *Princesse Elizabeth*.

I haue made meanes for the true intelligences thereof, and I hope according to the content of the Reader, I haue set forth here a true discourse of the same.

First, of the showes and Fire workes vpon the waters before the mariage performed, vpon *thursday* night, being the eleuenth of *Februarie*.

Then the imitation of a Sea Fight vpon *Saturday* following.

Also of the royall and Princely passage of Prince *Palsegraue* with his renowned bride, to his highnes chappell at *White-Hall*, where in the presence of his Maie-

Maiestie and the noble state, they were married, to make vs reioice, with a wished happines, with maskes and reuells following, shewes of more royalty, then euer in this age was seene in the court of *England*.

Therefore let the Reader hereof, prepare himselfe, to entertaine them with extraordinarie ioy, and receiue the good will of the writer, for a tribute, to be paide as a dew to his countrey.

*The manner of the fire workes shewed vpon the Thames vpon the
Thursday before the wedding.*

TO begin these tryumphant sports, his highnes, the Queenes Maiestie, Prince *Charles*, Prince *Frederick*, with the Princes *Elizabeth* his royall bride, and the rest of the nobilitie of *England*, vpon *Thursday* the eleuenth of *Februarie* in the euening, being placed in the galleries and windows about his Highnes Court of *White-Hall*, where in the sight of thousands of people, many artificiall conclusions in Fire workes were vpon the *Thames* performed, and that the pleasurable sights on the water, might equall the sumptuous shewes on the land, thus they proceeded.

First, for a welcome to the beholders, a peale of ordinance like vnto a terrible thunder ratled in the ayre, and seemed as it were to shake the earth, and mounted so high into the Element that it dazeled the beholders eyes to look after it.

Secondly, followed a number more of the same fashion, spredding so strangely with sparkling blazes, that the skie seemed to be filled with fire, or that there had beene a combate of darting starres fighting in the ayre, and all the time these continued, certaine cannons planted in the fields adioyning made thundering musicke, to the great pleasure of the beholders.

After this in a most curious manner, an artificiall fire worke with great wonder was seene flying in the ayre, like vnto a dragon, against which another fierie vision appeared flaming like to Saint *George* on Horsebacke, brought in by a burning Inchanter, betweene which was then fought a most strange battell continuing a quarter of an hower or more: the dragon being vanquished, seemed to rore like thunder, and withall burst in peeces and so vanished, but the champion with his flaming horse for a litle time made a shew of a tryumphant conquest, and so ceased.

After this, was heard another ratling sound of Cannons, almost couering the ayre with fire and smoake, and forthwith appeared out of a hill of earth made vpon the water, a very strange fire flaming vpright like vnto a blazing starre: After which flew forth a number of rackets so high in the ayre, that we could not chuse but approue by all reasons that Arte hath exceeded Nature, so artificially were they performed, and still as the Chambers and Culuerines plaide vpon the earth, the fire workes danced in the ayre, to the great delight of his Highness, and the Princes.

Out of the same mount or hill of earth flew another strange peece of artificiall

ciall fire worke, which was in the likenes of a hunted Hart, running vpon the waters so swiftly, as it had bene chased by many huntsmen.

After the same, issued out of the mount, a number of hunting hounds made of fire burning, pursuing the aforesaid Harte vp and downe the waters, making many rebounds and turnes with much strangenes: skipping in the ayre, as it had bene a vsuall hunting vpon land.

These were the noble delights of Princes, and prompt were the wits of men to contriue such Princely pleasures.

Where Kings commands be, Art it stretcht to the true depth, as the performance of these Engineers haue been approued.

But now again to our wished sports, when this fiery hunting extinguished, and that the Elements a little cleared from fire and smoake, there came sayling vp, as it were vpon the Seas, certaine ships and gallies bravely rigd with top and top gallant, with their flagges and streamers wauing like men of warr, which represented a Christian Nauie opposed against the *Turkes*, where after they had while houered, preparing as it were to make an incursion into the *Turkish* countrey, they were discovered by two Towers or Castles of defence, strongly furnished to intercept all such inuading purposes, so sending forth the reports of a cannon, they were brauely answered with the like from the gallies, banding fire and powder one from another, as if the God of battels had beene there present.

Here was the manner of a Sea Fight rightly performed: First by assailing one another, all striving for victorie, and pursuing each other with Fire and Sword, the Culuerines merily plaid betwixt them, and made the ayre resound with thundring Ecchoes, and at last, to represent the ioyes of a victorie, the Castles were sacked, burned and ruinated, and the defenders of the same forced to escape with great danger.

During the time of all these triumphant exercises, there was not a man vnbusied but every one laboured, some on Land, some on Water, some one way, some another, to moue his Highnes, and the rest of his princely friends a pleasing content, which he and the other Princes with a gracious acceptance, applauded, to the great comfort of the performers, and no litle ioy to the beholders.

The next morning, being *Fryday*, his Highnes, not intending to grace the following sports with his presence, gaue cause of forbearance, with some rest to the Engineers for their great toyle the night before.

Moreouer, it was thought conuenient that a whole dayes preparation should be made, in prouiding against the *Saturdayes* pastimes, which moued a more longing desire in the harts of his subiects to see the same, which at the time appointed was in this manner accomplished.

*The manner of a Sea Fight, shewed vpon the Thames, vpon the
Saturday before the wedding.*

BETWEENE the howers of two and three of the clock the same day in the after noone being *Shroue-saturday*, the Kings Maiestie, accompanied with the Queene, and the rest of the Princes and Peeres of estate, to adde the more glory to these pretended shoves, placed themselves in great royaltie vpon the priue staires of *White-Hall*, where after a while expecting the beginning of the desired fire workes, the Lord Admirall sent forth two or three gentlemen in a whirrie, with a flagge or banner to signifie the King, and the Nobilities tarriance for the representations, which was answered with an Intelligence by the report, from a great cannon, whereupon a certaine *Venetian* man of Warr, and a ship called a *Caruell*, came proudly with their flagges and colours sayling up, in the sight of seuentene Turkish gallies which lay houer- ing vpon *Lambeth* side, betwixt whome was a most royall and praise worthy Imitation of a sea fight in such sort performed, as if the danger of such an Enterprise had bene by true action attempted, all which explains the honors of martialists, and made his Majestie, with many thousands of people of all sorts, and of many Nations eye-witnesses of the true manner of such like in- counters. But not to be troublesome in my discourses, I will briefly explaine the encounters as they passed.

There was a barre or kind of artificiall fence made vpon the riuer *Thames* with Barges and Lighters chained together, to keep passengers, which other- wise with much vnruines would haue hinderde the pastimes, and much trou- bled the performers, but being thus hemde in, as it were vpon the maine Seas, the two *Venetian* shippes as I said before, falling within danger of the Tur- kish gallies, indured a fresh encounter, and long most worthily defended them- selves, but by reason of the number of the gallies, they were at last boarded, taken, and carried as boot and prize vnder the commaund of a Turkish Castle, which represented and bare the name of the castle *Argeir*, Furnished with 22. well approued great peeces of Ordinance which was contriued and built vpon *Lambeth* side, at a place named *Stand-gate*, inuironed with craggie Rocks as the said Castle is now scituate in *Turkie*.

After the Gallies had taken those *Venetian* ships, and deliuered them into the Turkish Admiralls commaund, they had sight of another *Argosay* or *Galliaza*, which seemed to be of *Spaine*, which likewise after a fierce conflict they made prize of and with much tryumph rendred the same up also to the Turkish Admirall.

After this, vpon a suddaine there was a thundring of Ordinance or Cham- bers placed in *Lambeth Marshes*, wherevpon the Scouts and Watches of the Castle, discovered an *English* Nauie, to the number of fiftene Saile of the Kings Pinnaces making vp towards the point, with their red crost Streamers most gallantly wauiug in the Ayre, to the great delight of all the beholders, which as then seemed to couer ouer the *Thames* in Boates and Barges.

Near vpon this place stood a high built watch Tower, or Beacon of the Turkes, which at the first sight of the *English* Nauie was set on fire, as the manner is at all such incursions, which blazing Light (as it seemed) gaue notice to the Castle and caused a readines in some for defence: In the meane time, the Kings Pinnaces and the Turkish Gallies ioynde, betwixt whome were showne many strange attempts, euen as they had ventured their very liues for their countries safeties: they spared neither powder nor pollicie, to sacke one another, but on both sides bestird themselues so brauely, that his Highnesse with all the rest of his attendants were therewith much delighted: At last the Gallies being ouercharged with long and forward incounters of the *English* Nauie, for refuge and shelter made now vnto the Castle, which began likewise to play brauely vpon the *English*, and with their thundering ordinance made as it were the ground to shake.

The Kings Nauie to answere them was not backward in a performance, but made the ayre gloomie with fire and smoake rorering from their lowde mouthed Cannons.

The fight for a time continued fiercely, the victorie leaning to neither side, either of them attempting to assault and board each other, but at last the Gallies being sore bruized beaten, began to yeeld, wherevpon the *English* Admirall fell down and cast anker before the Castle, and then spared not in the best manner to thunder off their Ordinance, whereat the Turkes yeelded both Castle and Gallies, and submitted to the conquest of the *English* Admirall, who fiered many of the said Gallies, sacked the Castle, and tooke prisoner the Turkes Admirall, with diuers Bashawes and other great Turkes, and also recouered the *Venetian* and *Spanish* Shippes, before taken by the Gallies. After the performance of all these aforesaid, the *English* Admirall, in a most tryumphant manner carried as a prisoner, the Admirall of the Gallies attired in a red Jacket with blew sleeues, according to the Turkish fashion, with the Bashawes, and the other Turkes, guarded to his Highnes priuie staires of *White Hall*, where his grace, Prince *Palsegraue*, and his Lady remained, which prisoners were lead by Sir *Robert Mansfield*, to the Lord Admiral, and by him they were conueyed to the Kings Maiestie, as a representation of pleasure, which to his Highnes moued delight, and highly pleased all there present.

All these aforesaid pastimes were most nobly performed betweene the howres of three and fixe in the after noone, to the great content as well of foraigne nations as of our owne country people, whereof in one place, and at one time, hath bene seldome seen a greater number.

Also for a Farewell to this dayes pleasures, a traine of Chambers were discharged in Saint Georges Field of a long continuance, and of such an Ecchoing thunder, that they euen amazed the hearers. Thus ended Saturdayes shewes upon the waters, being the eue of this great Marriage day.

The

The manner of the Marriage vpon Shroue-sunday, with the Royall passage of Prince FREDERICKE, and his Bride to his Maiesties Chappell at White-Hall.

BUT now to relate and make knowne the royall passage of the renowned Bride-groome and his faire Bride, (for the satisfying of many thousands) as they entred into his Highnes Chappell at *White-Hall*: the next day being *Sunday*, euen ouercomes me with a reioycing description.

The Court being placed full of people of many Estates, sortes and Nations, and their eyes and hearts fixed to behold the pompious glory of this Marriage in great Royaltie.

First came the *Pals-graue*, from the newe built Banquetting-House, attired in a white Satten sute, richly beset with Pearle and Gold, attended on by a number of young gallant Courtiers both *English*, and *Scottish*, and *Dutch*, all in rich manner, euery one struiuing to exceed in sumptuous habilliaments, fitte for attendants of a princely Bride-groome. After came the Lady *Elizabeth*, in her Virgin-robcs, clothed in a gowne of white Satten richely embrodered, lead between her royall brother Prince *Charles* and the Earle of *Northampton*: vpon her head a crown of refined golde, made Imperiall (by the Pearles and Diamonds thereupon placed,) which were so thicke beset, that they stood like shining pinnacles, vpon her amber coloured haire, dependantly hanging plaighted downe ouer her shoulders to her Waste, betweene euery plaight a rolc or liste of Gold spangles, Pearles, Riche stones, and Diamonds, and withall, many Diamonds of inestimable value, imbrothred vpon her slecue, which euen dazeled and amazed the eies of the beholders: her traine in most sumptuous manner, carryed vp by fourteene or fifteene Ladies, attired in white Satten gownes, adorned with many rich Jewells.

After went a traine of Noble-mens Daughters, in white Vestements, gloriously set forth: which Virgin Bride-maides attended vpon the Princeesse, like a skye of Celestiall starres, vpon faire *Phæbe*. After them, came another traine of gallant young Courtiers, flourishing in seuerall Sutes, Embrothered and Pearled, who were Knights, and the sonnes of great Courtiers: After them, came foure Herolds at Armes, in their rich coats of Heroldrie, and then followed many Earles, Lords, and Barrons, as well of *Scotland* as *England*, in most noble manner, then the king of Herolds, bearing vpon his shoulder a Mace of golde, and then followed the honourable Lords of his Highnes privie Councell, which passed along after the Traine towards the Chappell, and then came foure reuerend Bishops of the Land in their Church abilliaments: After them foure Sargiants of the Mace in great state, bearing vpon their shoulders four rich Enammelled Maces.

Then followed the right Honorable the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying the Kings Sword: And the great Royaltie the Kings Maiestie himselfe in a most sumptuous blacke sute, with a Diamond in his hatte of a wonderfull great value: Close vnto him came the Queene, attired in white Satten, beautified

with

with much embrothery, and many Diamonds: Upon her attended a number of married Ladies, the Countesses, and wiues of Earles and Barrons, apparelled in most noble manner, which added glory vnto this triumphant time and Marriage.

These were the passages of our States of *England*, accompanying the princely Bride and Bridegroom to his Highnes Chappell, where after the celebration of the Marriage, contracted in the presence of the King, the Queene, Prince *Charles*, and the rest aforesaide: they returned into the banquetting house with great ioy.

The Lady *Elizabeth* being thus made a Wife, was led backe, not by two Batchellors as before, but by the Duke of *Lineux*, and the Earle of *Nottingham*, in a most reuerend manner, before the *Palsgraue*. At his returne from the Chappell, went sixe of his owne Country gallants, clad in crimson Veluet, laide exceedingly thicke with gold lace, bearing in their hands sixe siluer Trumpets, who no sooner comming into the Banquetting house, but they presented him with a melodious sound of the same, flourishing so delightfully, that it greatly reioyced the whole Court, and caused thousands to say at that instant time, *God giue them ioy, God giue them ioy.*

Thus preparing for dinner, they passed away a certaine time, and after fell to Dancing, Masking, and Reuelling, according to the custome of such Assemblies, which continued all the day and part of the night in great pleasure.

The order of the Mundayes shoues, with the Kings running at the Ring with the Nobilitie of the Land.

THE next day (being *Shroue-munday*) by the King and Nobilitie of *England* was spent in great honour where their rich Robes of Estate seconded the day before, with many commendable graces: for the whole Court so gloriously shined with Imbrothered abilliaments, that it made euen a smiling cheerefulness sit upon the countenance of many thousand beholders.

For the King's Maiestie in his owne person, accompanied with his braue spirited sonne Prince *Charles* of great *Brittaine*, the Royall Bride-groom, Count *Pallatine*, the Duke of *Lineux*, with diuers other of the Earles and Barrons of *England* and *Scotland*, together with the praise-worthy Peers of the Netherland Prouinces, performed many famous races at the Ring, an exercise of much renowne and honour, and the Knightly sports, and the Royall delights onely befitting the dignitie of Kings and Princes, and of the chiefeft Nobilitie.

First, about the rayles or lists in the Tylt-yard adioyning to *White-Hall*, were placed many Herolds at Armes, to beautifie the honourable atchievements of these knightly Potentates, all in new liueries with their staues of office, to abate the too forward vnruines of many disordered people, which otherwise would haue much troubled the Turnaments, and as an ayde vnto them, many of his Highnes Yeomen of the Guard were attendant in the listes, and withall, most of the Kings Trumpetters in their rich imbrothered coates, the pentioners and Knights of his graces household with his Knightly followers.

The Queenes Maiestie, with her daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, attended on
by

by many of the greatest Ladies of the Land, being placed in the Gallaries and windowes of the Banqueting house, in the presence of many thousands of his Subiects, the King mounted vpon a Steed of much swiftnes, was the first that began the honourable pastimes, and like a most noble martialist tooke the Ring vpon his speare, three severall times together, whereat the trumpets still sounded to the great ioy of the beholders.

After him the Illustrious Prince, *Count Palatine*, vpon a horse of that braue courage, which seemed to stand vpon no ground, where with a spirit of much forwardnes, he tooke the Ring vpon his speare twise together, so lightly, and so nimbly, that the whole assembly gave him high commendations.

After him, the braue young flower, and hope of *England*, Prince *Charles*, mounted as it were vpon a *Spanish* Iennet, that takes his swiftnes from the nature of the winde, most couragiously, and with much agillitie of hand, tooke the Ring clearely foure times in fise courses, which was in the eye of the Kings Maiestie and the Nobilitie, there present, a sight of much admiration, and an exceeding comfort to all the land.

The Duke of *Lineux*, the Earle of *Arundell*, the Earle of *Dorset*, the Lord *Haddindon*, with diuers other Barrons of *England* and *Scotland*, afterward in honour of this magnificent mariage, performed many worthy races, and many times tooke the Ring with much strangenes, a pleasure so princely, that it euen made the beholders hearts to leape with ioy.

The Queenes Maiestie, with her daughter the Princes, all the while standing in the windowes, as eye-witnesses to these noble delights, smiled with much cheerfulness, graciously thanking them all for their loues, but especially the new married Bride, in honour of whose mariage all these courtly pastimes were performed.

Of the Masks and Reuells presented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, vpon the Munday night.

THE proceeding night, sports were as sumptuous, as the passed dayes, and in as gallant a manner performed: whereof to satisfie the desirefull Reader, I must thus speake of.

The Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, in the best and rarest manner they could deuise, prepared Maskes and Reuells in the Court, that night to be presented: and about the houres of eight or nine, they passed from the *Roles* in *Chancery-Lane*, to *White-Hall*, in as royall manner as euer gallants did to the Court of *England*.

First, there rode some three-score braue spirited Gentlemen vpon great Bard-horses, most richly trapped with imbrothered furnitures, themselves attired in cloth of golde and tiffue, most gloriously shining, lighted by a number of torches, to beautifie the shoue with more Eye-pleasing delights.

After them, some fixe and thirtie Maskers, diuided by twelues, in most strange Anticke futes, in a most admirable and stately manner. Likewise vp-

on costly trapped steedes, each of them hauing a Blackamore Page attending on Horse-backe, with torch lights burning in their hands.

After them followed three Charriots of Maskers and Reuellers, in garments of a meruellous fashion, so artificially disguised, that they moued much wonder. Upon them attended a number of Footemen, bearing burning torches, and withall, many trumpets founding melodiously, which was a sight both to Eye and Eare, of an exceeding glorie: These performed many delightfull dances in his Highnes presence, and other pastimes of pleasure, to the great comfort of all the beholders, and to the high honours of this magnificent Marriage.

*Of the Tryumphs and Reuells vpon the next night following, being
Shroue-tuesday,*

TH E next day being *Shroue-tuesday*, a day of pleasure, and Iollitie by custome, but farre more delightfull by reason of this magnificent marriage, which moued many occasions of mirth in his Highnes court, for euery day in seuerall attires, were the Nobilitie of the land seene flourishing in the chamber of presence, and much was the cost spent in banqueting of forraigne estates, as well Princes Embassadors, as the Peeres and Nobles attending vpon the *Palsgrave*, which vpon this day was as royally performed, as vpon the former.

The bountie of his Maiestie exceeded, for his Highnes court was free for all people of fashion, as well Citizens as others, and few came thither that departed without kind entertainment for liberalitie, with spreading armes kept open houshold, whereby the time may well be recorded for a time of Princes pleasures, by reason Princes were the maintainers thereof.

The night proceeding, much expectation was made of a stage play to be acted in the great Hall by the Kings Players, where many hundred of people stood attending the same: but it hapned contrarie, for greater pleasures were preparing, which in this manner were performed, as vpon the night before a most famous maske came to court, by the Gentlemen and students of the law, from the Roles Office, by land, so some three hundred Gentlemen more, of the same estate and calling, by water, to equall them in statelines, came likewise vp the *Thames* by water, with a maske to *White-Hall*, at whose setting forth from *Winchester-house* in their Barges, a peale of ordinance placed on the backside, seemed as it were thunder, the Barges were beautified with many flagges and Streamers, lighted with a number of burning cressets and torches, attended on by Drums and Trumpets, which sounded all the way most melodiously, the Gentlemen and maskers, had most glorious and rich suits of cloth of gold and siluer, with other Robes of much delight and pleasure, the entertainments in Court were gracious, and their performance as curious as the skill and Art of wit could deuise, at which the King and all the royall assembly there present, took high contentment.

The

The Kings Majestie, in the royaltie of his minde, and in regard of these rare deuises of the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, (being most of them sonnes to great states of the land) inuited them all within few daies after, to a royall banquet, where not onely by his Highnes but by the *Palsgrau* and his Bride, they had most kind and friendly thanks.

And now to conclude my discourse, the ioyes hereof were declared in manie places, as well *Citie* as *Court*: for the *Belles* of *London* rung generally in every *Church*, and in euery street *Bonfires* blazed abundantly, there was neither cost nor paines spared by his Highnes subiects, that any way might give signes of ioy, for the Marriage of his princely daughter to her royall Husband, whom God bleesse with long happines, and Throanes of *Angelles* keep and defend. *Amen.*

An EXACT and CURIOS SURVEY of the East Indies, euen to Canton, the chiefe Citie of China: All duly performed by land, by Monsieur de Monfart, the like whereof was neuer hetherto, brought to an end. Wherein also are described the huge Dominions of the great Mogor, to whom that honorable Knight, Sir Thomas Roe, was lately sent Ambassador from the KING.

Newly translated out of the Trauailers Manuscript.

London, Printed by Thomas Dawson, for William Arondell, 1615.

To the Right Honorable the Earle of *PEMBROKE*, one of the Lords of his *Maiesties* most honorable priue Counsell, and Knight of the most Noble order of the Garter.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

THIS euery way so meane a Booke, and so vnmeasurably disproportioned to your HONORS eminent ranke and merite, I durst neuer haue presumed to haue cast, no not so high as your feete, for the first publike token of my wholly deuoted seruice, and humble

ble dutie ; but that my selfe being totally, truely, and most deseruedly yours, any thing that is in me, or shall euer come from me, little or much, and of what nature soeuer, must needs acknowledge that dependance. And when I remembred, the Earnest is euer the least part, yea often no part, of the Payment, (neyther do I here intend more) I had some hope your true Noblenes would not altogether reiect it. Vouchsafe then, my most noble Lord, to suffer it to passe as a meere Earnest, or rather an Entayle to your Lord-ship, of whatsoever I shall at any time hereafter, be able more happily to bring forth, for your seruice and pleasure. Which (regardles as it is) if it may but escape the imputation of an offence, it is the highest ayme of him, that neyther desires, nor is worthy longer to liue, then he shall giue the world notice to his vtmost, how much he is,

Your Lord-ships

most humble, and bounden
in all duties.

A PREFACE of the TRANSLATOR.

YET was I not so much the Translator, as the Fashioner of this worke. It was my good hap in my last iourney into Fraunce, to be acquainted with that braue Spirit, the right Author and performer thereof ; who, a right French Gentleman withall, howsoever indowed with Courage and other Martiall qualities, (yet, as though learning were a stain to a Noble blood, with vs) the truth is, he cannot very well write ; strongly possessed, with that actiue humor of ours, so much bent to Doing, as can little curbe it selfe to Musing ; and with that preiudicat opinion, (the Ship-wrack of all our young Nobilitie) that it is onely for a Gentleman to ride, not to read, and rather handle a bad sword, then a good book, but a Pen least of all Which hath euer been the unluckie cause that our worthiest counsels, and most generous exployts in peace, or warr, would lye for euer buried vnder the dust of forgetfulnesse, with the same bodyes that performed them ; If euen they who haue felt most smart by vs, had not set them down to our own knowledge, and of all nations, to diminish their shame by the valor of their Enemies. So then this Gentleman hauing onely taken some notes of his iourneyes, still as he went, not able to make a right treatise of them, for want of a fit writer in these barbarous Countries, being as he thought, at his trauels end, and happilie landed in Christendome, he found it in this case farre more Barbarous. For there he was taken himselfe, and in one of the most rich, and famous Sea-cities of the world,

world, kept foure yeeres in pryson, watching him carefully, with an intent, so to keep him all his life tyme, least by a full discourse he should make other Nations acquainted with these his obseruations, thereby to giue them an entrance into that Earthly Paradise, which they so enuiously barre from all notice, and entercourse of the whole world, by the flaming Mouth of so manie Cannons, and the Sun-burnt Garisons of their black Angels, the dearer to sell vnto vs those delightfull fruits of life, which we could fetch our selues at a better rate: In that plight, our Traueller was faine to commend all his knowledge to his best memorie (a qualitie wherewith God hath largely requited his not being a great Rethoritian) and principally to his notes, which yet in the middest of all his troubles, and no small losses, he was more careful to keep then his treasure. So as soon as by a very extraordinay and much vnlooked-for fauour from Heauen, he had made meanes, in fauour of two great mariages intended, to get out; and finally, being arriued at Paris, I was chosen for the framing and setting together this dis-ioynted Treatise, enlarging his notes from his own mouth (as sometimes one doth after a Sermon) and was allowed my own Coppie for my labour. The like whereof I may safely auouch is but in three hands besides, through all the world; the one in the Closet of our most Noble and hopefull young King, (whom God for euer blesse:) the other, with a great Prince; the third, with the Author himselfe. Now the truth is, that as soon as I had but the first sight thereof, I immediatly, according to my former resolution and profession, whollie to applie my selfe, my studies, my life, and best endeouours to the seruice and benefit (as farre as I can) of this noble Kingdome, my second and substitute Country, after that which nature first binds me vnto, purposed with my selfe to publish it here, as a witnesse of my true and auncient loue. A loue indeed not humorous, nor new, but trulie bred, euen with nature in my childhood, and before my knowledge, vnder the tender care of an English mother; now of late in my riper and best yeeres, vpon good triall and iust reasons, (or such at least as I doe flatter my selfe to be so) growne by habitude to such a poynt of bewitching, as euen I content my selfe to forbear my right Countrie and Kindred, with all my hopes, perhaps not altogether vnlikelie, (or but meere hopes vnbegun) of higher preferment in the multitude of so many friends, great and small, and of both Religions (as I dare say, and withall prayse God for it,) I haue yonder. Neyther is that loue of mine hid or vknown to the world. There are bookes extant in more then one Language to testifie it, which I might very well haue kept back, if it had been otherwise; since euen many of mine own Country-men haue taken some exceptions at it, as though (God forbid) I would in some sort dissolue the bands of nature, farre, farre, from my meaning and which scarce can be effected at my very dissolution. Yet did not my loue so much carry me away, as that I would witnesse it in superfluous things. Therefore least I should runne amisse, I was carefull both to recouer and peruse all such Bookes, and Pamflets, as are to be found in English, concerning Asia-Trauailes, which in all doe not amount to foue or fixe. And finding the most part speakes of nothing els then of Græcia, Arabia, Syria, with some stale tales of Ierusalem, so contrary one to another, and so much beaten, and beaten again, as it is both shame and losse that such toys should be vttered, (but that euer some prettie wit must get money by making others loose their tyme) I thought this Author could.

not.

not but proue profitable, and welcome: Seeing that with no other end, but onely to see and learne, he did undertake his trauell; without loade, or engagement of merchandise, or of any priuate end, or company, ranging still vp and downe, and curiously prying, and peircing as far as he could into euery Iland, or Continent; yea, neuer by water, where he might by land, hath discovered in yonder world more Nations, more People, more Kingdomes, more Townes, more Fashions, more Particularities, then euer any man before, or since, to our knowledge. Now for the Style, this man doth not stand vpon flowers, nor I myselfe; who do follow him as neer as I can. Neyther doth he fill the paper with idle talkes of a Tempest, or a Ship-wracke; a Robberie here, a Disgrace there; or shamefully recount how many Kicks, how many Knocks, and Bastinadoes he had this way, or that way; a thing more then most common among Turkes and Infidels. He sweares vpon his credite he had none. Neyther doth he stand vpon any other wayne particulars; but directly goeth to the maine; saying what he can, and what he knoweth goes to the heart, and life of whom he intends to be reuenged, not onely for his long imprisonment, but also for somewhat more then he dares write for this present. Whereof neuerthelesse, he will giue an inkling in his fit place, before he end; sufficient enough to enforme of the whole, such as are not altogether blind, or deafe. But now it is high tyme to bear him speake.

*The TRAVAILES of Monsieur de MONFART to CHINA
by land, the like whereof was neuer yet performed.*

IN the name of GOD, in the yeere of our LORD, 1608. I Henry Defeynes, commonly called by the name of the Mannor of *Monfart*, wayting then vppon the most Illustrious, and most Reuerend Cardinall of *Ioyeuse*, vpon some priuate discontent taken against such a person, of whom I could not well, nor yet trulie would, reuenge my selfe; knowing nothing doth so much aggrauate, and nourrish vp griefe, as Idlenes, yea, idlenes in the same place where the griefe hath been taken, and in continuall sight of the cause and subiect thereof; neither seeing at that time any worthy warre in Christendome, to applie my bodie and mind, away from my wonted thoughts; did fully resolue to vndertake some farre and hard trauell, that by leauing behind old displeasures, and purposely going to seek and find me new, I should striue to banish the one, by meanes of the other; or at least trie what change (the chiefeft, I think, comfort in misery) would work in me: For sure it is not to haue fellowes, otherwise a man might soon be contented.

First then I went the common and neerer way from *Paris* directly to *Venice*, not yet well resolued which way I should bend afterwards; but determining there to take my course. At *Venice* I must needs indeed take ship. Therefore hauing resolued vpon *Babilon*, *Persia*, and the *East-Indies*, I sayled to *Alexandretta*, otherwise called by the Turks, *Scanderone*, in *Syria*. This is a common way, a knowne town, which serues for a hauen to *Aleppo*, though three dayes iourney off. It is an ill-fauoured, vnluckie, and vnwholesome Citty,

Citty, within eyght myles of *Tharshis*, the birth-Citie of *St. Paul*. But many, going and returning daily from thence, haue both sayd and written so much of it, as I need little to add. Onely thus much, that is is the first place of firme land, where first and formost, and for the first discommoditie, there are no Innes to be found for trauellers: so that they must eyther carrie their own victuals, and prouision themselves, or put it vpon Cammels. Secondly, almost all trauellers, but trulie at least, and chiefly, all Christians, come to loose the right of themselves, and become as poor wretched slaues, subiect to all iniuries, disgraces, robberies, mis-vsings in words and deeds, by theeues, drunkards, or the next base fellow, from which their very Ianizaries and Gardes, cannot alwayes defend them, though they be payd deerely for it, and sometimes indeed do their best for the same: and for some priuate offence, eyther punish the malefactors themselves, or cause them sharply to be punished. But against hundreds of theeues, as they flock ordinarily together, to assaile passengers, there is none, nor can be any Iustice, or helpe at all. So that a Christian, being now become the weaker, though twice stronger, must here begin, whether he will or no, to obserue his masters commandement, and turn the left cheek, when he hath been smitten on the right. For indeed the readie way to preuent more blowes, is euen to take the hand that hath stricken you, very hartilie kissing it, and with a cheereful countenance, stroak the knaue by the beard, which he will take verie kindly.

From *Scanderone* therefore, I went to *Aleppo*; and your chiefe place in the way, is *Antiochia*, where Christians were first so called. This *Aleppo* is one of the fairest and greatest Mart-Cities in all the world. And from thence one cannot trauell with a simple guard or Conuoy; but with whole *Carauans*, (otherwise called *Caffes*) that is, whole numbers and multitudes of men, with their Cammels, ioining and cleauing all in a troope, like an Armie; to march together in those hence forward most hard, desolate, and very dangerous wayes.

There hauing found the vsuall Embassador from the *Basha* of *Babilon*, Captaine of the *Caffe*, *Carauane*, which goeth twice a 20 l. sterling. yeare from thence thether, I gaue him a 100 *Rials* of eight, for my dyet and safe conduct, through the *Arabian* desert. The *Carauane* consisted at that time of 10000 men, or rather more. They The Desert. trauell all by night, as well to auoide the vehement heat of the day, as to be guided by the starre; and therefore such guides as are expert in that faculty, name themselves Pilots. They carry all their victuals on Cammels, till they come to a certain place beyond the Desert, wherof Ile speake anon. This desert is all sandy, and destitute of paths, or high wayes; neither may there be any, by reason of the continual motion, which the wind causeth in the sand. All that groweth there, as well trees as shrubbs, are Caper-plants, or Tamariskes, on which the Cammels do feed. There shall you find no kind of fierce, or Sauage beasts, but only Asses, Roes and Gazells, (which is a kind of wild goates) with an innumerable number of Staggs; yea in such quantity;

and so bolde, as often times they run through the *Carauane*, not knowing whether men are to be feared or no.

We were most commonly constrained for meer necessity, to goe and bayte out of our way, to enioy the vse and commodity of some wells, which to this day are preserued among the ruines of certain townes, that heretofore were builded, in those places; And sometimes without finding any: They make their prouision of water in great Borachoes, made of whole goate-skins; and sometimes are much distressed through want of it.

There is no fowle in all the desart but Pigions, which nestle in those ruines. The king of this hether part of the desart, is a *Mabometan*, tributarie to the *Turke*, and so superstitious or timorous that by reason of certaine vowes, customes and auncient traditions, he neuer entreth vnder any rooffe, the better to behold his forces about him. He is so strong, that at an hours warning he will bring 100000 horsemen to the field without any difficulty, their horses being the goodliest in the world. Their Attire is after the Turkish fashion, Turbant onely excepted, in steed whereof they haue a kind of Capp, rowled about with a black Turbant. They are of a swart complexion, and all as well men as women goe almost naked. It is very true that such as intend to write back to *Aleppo*, take with them at their departure some fitting Pigions from their young ones, which afterwards they let flie back again from what part soeuer they will, handsomely loaden with their letters: And the like doe they in some other cases for speedy warnings through all those parts.

After thirty dayes iourney, more or lesse, we came to
Nane, or *Nane*, where the whole *Carauan* takes water vpon *Euphrates*; and
Anna. there we reposed and refresht our selues some eight dayes together, expecting boates for our transportation. It is a good *Towne*, full of bad people; but yet there begins to cease all penury, and discommodity for want of victuals, finding in that Country all kind of meates, and refreshings fit for mans life. So we embarked ourselues there; and after twelue dayes came within foure leagues of *Babilon*: hauing seen nothing else on either side the riuer but Palme-trees, and Date-trees, which bear most excellent fruite when they be ripe, and returne a most comfortable odour on the water. Betweene *Nane* and *Babilon*, there is a great lake, which is vulgarly

named *the Pitchie sea*. I went expresly to see the head of it; which proceedeth out of a rock in fise seuerall clefts, about the bignes of a mans waste; which soon after meeting all in one; run 18. leagues long, till it looseth it selfe vnder the ground. This blacke and thick lickour serues to build withal, instead of lime.
Mare Piceum, whereof *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Curtius*, doe also speake.

There the *Basba* sent vs all manner of necessarie assistance, to
Babilon. bring our men and Merchandice to *Babilon*, paying a certaine custome, as one *per centum*, siluer and precious stones excepted, which are tole-free. This Citty, which now the *Turkes* call *Bagdat*, is at this present scituate vpon the Riuer *Tigris*, and not vpon *Euphrates*, as aunciently it was; though

though it be still the selfe same stuff and rubbish, which the *Babylonians* carried foure leagues further, to rebuild their CITTIE, on one of the bankes of *TIGRIS*; wherein finding yet a further inconuenience, they transported it on the other side; as to this day there are yet extant great tokens, togeather with some habitations which haue still kept in the first place. There is also a great bridge of boates, though som-what incommodious by reason of the largenes and height of the Riuer. The towne is twice as bigge as *Paris*, but therein are many great Gardens, Orchards, and arrable grounds: and that which seemes most admirable, is to see so great an enclosure, compassed with so faire wals. For indeed 4 waggons may goe a front vpon them; and are built all with bricke. The houses within the Cittie are low enough, vaulted vnder, and tarassed on the top. The Castle is exceeding strong, faire, great, and well stored with munition. There the *Basba* makes his dwelling place. I saw him walke abroad on a day, and twas reported he had very neere 50000 foot to waite vpon him, and as many horse, the best arraied that can euer be, hauing their harnesses all deckt with gold, siluer, and precious stones, to the very stirrups: with a great noise of Trumpets, Drummes, Cimbals, Clarions and hautbois. I was so curious likewise as to goe to the place, where it is said the great tower of *Babel* was built, being about half a dayes iourney distant; where I saw nothing but a high moun-

Towe rof
Babel.

taine of earth in the midst of a plaine where in digging you may find certaine bricks, whereof it is saide the tower was built. From *Babylon* I went to *Ezpan*, now the cheife and most gallant Cittie of *Persia* (I durst almost say of all the world) where the *Sopby* is most resident. The way is troublesome and discomodious enough, being of fiftene long dayes trauaile, through wast deserts, voyde of all townes and houses, or any other succour, partly by nature, partly so wasted of purpose to impeach the approaches of the *Turke*. Onely from one dayes Iourney to another, the *Sopbie* hath caused to be erected certaine kind of great harbours, or haue lodgings (like hamlets) called *Carauan-sara*, or *Surroyes*, for the benefit of *Carauanes*; out of which lodgings, trauailers dare not issue without a conuoy, which the gouernors of the said places giue from one to another; and the Captaine of the conuoy must bring back a good certificat from the Captaine of the *Carauan*, how he hath faithfully brought them to the next lodging, and that they were well pleased with his conuoy. Otherwise vpon the least complaint the king should heare, he would cause the Gouernors head to be cut off, and his house set a fire, vnder whom the spoyle were committed; restoring to the full out of his own treasure, what goods soeuer of the Marchants, which were past recouerie. Yet is it true, thereof haue been seen few examples by reason of very few misdemeanures in that nature; but whensoever any hath happned, that iustice hath been seuerely executed. Now these lodgings are exceeding comely with faire shops belonging thereto; and are able to entertaine all *Carauans*, neuer so great, the like being so set throughout all *Persia*.

Ezpan, or
Isfahan in
Persia.

Seuere iu-
stice.

Hispaan is halfe as bigge againe as *Paris*; very strong, very populous, and wonderfull frequented, as well because of trafficke, as for the Kings presence and all the Courts of Iustice, Checker, and Religion. It is vnpossible to relate the pleasures, recreations and delights which are there; either for stately Buildings, great faire Gardens, store and goodnes of fruits, continuall riding, and all other kinds of noble exercises, with an incredible Pompe, triumph and magnificence, where once they vndertake it. There is also great peace and plenty through all *Persia*, both of common things, which others haue in some sorte aswell as they; as of sundry other singularities which none haue but they indeed, or at least with such abundance and excellencie. Among other, the finest, fairest, and best bezar-stones which they find cleauing to the luer of certaine goates. There also is found the great mine of Turquestes; and the greatest quantity of silke that can be imagined, which the men themselues doe spinne.

For their bodyes, they are reasonable handsome, for their minds, reasonable tractable and ciuill.

Being in the said Cittie I saw 70000 gallant Harquebusiers go out to meet the king, at his returne from a victorious iourney against the *Turkes*, vpon whom he had conquered foure Prouinces; and because they were

Pleasant feruoritie.

not come farre enough to his minde, he did condemne them to pay three *Zequins* a peece, with threats that if they offended againe in the like he would cut off their heads: And did compell them to remaine in guard in a large spacious place before his Pallace; where euery euening he caused them to play and exercise themselues as though they had been in warre: causing withall store of artillery to be shot in among them, and if

any one through feare seemed to neglect his dutie, he caused his *Turbant* to be taken off, and the man knockt downe to death with staues, himselfe giuing the first stroake. At this his entrie they made him a great triumph, with a long magnificence. Among the rest they erected in the said place before his Pallace, foure fortresses: all

A true Asiatall Magnificence.

full of fire-workes, with Lions, Dragons, Leopards, Crocodils and other beasts; whose motion was artificially made to run vpon lines, from one fort to another, fighting as they had been aliue. They made likewise foure Forrests to be burnt, consisting of all sortes of fruitfull trees; whereon the fruits were so naturally represented, that nothing could be more perfect.

Like the royall Exchange in London but exceeding farre greater

The said place is all vaulted about with Porches, like to the Place Royall in *Paris*; hauing faire shops of euery side, as well within as without. There the king commanded each one, according to his seuerall trade, to deck their shops in the richest manner they could; which they also did: and hauing shut vp all the passages for the sunne, there was no other light but with lamps and torches, placed in the best order that can euer be deuised, which burning continually did returne a brightnes cleerer then the day it self, and I might well haue said there was all the riches in the world, for so they had dilligently

dilligently sought after, and either bought, or borrowed it of purpose from all parts, to appeare euery one more gallant and well-minded to their Prince, then his neighbor. Surely all that euer I haue seen since, through all my trauails, I think I saw it first there. About foure a clocke in the euening, the King vsed to come within that place and remained there till morning, playing, walking, and passing the time: which triumphs continued so far the space of two moneths togeather. There I saw the greatest quantity of rich stufes and tapistries that euer I saw before or since; siluer, and coyned money of all countries; yea with a good quantity out of *France* and *Spaine*. Within that place there is a 1000 peeces of ordinance as well great as small, which they say they had gotten from the *Turke*; And among the rest I perceiued four *French* peeces, of which hauing told the king, he made me answer, that he had taken them from the great *Vizier*, when he defeated him before *Tauris*, in his fathers time.

He is in a manner of the same religion the *Turke* is of, except some, I know not what differences, which I vnderstand not: being hereticks, one to another. When the King dies, he that succedeth puts out the eyes of all his Brethren, and keepeth them close prisoners in a great Castle, but yet with as much ease as he can; a kind of curtesie which hath been but since this kings time that now is, for in times past they slew them as they doe in *Turkie*.

From *Ispeen* I went to *Casbin*, 12 dayes iourney distant, a very Populous and rich Citty, and of great Traffick, about the bignes of *Orleans*: which though it be great and strong enough, yet the chiefe strength thereof lieth in the great number of horsemen that are continually about it. But there are no further commodities then at *Ispeen*. From thence I trauailed 15 daies iourney through very faire and well manured cuntryes, till I came to *Tauris*. A Citty very populous too, and of great traffick, some-what perhaps bigger then *Toulouze*. And was heretofore farre greater, yea of a huge bignes, as yet is to be seen by the ruines; but since hauing bin sackt againe by the *Turke*, hath lost almost all its former beauty, hauing heretofore, both for the fairenes and plentifulnes of the soyle, and statelines of the place, bin the seate of the *Persian* Kings.

Thence I prosecuted my trauail to *Syras*, being 16 daies iourney distant. It is still a braue place for trade, but chiefly for armour; the healthfullest Seate and the fairest in all *Persia*: where the *Verdican* or lieutenant generall of the *Sophie*, resideth with all his *Ianizaries*, to the number of 50000 horsemen; the best horses in the world next to those of the desert: for they dare not have any other, but such as the king giueth them, neither can they sell them: and when they die he giueth them others, as also to all the rest of his horsemen.

The Citty is some-what greater then *Auignon*, where there are the fairest remnants of greatnes, and of stately buildings, the finest Gardens, Brookes and Fountaines that can be seen. There are kinds of causeys in those parts made for pleasure 12 leagues in length, bordered on each side with faire trees, in forme of a vaulted palisado, so thick, that the sunne beams cannot

pierce through. Of each side of them there are faire springs of cleere running water, and between euery 15 foot of ground, are great vessells full of cleere water, made in form of a fountaine, which throwes out water the bignes of a mans bodie.

Lar. From *Syras* I went 8 daies iourney to the chiefe Citty of the great Realme of *Lar*, which giues his name to the whole kingdome, and from whence come the best Bezar-stones. There is the galantest, the strongest, and best stored Castle vnder the *Persian* king, being impossible to be battered or mined; vnderneath is the Cittie wholly commanded by this Castle.

There the king causeth such an order to be obserued through his whole kingdome, that before his Subiects sell any thing, those commodities, that are his own shall first be put to sale, then they must sell theirs at the same rate. He is verie affable to strangers.

Bancier. From *Lar* I went to *Bandier*, a small fort which the *Portugals* hold in *Persia*, to supply *Ormus* with water and victuall, which hath but verie litle or none at all.

Thence I past to *Ormus*, an Iland and Kingome which the *Portugals* do hold, though the *Moorish* king hath not abandoned his possession, but liue in some reasonable peace one with another. It is of a great force and consequence to them, drawing from thence very great commodities, for it lyeth iust in the passage to *Mecha*, and of necessitie euerie ship that passeth that way, must make a stay there to pay the customs. Among the rest I can

100000 l. affirme to haue seene one, that willingly taxed her selfe at 100000 sterling. Francs for her customs. There is but Brimstone and Salt in this Iland, without fresh water or any other commodity, and they must carry from *Persia*, all what they stand in need of: the Iland is but 3 leagues compasse, but there depends on it diuers other countreyes: the goulph is but 4 leagues ouer, which is all the distance from *Persia* to *Ormus*.

Macati in Arabia Petrea. There I embarked my self for *Macati*, which is a fortresse in *Arabia Petrea*, on the same side of *Ormus*, and some 8 daies iourney distant, belonging to the *Portugals*. This place is betweene *Ormus* and *Sourat*: there are exceeding good horses, swifter then those of *Persia*: but lesfer and yet more headstrong. There is also a great quantitie of Dates, which is their best merchandice; for man and horse doe eat of them. They are *Mahometans*, of a duskie hue, and as well men as women, weare long gownes with long high hats, without brim, and nothing but the crowne.

Sindio There I embarked again for *Sindio*, which is another Iland and kingdom about 80 or a 100 leagues compasse, and there I saw nothing but store of faire feathers, and plumes of two kinds of Herons, whereof they make great traffick, because they are found no where else. Likewise they haue all sorts of skins, which are wrought very curiously with needle-worke seruing to sleepe on in the coole. There is also great quantitie of Rice, which is all their merchandise, and is a great trafficke throughout all the Indies. They are *Gentiles*, and adore that creature, on which they first place

place their deuotion. They wash themselves euery morning before the Sunne rising, and in the euening after Sunne setting, they wash their haire also, which they weare very long, and combe them very carefully, like women. They burne their dead men: and their best beloued wiues being trickt vp in their best and sumptuousest apparell, are conducted by their neereft kinstolkes, and goe nine turnes about the fire, and at the ninth round throw themselves very cheerefully in the midst of it. They are a very loyall and chaste people, and who would not be a lier for a world.

Thence I returnd the same way I came, to *Bandier*, and prosecuting my trauaile by land, I entred the confines of the great *Mogor*, and made it two moneths and a half till I came to *Cambaya*, the *Metropolitan* Citty of that Kingdome, and whereof it beareth the name. There are found all kind of Marchandises, and Jewels, to wit, Diamonds, Saphirs, Pearles, Rubies, Cats-eyes, and great quantitie of Christall, Cotton linnen, and silke stufes. This Citty is very neere as bigge as *Hispaan*. The great *Mogor* oftentimes makes there his residence: he is a *Gentile*, and adoreth a Bull and a Cow, which they Marry together, and keepe them in a kind of Temple of an inestimable value: their Cratch is all couered with Diamonds, Emeralds, and other more precious Jewels, the Arches and walls, are full of them: and no sooner they can recouer any rare things, but they carry them thither to the offering. Then the offspring which is produced from this noble Marriage, succeedeth also to be their God. They haue an hospitall for all sorts of sicke beastes, wheron they bestow great costs, and they obserue the before-mentioned custome in burning their dead bodies. This is a wonderfull mightie Prince, able to bring, at any tyme 40000 gallant souldiers, and aboue to the field. In my conscience, I thinke, he is very neere as mightie, as rich, and Lord of as much ground, better peopled (at least, I am sure) then the *Turke* himself; with as many great Kingdomes, with their Viceroyes, as many braue Townes, as *Bramport* by name, *Agra*, *Labor*, and others, not inferior in any thing to any the *Turke* hath. They altogether make vse of Elephants, as well to carrie burdens, as to launch forth ships: to guard their Fortresses, or any other Military actions, making them to carry a pretty big Tower on their backes, with 24 or 25 bow-men, and 4 harquebus a croke, by which meanes they mightily molest the *Portugals*, who haue not yet found any inuention to defend themselves from them, except with fired lances, which they throw in their eyes; but whatsoeuer comes within their reach, they breake into peeces with their trunks. For to take them (as it was related to me in the Country) they make vse of a female, when shee goeth proud, in her heate, which they let goe vp and downe in a great wood, well enclosed, and enuironed with great stakes and trees, leaving but onely one passage open with a strong Portcullis, on the top whereof, stands a man as a Centinell, keeping himself vnseen, letting down the Portcullis, as soone as the Elephants be entred, then very solemnly, some certaine men which haue thereof a particular skil, goe to them, and capitulate with them,

Returned to
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as

as with prisoners of warre, what exercise they will be put vnto, either to serue in the warres, or some other imployments, whervpon, according as they like the conditions, they make signes with their head to the Interpreter, then they suffer them to come forth, and they faile not to follow him vnto whom they haue yeelded themselves. Then men must be sure to keep promise with them, or else finding themselves abused, they would wilfully pine themselves to death. But some there are, who either through shame or courage, will not yeeld themselves, and had rather suffer themselves to be slaine on the place. The Interpreter must giue them to vnderstand whither they goe, and how they shall be intreated, but if they come and find the contrary, they starue themselves to death, and if their Lord doth sel them to a meaner man then himself, they will not goe to him. I haue seene one my selfe, at *Cochin*, esteemed the valiantest of that Countrey, finding himselfe vnable to bring to passe an enterprise imposed vpon him, which was to lanch a very great ship, made all the signes he could to auoide it, wherevpon the *Trucheman* told him, that they should be constrained to goe and find out another that should doe it, which would proue a vile affront vnto him, hauing already purchased so great a reputation, as he had, whereupon he went to worke, vpon meere desperate vaine glory, and drew the shippe into the sea, then bursted; which I haue also heard to be vsuall, and haue hapned to many others in some such cases. It is a creature that neuer lieth downe, the female onely excepted, in her copulation with the male, which is very much alike to the man and woman, then with his trunk hee gently raiseth her up again.

Now for the people, they are of a swartie kind, like to those of *Sindio*, and weare a white turbant very little, with Cotton garments. They bequeath their goods to their sisters Children, before their Brothers, being well assured, that without doubt, they are sprung of their bloud. It is very profitable trading with this people, for if but a child went thither with his wares, he should gain as much as the subtlest Merchant in the world. For as soone as you are arriued into this Citty, the Kings officers come and dis-burthen you of what you desire to expose to sale, which they lock vp by account, within the publique *Store-house*; you need but tell them the price, and make choyce of one of their *Brokers*, who goeth to exhibite them to their Merchants, and so make more of your wares by the one half, then you should haue done your self; in the end he comes and giues you a faithfull account of all. Likewise for such Merchandise as you desire to haue among them, in giuing them a note thereof, they will by and by bring you all kind of Patterns, and they themselves will fraught your shippe, you needing not to trouble your self any further, and most commonly will furnish you with better wares then they had before shewen you: yea, after having giuen you vp their accounts, as well of the sale, as of the goods bought, and restored you the ouerplus, if there be any, sometimes they will present you with some good gift, for hauing done them the credit, in making choyce of them aboue all their fellowes.

The fruits of this Country are excellent, and farre differing from ours: among the rest there is one not much vnlike a Mellon, which groweth on the ground

ground between two leaues, with a verie yellow rinde, being ripe, and this is called *Ananas*, very hot of qualitie, but of taste, aboue all things so sweete, that after hauing eaten of it, water will seeme to you as bitter as gall. There is another very licquorish fruit, called *Amangues*, growing on trees, and is as bigge as a great quince, with a very great stone in it. Moreouer there is another that groweth on trees, resembling a great Citrull, with a kind of hornie rinde, after the forme of a pointed Diamond; They are green in colour, and called *Iugues*, containing a licquor like honie, which licquor is found likewise in another fruit named *Chatagu*, very good to eate, but dangerous to those that are not accustomed vnto it, by reason of the heate of it. Furthermore, there is another named *Iambes*, which also groweth on trees, and is of the bignes of an apple, very good and wholesome, containing fiue stones in it, the outside half red, and halfe yellow. They haue yet another fruit, of colour green, coole, and wholesome, (which groweth on a tree called *Carambole*) square, and of a fingers length: they make great vse of it in Phisicke. There is with-al great quantitie of Anis-seed, white Ginger, whereof they make great Trafficke, which also they preferue and confect.

Thence I continued my iourney 12 dayes together, all along *Sunta* the coast, till I came within foure leagues of *Sourat*, which is a most fair Island, and a very populous Kingdome, (much frequented by Merchants) subiect to the great *Mogor*. There I embarked my selfe to passe that little gulfe. The Citty is about the bignes of *Roan*, the Castle impregnable, because inaccessible: for of the one side it is inuironed with the Sea, and the other side is built on so strong and steepe a Rocke, that it is as much as a man can do with great difficultie to get vp, and withall, the best garded and furnished with Ordinance, and all kind of Munition, as euer I saw, and indeed they haue good reason, for on that place depends the safteie of the whole Island.

Thence I held my course for *Diu*, some foureteen dayes iourney *Diu* distant, which is a most important strong hold, which the *Portugals* possesse there, by them conquered from the great *Mogor*, very neere as bigge as *Pontoise*. They are *Gentiles*, and differ little or nothing from the others, in humours, Religion, Trafficke, soyle, or fruits.

Thence I trauailed to the Kingdome of *Calicut*, the King where- *Calicut* of is a *Mabometan*; and made it 17 dayes iourney compleat, along the coast, no extraordinarie thing presenting it selfe to my view, beside the fore-mentioned Commodities: the men being of a swartie hue.

Departing from the aforesaid Kingdome, I entred into that of *Malebar*. *Malebar* where they are exceeding black, but yet not curled, flat nosde, or great lipt, as the *Negroes* be; neuerthelesse, with as good faces, as any in all *Europe*. They are *Mabometans*, and valiant, although they are somewhat of a sauage inclination, and would neuer come to composition with the *Portugals*, but delight themselues to be at variance with all their neighbours. They lie in the field, and haue very few houses of any importance. Meane while I was there, they tooke 160. Carauels from the *Portugals*. And when

when they take any prisoner, who by chance hath his garments cut, or iag'd, they say he did teare them of purpose; knowing they should once be theirs, and knocke him in the head with staues. This Kingdome containes in length some 14 dayes Iourney.

Cananor. Departing thence, I entred the Kingdome of *Cananor*, where I trauailed foure dayes, without the sight of any rarity of importance more than is abouesayd. It is a little *Mahometan* Kingdom, they are swartie, and great Traffickers.

Mangalor. Thence I entered the Countrey of *Mangalor*, which is also a little *Mahometan* Kingdome: the inhabitants of a swartie colour, where I trauailed 8 daies along the coast, without any thing worth writing, besides that which is in their neighbour Countries, onely that they haue no formall Townes, or scarce any good houses.

Sumatra. Thence I entred the Iland and Realme of *Sumatra*, resembling altogether the former in all things, as well for Religion, and commodities, as for the stature and hue of men. Onely they haue more then the rest, the great pepper in abundance, whereof they doe furnish the *Portugals*. But they are wise enough, to keepe the best from them, which they call *Ganry*, of a gray colour, bigger and smother then that which they send vs, which is but that which falleth from the tree, before it be ripe, which makes them become so withered and bare, keeping the better sort for their owne vse, whereof they preferue a great part, delighting much to eate hotte things, although their Countrey be very hot. This pepper groweth on a tree, about the bignesse of a man's arme; there groweth also a great quantitie of good *Ginger*.

Bombas. Thence I entred the Kingdome of *Bombas*, in all things like the other, Pepper onely excepted, being found in no one part of the *East-Indies*, but in *Sumatra*, and I trauailed 12 dayes iourney along the coast, without seeing one good Towne.

Chaoul. Departing thence, I returned within the Countreyes of the great *Mogor*, and arriued at *Chaoul*, a small Towne, about the bignes of *S. Glou.* There are made the fairest Cabinets in the world, being not to be matched by any of *Germany*, or of *China*. They are *Gentiles*, as in *Cambaya*, and great Traffickers.

Damans. Thence I went to *Damans*, which is a place fortified by the *Portugals*, about the bignesse of *Chaoul*, being 11 dayes iourney, one from another, and are likewise *Gentiles*.

Canarra. Thence to the Kingdome of the *Canarrins*, which is but a little one, and 5 dayes iourney from *Damans*. They are tall of stature, idle, for the most part, and therefore the greater theeues. They hold some points of Christianitie. They weare a cap, a long cloake, in forme of a gowne. They lie in the field, vnder vile Cabbing of Turfe.

Bramny. Thence I entred the Kingdome of *Brameny*, which containeth but 2 dayes iourney in length, and in a manner, of the same qualitie,

qualities, and habit, with the *Canarrins*. Onely they haue a kind of linnen cloth, which they make Marchandice of.

Thence to the Kingdom of *Coulam*, (who are *Gentiles*, and of *Coulam*. a swartie hue) which hauing trauesed from one end to the other, in a 11 dayes iourney, I beheld no place of importance. There is nothing there, but all open.

Thence I tooke my way to *Conchin*, possessed by the *Portu- Conchin*. gals: though the King keepes (neuerthelesse) still there his title and Court. The Cittie is about the bignesse of *Mante*, and is as well frequented with Marchants, as any other place in all the *Indies*, being the thorowfare to *China*. And there is a Citadell of exceeding great strength.

Thence I went to the Mountaine of *S. Thomas*, where they are *S. Thomas*. all Christians, and haue alwayes so borne themselves (notwithstanding their King is a *Gentile*) their number being so great, that very hardly may they be rooted out; besides that, the passages to it are most difficult. They goe for the most part almost naked, as commonly they doe in all those Countries. And there is a certaine place where there is a Miraculous crosse, whither they goe to proceesion, in the holy weeke. And then during their seruice time, while they repeate the passion, this crosse begins to change colour, and to sweat I know not what kind of blacke liquor like inke, but the passion being ended, it returnes to its former nature. They hold it to be a grace which Saint *Thomas* obtained from God, for their perseuerance in the faith. The Cittie is about the bignes of *Poissy*: there are found certaine stuffs by them much esteemed, although they be made but of hearbs, wherewith they cloath themselves, and make a great trade thereof.

Thence I returned to *Conchin*, and from *Conchin* to the king- *To Conchin* dome of *Bengala*, wherein the *Portugals* also hold the capitall citty, *again, and* and best fortresse, of which the whole kingdome takes their name, *thence to* which notwithstanding, is very small and of little strength. It *Bengala*. is a countrey full of all sorts of commodities. Among the rest, they haue prettie couerlets, of yellow linnen-cloth, all pinkte and wrought with needleworke, whereof some are to be seene in these parts. This Citie lies all open, being of the bignes of Saint *Denis*, and is some 5 weekes iourney from *Conchin*.

Thence to the kingdome and Iland of *Seilan*, which the *Portu- Seilan*. gals holde, being a place of importance. In that countrey are whole forests of Cinamon, all other countries being destitute of it. There be also whole mountaines of Christall, and out of their riuers they draw Perles, Rubies, Saphirs, and Cats-eyes, which are of great value, and whereof they make a great trade in *China*. It is a good country, and exceeding plentifull in corn, rice, fruits, and all other things which are frequent throughout the *Indies*. And is held to be 300 leagues compasse, being all *Gentiles*. True it is, that the beasts which they adore, varie from the others, for they will worship the first creature they meete withal. They eate nothing that hath bloud, and of their very bread they will make no more then will be eaten at a meale,

for if it be kept but 2 houres, they are forbidden by their religion to eate it. Moreouer there is a Riuer of salt water which issueth out of the sea, and runneth neere the fort, where there is a certaine fish, or rather a kind of sea dragon, a monster, or I know not what, comes often howling euen vnder the windowes, and will not depart before they haue giuen him his pray, because (as they say) the Gouvernour hath vsed him to it, causing all such as he beareth grudge vnto, or he any way distrusteth, to be throwne to him, so that none but he and his men can tell, what is become of them.

Ior. Thence I bent my course, (for the the Kingdome of *Ior*,) as much as I could by land, for this climate is all full of waters, and Ilands and is very temperate, being about a monthes trauaill betweene *Seilan*, and *Ior*, which is a very pretty little towne, about the bignes of *Auignon*. They are *Gentiles*, and of a yellowish hew, they worship I know not what shape with three heads, they obserue the like abstinence as is aboue mentioned, and haue very neere the selfe same commodities.

Malaca. Thence I past to *Malaca*, an exceeding strong fortres, belonging to the *Portugals*, 10 dayes trauaill beyond *Ior*. There you haue on aire most unwholesome, and those whose constitution is able to beare it, and liue, at least their complexion is all changed to a yellow; There groweth a certaine fruit prickled like a ches-nut, and as big as ones fist, the best in the world to eate, these are somewhat costly, all other fruits being at an easie rate. It must be broken with force, and therein is contained a white liquor like vnto creame, neuerthelesse it yields a very vnfauory sent, like to a rotten oynion, and it is called *Esturion*. There groweth likewise, and no where els, Nutmegs and Cloues vpon their trees, or stalkes; as also the Bezar-stone; which is found ioyned to the breast of *Monkies*, but not so good as those of the *Persian* Goates. Likewise there be Diamonds, but farre inferior to those, whereof I am to speake anon: yet are there Porcupine-stones of the couller of white soape, which are had in great estimation, hauing seene one about the
9c 1. sterling. bignes of a Nutmeg, sold for 300 crownes, which indeed was a faire one, they make vse of it, almost against all diseases, leauing it an howre to steepe in water, which afterwards they drinke of, though it be as bitter as Gall.

This kingdome is of the *Molucos*, and the *Hollanders* possesse there a strong fortresse called *Sonde*, whence they bring vs the birds of *Paradice*, for they are found no where else, the countrey folkes take them vp dead, and sell them for 8 rialls a peece; All along this coast is found great quantitie of gray Amber, and black Muske and Ciuet. But the men of those countreys are very liquorish of the Amber, and eate the most part of it, as fast as they find it. They are well furnished with all manner of commodities, wine only excepted: But they haue instead of it, a certaine drink called *Caabiete*, as black as inke, which they make with the barke of a tree, and drinke it as hot as they can endure it. Their houses are low, vaulted, and tarrafed on the top, the better to sleepe in the coole aire.

From

From *Malaca* I went to *Macao*, (neere a months trauaile) *Macao.* which is a Cittie situate on the sea coaste, at the foote of a great Mountaine, where in times past the *Portugals* had a great fort, and to this day there be yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into *China*, but the place is of no great importance; they are *Gentiles*, and there the inhabitants begin to be faire complexioned.

Thence I trauailed 2 months to the *Cochinchines*, finding nothing by the way worthie of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that we were faine to carrie our victuals with vs, the greatest part of the way. They are Subiects to the King of *China*, but sometimes they rebell and make warre against him; And there is a great number of Christians among them. Their Kings treasure consisteth in a certaine kind of wood called *Calamba*: for which the *Portugals* pay 100 crownes a pound, to make Pater-nosters with. It is of a mixte colour, with blacke and yellow vaines; the better sort of it is moiste, so that being cut it expelleth a kind of fat oylie liquor. It groweth out of a certaine tree, which they fell and let it lie a while a putrifying: then they bruse it, and within the same they finde this kind of wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to be colde, lowe of stature, flat nosde, and little eyed, with a very few haire on their chins, and mustachoes, none at all on their cheekes, the hair of the head they weare long like women, and tied vp with a black filke haire-lace, and weare a flat cap vpon them. They weare cloth Breeches made very leuell, and a short robe aboue them, like a master of the chamber of accounts. There are found a kind of Serpents that will swallow vp a whole Stag: Two Friars assured me that trauailing in that countrey, together with 16 other men, through a fenni-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met to their seeming, a great tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, vpon which they all began to sit down and rest themselues: but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a tree, fiercely rowld it selfe vnder them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground, for indeed this was one of those Serpents.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselues in ambush among the boughs of a tree, and when they espie their pray to draw neere, be it man or beast, they fall vpon him with open mouth and deuoure it. There are also store of *Lions*, *Leopards*, and *Tigres*: and there the fruits begin to resemble those of these partes: but the fruit, which aboue all others aboundeth there, is the *Mirabolan*.

Thence I set forwards to *Canton*, the principall Cittie of all *China*, (some 3 moneths trauaill distant) beyond which there is *Canton in China.* no passage, say any body what he will to the contrary; for neuer any man proceeded further, except (as they say) 6 *Iesuits*, who dwelled 20 yeares at *Canton*, as well to learne the language perfectly as to let their haire to growe long, after the countrey manner, of whom there was neuer since heard any newes, nor is there hope euer to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is aboue said; they are likewise *Gentiles*, and worship the same Image with three heads. Their women of the better sort, and quality

which are able to liue of their owne without working, neuer goe out of their houses but as they are carried in a chaire. And to that effect, from their infancie, they put their feete into certaine woodden slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent, insomuch as they are not able to goe: the reason they alleadge for it, is, that women were made to no other ende, then to keep at home.

The Christians are not permitted to lie within the Cittie, but as soon as night approaches they must retire themselves to their ships, being lawfull for them to traffick whersoever they please by day light. And for their traffick, what rarities soeuer there be throughout all *China*, are to be had in this cittie, which are diligently brought thither, to wit, great store of cloth of gold and silke, cabinets, wrought vessels, Venus-shells, Massiue gold, and many other things. They will exchange or barter gold for twise as much waight in siluer; for they haue no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carry with them a peece of gold and will cut off as much as they intend to bestowe on what they take. They make carued Images of siluer, which they erect heere and there through the streets, and no bodie dares touch them. The Cittie is gouerned by 4 rulers, and each one hath his gouernment, or circuit a part, secluded from each other: those of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and those which cause them selues to be carried, from one part to another, must change their bearers when they come to the gate of the next circuit: those gates are opened euery morning, and shut euery night, vnlesse there be any complaint made of some misdemeanure, committed within the circuit: for then they shut them suddenly, or if they be shut, they open them not, till the offendor be found. The King bestowes these commands on those who are the best learned. This is a most faire Cittie, and well built, very neere as big as *Paris*, but there the houses are arched, and nothing neere so high. Their Venus-shells consist of certaine kind of earth or clay which hath remaind a 100 yeares in one place, and remoued euery eight dayes. There is so much sugar, in that Country, that it is by them very little set by, yet is silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more course then ours, by reason of their store being so great as they are constrained to make it abroad in the fields, on the very trees, in this wise; when the wormes are hatched, (whereof the eggs are faire greater then ours) they obserue what quantitie of wormes each tree will be able to feed, then they lay so many on it, leauing them there without any more adoe, except it be to gather the quods, when they are ready to be spunne, which is done as they gather Apricocks: for indeed a farre off they appeare to be so, and is a very fine sight to behould: they vse a strange kind of fishing with Cormorants, and surely from thence must needes haue deriued at first the like inuention, which (as I heare) was of late brought into *England*, and thence hither. They tie their necks a little aboue their stommacks, least they should deuour the fish they take: then comming to their maister, he pulleth it aliue out of their throates: likewise for water-foule, they make vse of great bottles with two holes, which they leaue floating vp and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the foules therewith: then
some

some fellows will wade vp to the necke in the water, thrusting their heads into those bottles, and hauing a bag vnderneath, come as neere the foule as they will, taking them with their hands, without the rest being afraid of it.

From *Canton* I returned to *Macao*, and took my way through the kingdome of *Pegu*, which is much transformed from what it was heretofore by reason of a certain king, who forbad his people the exercise of husbandry and Tillage, or any other thing necessary for the vse of man; And hauing gathered together all the victualls of the country, caused it strongly to be immured, where he kept his residence, suffering the most part of his subiects to perish, through lamine or sicknes, so that at this instant the whole countrey remaines waste and desolate. Where in times past, there was wont to be found many rare commodities: namely, most faire rubies, and is now alltogether frequented with sauage beastes; yea in so great quantity that they haue almost driuen out the inhabitants. Yet for such as remaine there to this day, they be *Gentiles* and of a swartie hue.

Againe to
Macao
Pegu.

Thence I made it 18 dayes iourneyes, to the Realme of *Camboe*, which is very spacious, but voyd of any rarieties of note, onely that the King is able to bring 400000 men to the field, and makes warre vpon the King of *Sian*.

Camboe.

Thence I came to *Sian*, the King whereof is able to bring 600000 men to the field. These two Kings haue neyther Horses, or any fiery Instruments: but make vse onely of bowes, and a certaine kind of pike, made of a knottie wood like Canes, call'd *Baubuc*, which is exceeding strong, though pliant and supple for vse.

Sian.

Both these Kings are *Gentiles*, but yet differ enough in manners; for the King of *Sian* worshippeth a white Elephant; And that of *Camboe* doth as the most of the aboue-mentioned. I saw nothing remarkable in both these kingdomes, (hauing but coasted them) but onely much *Benzoin* in *Sian*; which is an aromaticall gumme, distilling out of a certaine tree, when they haue first cut an incision into it, whereof they make a great trade: as being the onely place where it is found. I spent three moneths in trauerfing these two Kingdomes.

Thence I imbarqued myself in one of the *Portugall* ships, which vsually trafficke thither for *Benzoin*, and arriued at *Conchin*, a most fertile Kingdome, as likewise all the others be in those Climes, *Pegu* onely accidentally excepted.

From *Conchin* I trauailed by land 2 moneths and a halfe, to *Bisnagat*, otherwise call'd *Ballagat*, by the *Portugals*: which is a most faire Cittie, and the Metropolitan of the kingdome, vnto which it giues his name. It stands within two leagues of the rock of Diamonds, belonging to the King, who makes his ordinarie abode in the said Cittie, and retaineth 15000 men, continually labouring in the said mine, with straight commandment, that all the great ones be layed vp in his Treasurie, suffering none to be sold, but little ones, such as we see in these parts. So that there is not any

Bisnagat.

any great ones sold, or transported, vnlesse it be by stealth, or some deuice; As I haue seen one with the great *Mogor*, as bigge as a Hens egge, and of that very form, which he caused expressely to be peirced like a pearle, to wear it on his arme; which stone had been so purloin'd from this King, and cost the other 500000 Parots, which is little lesse then a million. It waigheth 198 Mangelins, and each Mangelin weigheth fise graines. I myselfe found meanes by mony, priuily to haue another great one, conueyed into my handes, whereof I will speake more by and by.

This King is a *Gentile*, and of a hard, Swartie complexion. He worshipeth the tooth of a *Monkey*, and some in his Kingdome worship a certain kind of Serpent.

Dialcan. Thence I trauailed 11 dayes, till I came to the Realme of *Decan*, *Dialcan*, or *Idalcan*; their King dwelleth within a dayes iourney of *Goa*, which is a strong Citty, the *Portugals* hold: and the *Viz-roy* of the *Portugall-Indies* keeps there his residence, against whom this King (who is a *Mabometan*, and very mightie) makes warre now and then.

Thence I came to *Goa* itselſe, an Iland but fise leagues in compasse, neuerthelesse the greatest Mart towne in all the *Indies*: for there all the abouementioned Kingdomes, and the *Portugals*, mutually come to discharge and recharge themselues. It is a verie faire Cittie, about the bignes of *Poitiers*. At the mouth of the Port, on each side is erected a great Fortresse, very strongly manned by the *Portugals*. In this Iland is the hard Waxe made (which we call Spanish Waxe) and is made in manner following. They inclose a large plotte of ground, with a little trench filled with water, then they stick vp a great number of small staues, vpon the sayd plot; that being done, they bring thither a sort of pismires, farre bigger then ours, which being debar'd by the water to issue out, are constrained to retire themselues vpon the sayd staues, where they are kil'd with the heate of the Sunne, and thereof it is that the *Lacka* is made. This is a Climate where it raines, without intermission, the three moneths of Winter, and so outragiously, that it is vnpossible to keep the sea vpon that coast, without Shipwrack. After the rayne is fallen, comes there a land wind, which dryeth vp the ayre, and two houres after, is very safe sayling.

Thence I embarqued myselſe, (with the permission, and Pasport of the *Viz-roy*) for *Lisbone*, but we had such a terrible tempest, that we were eyght whole dayes in the bottomes and Iles of *Las Chagues*, despairing euer to come out again: in the end, God miraculously deliuered vs, and brought vs to *Mozambique*, which is a Fort belonging to the *Portugals*. Then to *Solfale*, where they are *Mabometans*, and all black; And thence onely commeth the *Ebony*. Then we arriued at *Lisbone*, where I was imprisoned, and continued so foureyeres long, without euer telling me the cause why. Finally, after much adoe, I was set at libertie, through the great meanes my LORD the Duke of *Mayenne* made for me, when he came into *Spaine* about the marriages; And as it seemeth in fauour and hope of them; or els I fully belieue I had neuer been

Mozambique.
Solfale.

Lisbone.

been released. For as I heard there, by the meanes of some prisoners, the *Viz-roy* of *Goa* had giuen straight warning, that I was an vndertaking man, who had exactly viewed all those Countries, and could doe much hurt vnto the King their Master, by the acquaintances, and intelligences I had of them, if euer I could come among the *French*, *English*, or *Hollanders*. There was I in my chamber of the prison, by an vnlucky aduenture miserably robd, of a little hollow pipe of white latten, long and slender, which I had euer kept so close, that no body in the world knew of it, and therein were 35 rough Diamonds, which was all that I euer had gotten in my long and painefull trauels, among which (the others being but common) there was a mighty great one, waighing no lesse then 79 Carrats, and therefore of an vnestimable valew, the first theefe was presently, yea within a quarter of an howre robd of them by another, and so being passed, from hand to hand, when after many daies and troubles, I almost had giuen ouer all enquiry, at last the second theefe was found out, by meanes of the first, and being found seased with my Diamonds, he was both taken by the Iustice, and they with him, which afterward were restored back vnto me, I meane all the small ones, but not the great, which came neuer since in sight, and did vanish away, through so many honest hands. So that all the reason I could euer haue for it, yea after much importunity to the King himself and the officers, was to haue (though not at my request, nay, most against my will) that poor fellow hang'd, who in my conscience I think, was not the least nor the last theefe, hauing bin (as I am sure) robd also by a third; howsoever, the stone is not of so small valew, but a great Prince may be gorgious and proud with it. God grant pardon to all sinners.

Certaine generall Obseruations, touching the INDIES.

IT is to be vnderstood, that all the kings and kingdomes betweene *Cochin* and the great *Magor*, were in times past his subiects, but in the end many haue withdrawne themselues from him, and are become soueraignes: Yet there are still whole numbers that acknowledge him.

The *Portugals* possesse no in-land forte, through all the aboue named countries, but altogeather on the borders and sea-coasts.

From *Cambaya* to *Macao*, they make vse of Elephants altogeather in battels, Garrisons, and for Carriage.

All these *Gentiles*, keep living Serpents in their ships, instead (as it were) of an Alminacke, or rather some Demy-god, for their good luck; so that if they see them not frolick and blithe, they dare not set sayle: but if they be iolly and merry, they will sette out, whatsoever comes of it.

The aboue-named drink *Caabiete*, is drunk from *Turkey* to *China*, and is exceeding wholesome and good.

Throughout all these *Indies*, instead of glasse-windowes, they vse mother of pearle.

They

They haue the fruit of a tree, like vnto a Peach-stone, called *Areque*, which they continually keep in their mouth, and can no more forbear it, then those who haue vs'd themselues to *Tobacco*; in like manner, they vse an hearbe, which they call *Betre*, somewhat like Iuie, which both men and women chaw night and day in their mouths: and to abstaine from that, would make their harts faint: Sometimes they eate it with lime; which makes it the ardentest thing in the world. Once I would needs taste of it, but I thought verily to haue burnt all my Intrails: thus they forbear 5 or 6 dayes from meate.

They haue also certaine fig-trees, which beare leaues, about 3 ells long, in so much, that they couer themselues with it, from the raine, and vse them instead of Table-clothes, and the onely halfe of one sufficeth 10 or 12 men. They are exceeding faire and green, and a farre off, seem a peece of water-chamlet; their fruit is of 2 sorts, the one, of the bignesse of a meane Cucumber, the other, somewhat lesse; both yellow, being ripe, and wonderfull good, but the lesser is the best. Out of this fig-tree groweth a stemme, as big as a mans arme, within the which lie a great number of figs, clustring together, like a bunch of Grapes, euery stem, together with the figs, waighing 50 or 60 li. They gather the said stems, while the figs be green, for they ripen as well in the house, as vpon the tree, therefore they make great vse of them in long voyages. The custome they vse in planting these trees, is to take a long lyne, and to draw it stiffly through the figs, (as a Shoemaker waxeth his thred) to the end, that the small seed within the fruit, may stick to the corde, then they stretch it in the ground, half a foote deep, whereof proceedeth an infinite number of figge-trees.

Moreouer, you haue there, as farre as *Macao*, a kind of Palme-trees, like those which beare Dates, but this beares another fruit, which together with the shell is as big as a mans head. It is exceeding wholesome, and yeelds both wine, vineger, oyle to eate, and to burne, sugar, and a kind of liquor, which they drink: the fruit itselke tasteth like a hasle-nut; of his rinde, they make cordage, and of the wood they build houses and ships. Many other things could I add, but thus much will suffice, for a taste to such, as will be pleased to heare me further speak.

It is the
Cocos.

Three

Three PATENTS *Concerning the* HONOURABLE
degree and dignitie of BARONETS,

THE first containing the Creation and Grant.

THE second a decree with addition of other Priviledges.

THE thirde a confirmation and explanation.

¶ *Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. ANNO 1617.*

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. *Salutem.* CUM inter alias Imperij nostri gerendi curas, quibus animus noster assidue exercetur, illa non minima sit, nec minimi momenti, de Plantatione Regni nostri HIBERNIÆ, ac potissimum *Ultoniæ*, amplæ & percelebris ejusdem Regni Prouinciæ, quam, nostris jam auspicijs atque armis, feliciter sub obsequij jugum redactam, ita constabilire elaboramus, vt tanta Prouincia, non solum sincero Religionis cultu, humanitate ciuili, morumque probitate, verum etiam opum affluentia, atque omnium rerum copia, quæ statum Reipublicæ ornare vel beare possit, magis magisque efflorescat, Opus sanè, quod nulli progenitorum nostrorum præstare & perficere licuit, quamuis idiplum multa sanguinis & opum profusione sæpius tentauerint; In quo opere, sollicitudo nostra Regia, non solum ad hoc excubare debet, vt Plantatio ipsa strenuè promoueat, oppida condantur, ædes & castra extruantur, agri colantur, & id genus alia; Sed etiam prospiciendum imprimis, vt vniuersus huiusmodi rerum ciuiliū apparatus, manu armatâ, præsidij videlicet & cohortibus, protegatur & communiatur, ne qua aut vis hostilis, aut defectio intestina, rem disturbet aut impediat: Cumque nobis intimatum sit, ex parte quorundam ex fidelibus nostris subditis, quod ipsi paratissimi sint, ad hoc Regnum nostrum inceptum, tam corporibus, quam fortunis suis promouendum: Nos commoti operis tam sancti ac salutaris intuitu, atque gratos habentes huiusmodi generosos affectus, atque propensas in obsequium nostrum & bonum publicum voluntates, Statuimus apud nos ipsos nulli rei deesse, quæ subditorum nostrorum studia præfata remunerare, aut aliorum animos atque alacritatem, ad operas suas præstandas, aut impensas in hac parte faciendas, excitare possit: Itaq; nobiscum perpendentes atque reputantes, virtutem & industriam, nulla alia re magis quam honore ali atque acui; omnemque honoris & dignitatis splendorem, & amplitudinem à Rege tanquam à fonte, originem & incrementum ducere, ad cuius culmen & fastigium propriè spectat, novos honorum & dignitatum titulos erigere atque instituere, vtpote à quo antiqui illi fluxerint; consentaneum duximus

(postulante usu Reipublicæ atque temporum ratione) noua merita, nouis dignitatibus insignibus rependere: Ac propterea, ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris, Ordinauimus, ereximus, constituimus, & creauimus, quendam statum, gradum, dignitatem, nomen & titulum *Baronetti*, (Anglice *of a Baronet*) intra hoc Regnum nostrum Angliæ perpetuis temporibus duraturum. **SCIA TIS** modo quod nos de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris, ereximus, præfecimus & creauimus, ac per præsentis pro nobis, Hæredibus, & successoribus nostris, erigimus, præficimus, & creamus dilectum nostrum

in comitatu

de virum, familia, patrimonio, censu, &

morum probitate spectatum (qui nobis auxilium & subsidium satis amplum, generoso & liberali animo dedit & præstitit, ad manutenendum, & supportandum triginta viros in cohortibus nostris pedestribus in dicto Regno nostro Hiberniæ, per tres annos integros pro defensione dicti Regni nostri, & præcipuè pro securitate plantationis dictæ Prouinciæ *Ultoniæ*) ad, & in dignitatem, statum, & gradum *Baronetti* (Anglice *of a Baronet*) Ipsumque

Baronettum pro nobis, Hæredibus, & successoribus nostris, præficimus, constituimus, & creamus per præsentis, habendum sibi, & hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis in perpetuum. **VOLVMVS** etiam & per præsentis de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris, pro nobis, Hæredibus, & successoribus nostris concedimus præfato

& Hæredibus masculis de

corpore suo legitime procreatis, Quod ipse idem

& Hæredes sui masculi prædicti habeant, gaudeant, teneant, & capiant locum atque Præcedentiam, virtute dignitatis *Baronetti* prædicti, & Vigore præsentium, tam in omnibus Commissionibus, breuibus, literis patentibus, scriptis, appellationibus, nominationibus & directionibus, quam in omnibus Sessionibus, Conuentibus, Cætibz & locis quibuscunque, præ omnibus militibus, tam de Balneo, (Anglice *of the Bath*) quàm militibus Baccalaureis, (Anglice *Bachelors*) ac etiam præ omnibus militibus Bannerettis, (Anglice *Bannerets*) iam creatis, vel imposterum creandis, (Illis militibus Bannerettis tantummodo exceptis quos sub vexillis regijs, in exercitu regali, in aperto bello, & ipso Rege personaliter pæsente, explicatis, & non aliter creari contigerit. Quodque vxoris dicti

& Hæredum masculorum

suorum prædictorum, virtute dictæ dignitatis maritorum suorum prædictorum, habeant, teneant, gaudeant, & capiant locum & præcedentiam, præ vxoribus omnium aliorum quorumcunque; præ quibus mariti huiusmodi vxorum, vigore præsentium habere debent locum & præcedentiam; atque quod primogenitus filius, ac cæteri omnes filij & eorum vxores, & filiæ eiusdem

& hæredum suorum prædictorum respectiuè, habeant, & capiant locum & præcedentiam, ante primogenitos filios, ac alios filios & eorum vxores, & filias omnium quorumcunque respectiuè, præ quibus patres huiusmodi filiorum primogenitorum, & aliorum filiorum, & eorum vxores, & filiarum, vigore præsentium habere debent locum & præcedentiam.

VOLVMVS etiam, & per præsentis pro nobis, hæredibus, & successoribus nostris,

nostris, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ, & mero motu nostris concedimus, quod dictus nuncupetur, placitet & implacitetur, per nomen

Baronetti; Et quod stili & additio *Baronetti* apponatur in fine nominis eiusdem & hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, in omnibus Literis Patentibus, Commissionibus, & Breuibis nostris, atque omnibus alijs Chartis, factis, atque literis, virtute præsentium, vt vera, & legitima, necessarie additio dignitatis. Volumus etiam, & per Præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus, & successoribus nostris ordinamus, quod nomini dicti

& Hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, in sermone Anglicano, & omnibus scriptis Anglicanis, præponatur hæc additio, videlicet Anglicè (SIR :) Et similiter quod vxores eiusdem

& hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, habeant, vtantur, & gaudeant hac appellatione, videlicet Anglicè (*Lady, Madame, & Dame*) respectiuè, secundum vsum loquendi. Habendum, tenendum, vtendum, & gaudendum, eadem, statum, gradum, dignitatem, stili, titulum, nomen, locum, & præcedentiam, cum omnibus & singulis Priuilegijs, & cæteris præmissis, præfat.

& hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum. Volentes & per præsentes concedentes, pro Nobis Hæredibus & successoribus Nostris, quod prædictus

& hæredes sui masculi prædicti, nomen, statum, gradum, stili, dignitatem, titulum, locum, & præcedentiam prædictam, cum omnibus & singulis Priuilegijs, & cæteris præmissis successiuè, gerant & habeant, & eorum quilibet gerat & habeat, quodque idem

Et Hæredes sui Masculi prædicti successiuè *Baronetti* in omnibus teneantur, Et vt *Baronetti* tractentur & reputentur, Et eorum quilibet teneatur, tractetur & reputetur. Et vltius de vberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris Concessimus, ac per præsentes pro Nobis, Hæredibus & successoribus Nostris concedimus præfato

Et Hæredibus suis masculis prædictis, quod numerus Baronetorum huius Regni Angliæ nunquam posthac excedet in toto, in aliquo vno tempore, numerum ducentorum Baronetorum: & quod dicti *Baronetti*, & eorum Hæredes masculi prædicti respectiuè, de tempore in tempus in perpetuum, habebunt tenebunt & gaudebunt locos & præcedentias suas inter se, videlicet, quilibet eorum secundum prioritatem & senioritatem Creationis suæ *Baronetti* prædicti; quotquot autem creati sunt, vel creabuntur *Baronetti* per literas nostras Patentes, gerentes Datas vno & eodem die, & Hæredes sui prædicti, gaudebunt locis & præcedentijs suis inter se secundum prioritatem, quæ cuilibet eorum dabitur, per alias literas nostras patentes in ea parte primo conficiendas, sine impedimento, & non aliter, nec alio modo. Et insuper de abundantiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris concessimus, ac per præsentes, pro nobis, hæredibus & successoribus nostris concedimus præfato

& hæredibus suis Masculis prædictis, quod nec Nos, nec Hæredes vel Successores Nostri, de cætero in posterum erigemus, ordinabimus, constituemus, aut creabimus infrâ hoc Regnum nostrum Angliæ aliquem alium gradum, ordinem, nomen, titulum, dignitatem, siue statum,

sub vel infra gradum, dignitatem, siue statum *Baronum*, huius Regni nostri *ANGLIÆ*, qui erit vel esse possit superior, vel æqualis gradui & dignitati *Baronettorum* predictorum, sed quod tam dictus & Hæredes sui Masculi prædicti, quàm vxores, filij, vxores filiorum & filiae eiusdem & hæredum masculorum suorum prædictorum, de cætero in perpetuum liberè & quietè habeant, teneant, & gaudeant, dignitates, locos & præcedentias suas prædictas præ omnibus, qui erunt de talibus gradibus, statibus, dignitatibus vel ordinibus in posterum, vt præfertur creandi respectuè secundum veram intentionem præsentium absq; impedimento nostro, hæredum, vel successorum nostrorum, vel aliorum quorumcunque. Et vltèrius per præsentès declaramus, & significamus beneplacitum & voluntatem nostram in hac parte fore & esse, Et sic nobiscum statuimus & decreuimus, quod si postquam nos prædictum numerum ducentorum Baronettorum huius Regni Angliæ compleuerimus & perfecerimus, Contigerit aliquem, vel aliquos eorundem Baronettorum ab hac vitâ discedere, absque Hære de masculo de corpore vel corporibus huiusmodi *Baronetti* vel Baronettorum procreato, quod tunc nos non creabimus, vel præficiemus aliquam aliam personam, vel personas in Baronettum, vel Baronettos Regni Nostri Angliæ, sed quod numerus dictorum Ducentorum Baronettorum ea ratione de tempore in tempus diminuetur, & in minorem numerum cedet & redigetur; Denique Volumus, ac per præsentès, pro nobis, hæredibus & successoribus nostris de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ & mero motu nostris concedimus præfato & Hæredibus suis masculis prædictis, quod hæ literæ nostræ Patentes erunt in omnibus, & per omnia firmæ, validæ, bonæ, sufficientes & effectuales in lege, tam contra nos, hæredes, & successores nostros, quàm contra omnes alios quoscunque secundum veram intentionem earundem, tam in omnibus curiis nostris, quam alibi vbicunque. Non obstante aliqua lege, consuetudine, præscriptione, vsu, ordinatione, siue constitutione quacunque ante hac æditâ, habitâ, vsitatâ, ordinatâ, siue prouisâ, vel in posterum ædendâ, habendâ, vsitandâ, ordinandâ, vel prouidendâ: Et non obstante aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materiâ quacunque. Volumus etiam, &c. Absque fine in Hanaperio, &c. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teste, &c.

JAMES, *by the grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

To all to whome these presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye that We haue made a certaine Ordinance, Establishment, and finall Decree, whereof the tenor followeth in these words.

The

The Decree and Establishment of the Kings Maiestie, vpon a controuersie of Precedence, betweene the younger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and the Baronets; And touching some other points also concerning, aswell Bannerets, as the said Baronets.

THE Kings most Excellent Maiestie, hauing vpon the Petition, and submission of both parts, taken into his Royall audience and censure, a certaine controuersie, touching place and Precedence, between the younger sonnes of Viscounts, and Barons, and the Baronets, (being a degree by his Maiestie newly created) which controuersie did arise vpon an inference onely out of some darke words contained in the Letters Patents of the said Baronets: And hauing in person heard both parts, and their learned Counsell, three seuerall daies at large after information taken from the Heraults, and due consideration of such proofes as were produced on both sides, hath declared and decreed as followeth.

HIS Maiestie well weighing that the Letters Patents of the Baronets haue no speciall clause or expresse wordes to giue vnto them the said Precedence; And being a witnesse vnto himselfe (which is a testimonie aboue all exception) that his Princely meaning was onely to grace, and aduance this new Dignitie of his Maiesties erection; but not therewithall any wayes to wrong tacitely, and obscurely a third partie, such as the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons are, in that which is a flower of their fathers Nobilitie.

And hauing also had the attestation of the Lords of his Priuie Councell, who did declare that the Precedence (after debate and deliberation, while the Patent of the Baronets was in consultation) was with one consent resolved and ordered for the younger sonnes of the Viscounts, and Barons:

And finding also that the clause whereby the Precedence is challenged by the Baronets, as by a kind of consequence in regard of place giuen vnto them aboue some Bannerets, doeth not warrant their claime (forasmuch as the Precedence betweene the Bannerets themselues, and the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, appeareth not to haue bene regular or certaine, but full of confusion and variety, and therefore not sufficient whereupon to ground such their pretence) but being chiefly moued by the clearenesse of his Maiesties Royall intent, and meaning, and the explanation thereof by his Councell, (which his Royall meaning doeth, and ever must leade his Maiesties iudgement in the interpretation of his owne Actes,) hath finally sentenced, adiudged, and established, that the yonger sonnes of Viscounts, and Barons, shall take place and Precedence before all Baronets.

AND

AN D further, the better to settle, and cleare also all question of Precedence that may concerne either Bannerets, or the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, or the said Baronets, either as they haue relation among themselves, or towards others respectiue: His Maiestie for himself, his heirs and successours, doeth ordaine and establishe, that such Bannerets, as shall be made by the Kings Maiestie, his heires and successours vnder his or their Standard, displayed in an Armie Royall in open warre, and the King personally present, for the terme of the liues of such Bannerets, and no longer, (according to the most ancient, and noble institution) shall for euer heereafter in all places, and vpon all occasions, take place, and Precedence, aswell before all other Bannerets whatsoeuer, (no respect being had to the time, and prioritie of their creation) as likewise before the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and also before all Baronets.

And againe, that the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and also all Baronets, shall in all places, and vpon all occasions, take place and Precedence before all Bannerets whatsoeuer, other then such as shall be made by the King himselfe, his heirs and successours in person, and in such speciall case, manner and forme as aforesaid.

Neuerthelesse, for a singular honour to the person of the most high and excellent Prince HENRY now Prince of *Wales*, his Maiesties eldest sonne; aswell the younger sonnes of the Viscounts, and Barons, as the Baronets, haue freely and voluntarily consented and agreed at the hearing of the said cause, in the presence of his Maiestie, and his Priuie Counsell, and all the hearers, to giue place and Precedence, to such Bannerets, as shall be hereafter made by the said most noble HENRY, now Prince of *Wales*, vnder the Kings Standard displayed in an Armie Royall in open warre, and the said Prince there personally present.

Sauing the right of the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and of the said Baronets, and of the heires males of the bodies of such Baronets, for the time being, in all other cases according to the effects and true intent and meaning of their Letters Patents, and of these presents.

AN D his Maiestie doth likewise by these presents, for himselfe, his heirs and successours ordeine, that the Knights of the most noble order of the Garter, the Priuie Councillours of his Maiestie, his heirs and successours, the Master of the Court of Wardes and Liuries, the Chancellour and vnder-Treasurer of the Exchequer, Chancellour of the Duchie, the chiefe Iustice of the Court commonly called the Kings Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the chiefe Iustice of the Court of Common Pleas, the chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, and all other the Iudges and Barons of the degree of the Coife of the said Courts, now, and for the time being, shall by reason of such their Honourable order, and imployment of State and Iustice, haue place and Precedencie in all places, and vpon all occasions before the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and before all Baronets, Any customes, vse, ordinance, or other thing
to

to the contrary notwithstanding. But that no other person or persons whatsoever, vnder the degree of Barons of Parliament, shall take place before the said Baronets except onely the eldest sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and others of higher degree, whereof no question euer was, or can be made. And so his Maiesties meaning is, and accordingly he doth by these presents, for him, his heires and successours, ordeine and decree, that the said Baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, shall in all places, and vpon all occasions for euer, haue, hold, and enioy their place and Precedencie, next vnto, and immediately after the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons; and that no person or persons, nor State or States of men, shall haue or take place between them, Any Constitution, Order, Degree, Office, Seruice, Place, Imployment, Custome, Vse, or other thing whatsoever now or heereafter to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that the wiues of the saide Baronets, and of the heires males of their bodies, shall likewise by vertue of the saide Dignitie of their said husbands, in all places, and vpon all occasions, haue, take and enioy their place and Precedencie during their liues, next vnto, and immediately after that place that is due, and belongeth vnto the wiues of the yonger sonnes of Viscounts and Barons, and to the daughters of such Viscounts and Barons, Any Constitution, Vse, Custome, Ordinance, or other thing whatsoever, now or heereafter to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

AN D further, his Maiestie doth by these presents, for him, his heires and successours, of his certain knowledge and meere motion, promise and graunt to the said Baronets, and euery of them already created, and heereafter to be created, and the heires males of their bodies, That neither his Maiestie, nor his heires or successours, shall or will at any time hereafter erect, ordaine, constitute or create any other Degree, Order, Name, Title, Stile, Dignitie or State, nor will giue place, Precedencie or preheminance to any person or persons whatsoever, vnder or beneath the Degree, dignitie or State of Lords of Parliament of this his Realme of *England*, which shall or may be, or be taken, vsed or accompted to be higher, before, or equall to the Degree, dignitie or place of the said Baronets, or any of them. A N D therefore his Maiestie doeth for him, his heires and successours ordeine, graunt, and appoint by these presents, that all and euery the said Baronets, and their said heires males, and the wiues sonnes, sonnes wiues, and daughters of the said Baronets, and of their said heires males, shall, and may for euer heereafter, freely and quietly haue hold, and enioy their saide Dignities, Places, Precedencie, and Priuiledges before all other which are or shall be created of such Decrees, States, Dignities, Orders, Names, Stiles, or Titles, or to whom such place, Precedencie, or Preheminance shall be so giuen as aforesaid; their wiues and children respectiuelly, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents:

Sauing neuerthelesse to his Maiestie, his heires and successours, full and absolute power and authoritie to continue or restore to any person or persons from
time

time to time such place and precedencie, as at any time heereafter shall be due vnto them, which by any accident or occasion whatsoever shall be heereafter changed, any thing in these presents, or other cause or respect whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now though this Precedent declaration doth clearely ridde all questions arising vpon the Letters Patents, yet his Maiestie hauing vpon the occasion of this controuersie and hearing, and of some of the Baronets grieuances, propounded out of their mouthes, considered more maturely vpon the points and latitude of their said Patents, his Maiestie being resolved (as out of his owne royall mouth it pleased him to declare vnto them) to ampliate his fauour, especially where it meets with these so well borne and well deseruing Gentlemen, (this dignitie being of his Maiesties owne erection, and the worke of his owne handes) his Maiestie is therefore graciously pleased (not contented with those markes of his fauour, which alreadie they enioy by the wordes of their Patent, which layeth a marke of dignitie and precedence vpon them and their posterity) further to strengthen and adorne his Maiesties gracious fauour towards them, with addition of the priuiledges, preheminencies, and ornaments ensuing.

FIRST, his Maiestie is pleased to knight the present Baronets, that are no Knights: And doeth also by these presents of his meere motion and fauour, promise and graunt for him, his heirs and successours, that such Baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, as hereafter shall be no Knights, when they shall attaine, or be of the age of one and twentie yeares, vpon knowledge thereof giuen to the Lord Chamberlaine of the household, or Vice-chamberlaine for the time being, or in their absence to any other Officer attending vpon his Maiesties person, shall be knighted by his Maiestie, his heirs and successours.

His Maiestie doth also graunt for him, his heirs and successours, that the Baronets, and their descendants shall and may beare, either in a Canton in their coate of Armes, or in an Inscutchion, at their election, the Armes of *Ulster*, that is in a field *Argent*, a hand *Geules*, or a bloody hand.

And also, that the Baronets, for the time being, and the heires of their bodies shall haue place in the armies of the Kings Maiestie, his heirs and successours, in the grosse, neere about the royall Standard of the King, his heirs and successours, for the defence of the same.

And lastly, that the Baronets, and the heires males of their bodies shall haue two assistants of the bodie to support the Pall, a principall-mourner, and foure assistants to him at their funerals, being the meane betwixt a Baron and a Knight

And to the end that euery of the Baronets, and the heires males of their bodies, may haue vpon all occasions present, vse, and prooffe of these his Maiesties fauours; His Maiestie is graciously pleased, that aswell the Baronets alreadie created, as hereafter to be created, shall and may haue, and take Letters Patents vnder the great Seale of *England*, to the effect of the said former Letters Patents of Creation, and of these presents, either ioynt or seuerall, as they

they shall be aduised by the learned Councell of his Maiestie, his heires and successours, and according to his Highnesse true intent and meaning.

In witnesse whereof, We haue caused these Our Letters to be made Patents. Witnesse Our selfe at Westminster, the eight and twentieth day of May, in the tenth yeere of Our Raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fise and fortieth.

I A M E S, *by the grace of G O D, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

To all to whom these presents shall come greeting. Know ye that whereas We heretofore haue ordeined, Erected, Constituted, and created the Degree, State, Dignitie, Name, and Title, of Baronet; to continue for euer within this our Realme of *England*. And to that end of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue (by our seuerall Letters Patents, vnder the great Seale of *England*, in that behalfe made) conferred the same State, Dignitie, and Degree of Baronet, vpon diuers principall Gentlemen of this our Kingdome. And thereby seuerally, and accordingly created them Baronets. To haue and to hold the same Dignitie, State, and Degree; to them and their seuerall heires males of their seuerall bodies respectiue. Together with such place and Precedency, to them and to their said heires males, and to the wiues of them, and of their said heires Males, and to their eldest sonnes, and other their sonnes, and to the wiues of their sonnes, and to their daughters, with such stile, addition and appellation, to them and to their said heires Males: And to their wiues, and the wiues of their said seuerall heires Males, and with such other priuiledges, aduantages, and couenants, and in such sort, as in and by the said seuerall Letters Patents doth appeare.

And whereas also of our further Grace and fauour, we haue by other our Letters Patents vnder our great Seale of *England*, bearing date the eight and twentieth day of *May*, in the yeere of our Raigne of *England, Fraunce, and Ireland*, the tenth, and of *Scotland*, the fise and fortieth, farther enlarged our gracious fauour towards the same Baronets, by addition of certaine priuiledges, preheminences, and ornaments; in and by our said last recited Letters Patents made, expressed, and granted; giuing also libertie thereby to such Gentlemen, as then were or should be created Baronets, to take Letters Patents accordingly vnder our great Seale of *England*, to the effect of the same Letters Patents, and of the said former Patents of creation, iointly and seuerally in such sort, as in and by the same Letters Patents doth and may appeare. We of our Princely fauour and gracious disposition, vpon all occasions to make known, and publish the continuance of our fauour and good affection, as well towards the Gentlemen, whom of our power and grace We haue aduanced, or shall heereafter aduance, to the said Degree, as to the Degree itself being a matter of our own erection, doe hereby for vs, our heires and successors, not onely ratifie, confirme, allow, and approue of

the said Dignitie, State, and Degree of a Baronet, so erected by Vs as aforesaid. And the particular and severall Letters Patents made by Vs to the severall Gentlemen, whom We haue thereby created Baronets, together with all the benefits, aduantages, rights, and priuiledges of place Precedency: and otherwise by our said severall Letters Patents, to them severally graunted, or mentioned to be granted: and also all other priuiledges, benefits, and aduantages; in or by any other our Letters Patents, giuen, granted, mentioned, or intended to them. But also of our speciall Grace and fauour, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, doe for Vs our heires and successors, declare hereby that We, imitating therein our predecessors and progenitors of famous memory, who haue had and put in practise the power of creating new Degrees amongst their Subiects, haue of our Regall power and authority erected and ordeined the said Degree of Baronet; and did then and yet intend and doe hereby appoint and expresse our will and pleasure to be, and doe graunt for Vs our heires and successors, that the same Title, Stile, Dignity, and Degree, shall be and continue to such Gentlemen, on whom of our goodnes and fauour We haue conferred, and shall hereafter conferre the same and to euery of them, and to the severall heires Males, of their severall bodies, and that the said Title, Stile, Dignitie, and Degree of Baronet, shall be, and shall be reputed and taken to be a Title, Stile, Dignity, and Degree of Dignity, Hereditary meane in place betwixt the Degree of a Baron, and the Degree of a Knight.

And We doe hereby declare that not onely such Gentlemen as are or hereafter shall be Baronets, as aforesaid: and the heires Males of their bodies, and their wiues, during their husbands liues, shall haue and hold such place and Precedency as by our former Letters Patents are granted, mentioned, or intended to them, but also their wiues after the decease of their husbands, shall during their liues haue and hold the like place of Precedency, which they had and held in their husbands liues according to the manner and vsage in other Degrees. And for as much as the Degree of a Baronet, is an Hereditarie Degree in blood, therefore We doe declare; That the eldest sonnes of the same Baronets and their wiues, as well during their husbands liues as after: And the daughters, of the same Baronets, the said daughters following next after the said wiues of the eldest sonnes of the same Baronets, shall haue place and Precedency before the eldest sonne, and the wife of the eldest sonne of any Knight of what Degree, or order soeuer: And likewise that the younger sonnes of the same Baronets and their wiues, as well during their husbands liues as after, shall after the same manner haue place and Precedency next after the eldest sonnes, and the wiues of the eldest sonnes, and before the younger sonnes, and before the wiues of the younger sonnes of any of the Knights aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, and We doe for Vs our heires and successors hereby farther grant and appoint, that if any doubts or questions not hereby, nor by any our recited Letters Patents, cleared and determined doe or shall arise, concerning any place, Precedency, priuiledge, or other matter touching or concerning the same Baronets, and the heires

Males

Males of their bodies, and their wiues, their eldest sonnes and their wiues, their daughters, their younger sonnes, and their younger sonnes wiues, or any of them; such doubts or questions shall be decided and determined, by and according to such vsuall rules, custome, and lawes, for place, Precedency, priuiledge, or other matters concerning them as other Degrees of Dignity, Hereditary, are ordered and adiudged. And further of our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and meer motion, We doe hereby declare and expresse our true intent and meaning to haue been, and doe hereby promise and graunt for Vs, our heires and successors, to and with such Gentlemen as now be, or at any time hereafter shall be Baronets; That so soon as they or any of them, shall attaine to the age of one and twenty yeeres; And likewise so soon as the eldest sonne or apparant heire Male of the bodies of them, or any of them shall during the life of their Father or Grandfather, attaine to the age of one and twenty yeeres; and that the said Baronets, or the said eldest sonnes or apparant heires Males, shall be presented to Vs by the Lord Chamberlaine of our houshold, or Vice Chamberlaine for the time being, or in their absence by any other officer attending vpon the person of Vs, our heires or successors to be made Knights, that they and euery of them shall from time to time be made Knights by Vs, our heires and successors accordingly: Prouided neuerthelesse that any such eldest sonne of a Baronet being made Knight, shall not during his fathers life take place of any auntienter Knight. And to the end that such as are, or at any time hereafter shall be Baronets, may haue vpon all occasions present vse and proof of these our fauours: We are farther graciously pleased, that as well such as now are, as also such as at any time hereafter shall be Baronets, and euery of them, shall and may at all times hereafter, haue and take Letters Patents vnder our great Seale of *England*, to the effect of the said former recited Letters Patents and of these presents. As they shall be aduised by the learned Counsell to Vs, our heires or successors: And according to the true intent and meaning heerein, and in our said seuerall Letters Patents expressed. *In witnes whereof, &c.*

The Authentic SPEECH *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH *to Her*
Army Encamp'd at Tilbury, *under the Command of the*
Earl of Leicester, in the Year 1588, *when these Kingdoms*
were Threatned with an Invasion from SPAIN.

MY LOVING PEOPLE,

WE have been perswaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our Selves to armed multiudes, for fear
C c 2 of

of *treachery*, but I assure you, I do not desier to live to distrust my *faithful* and *loving People*,

Let *Tyrants* fear, I have always so behaved my self, that, under G O D, I have plac'd my Chiefest Strength and Safeguard in the *loyal hearts* and *good-will* of my *Subjects*, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolv'd in the midst and heat of the *battle*, to *live* or *die* amongst you all, to lay down for my G O D, and for my *Kingdoms*, and for my *People*, my honour and my blood, even in the Dust.

I know I have the body but of a *weak* and *feeble Woman*; but I have the *Heart* and *Stomach* of a *King*, and of a *King of England* too, and think foul Scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any *Prince of Europe*, should dare to invade the borders of my *Realm*; to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, *I my Self* will take up *Arms*, *I my Self* will be your *General*, *Judge* and *Rewarder* of every one of your *virtues* in the field.

I know already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and *Crowns*; and *We* do assure you in the word of a *Prince*, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my *Lieutenant General* shall be in my stead, than whom never *Prince* commanded a more Noble or worthy Subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the *camp*, and your Valour in the *field*, we shall shortly have a *famous Victory* over those enemies of my G O D, of my *Kingdoms*, and of my *People*.

*His M A J E S T Y 's Reasons for his Proceedings against
Sir W A L T E R R A L E I G H, 1618.*

ALTHOUGH KINGS be not bound to giue Account of their Actions to any but G O D alone; yet such are his M A I E S T I E S proceedings, as he hath alwayes beene willing to bring them before Sunne and Moone, and carefull to satisfie all his good people with his Intentions and courses, giuing as well to future times as to the present, true and vndisguised Declarations of them; as iudging, that for Actions not well founded, it is aduantage to let them passe in vncertain Reports; but for Actions, that are built vpon sure and solide grounds, (such as his Maiesties are) it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifests: Especially his Maiestie is willing, to declare and manifest to the World, his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is; since it not onely concernes his own people, but also a forreine Prince and State abroad.

Accordingly therefore, for that which concerneth Sir *Walter Raleigh* late executed for Treason (leauing the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and Iudge of all Truth) his Maiestie hath thought fit to manifest vnto the world, how things

things appeared vnto himselfe, and vpon what Proofes and euident Matter, and the Examination of the Commaunders that were employed with him, in the Voyage, (and namely of those which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himselfe by his owne Letter to Secretarie *Winwood*, had commended for persons of speciall worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) his Maiesties proceedings have bin grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they haue been in all points to Honour and Iustice.

SIR *Walter Raleigh* hauing beene condemned of high Treason, at his Maiesties entrance into this Kingdome, and by the space of fourteene yeeres, by his Maiesties princely Clemency and Mercy, not onely spared from his Execution, but permitted to liue, as in *Libera custodia* in the *Tower*, and to enioy his Lands and Liuing, till all was by Law euicted from him vpon another ground, and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, his Majestie out of his abundant Grace gaue him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length, he fell vpon an Enterprise of a golden Mine in *Guiana*.

This proposition of his, was presented and recommended to his Maiestie by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, then Secretary of State, as a matter not in the Aire, or speculatiue, but reall, and of certaintie; so that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had seene of the Oare of the Mine with his eyes, and tried the richnesse of it. It is true that his Maiestie, in his owne princely iudgement, gaue no beleefe vnto it; aswell, for that his Maiestie was verely perswaded, that in Nature there are no such Mines of gold entire, as they described this to be; and if any such had been, it was not probable that the *Spaniards*, who were so industrious in the chase of Treasure, would haue neglected it so long; as also for that it proceeded from the person of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, inuested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune: But neuerthelesse Sir *Walter Raleigh* had so enchanted the world, with his confident asseueration of that which euery man was willing to beleue, as his Maiesties honour was in a manner ingaged, not to deny vnto his people the aduenture and hope of so great Riches, to be sought and atchieued, at the charge of Voluntaries; especially, for that it stood with his Maiesties Politique and Magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to nourish and incourage Noble and Generous enterprises, for Plantations, Discoueries, and opening of new Trades.

Heereupon the late *Spanish* Ambassadour, the *Count de Gondomar*, tooke great alarme, and represented vnto his Maiestie by loud and vehement assertions, vpon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to bee but Hostile and Piraticall, and tending to the breach of the Peace betweene the two Crownes, and danger and destruction of the King his Masters Subiects in those parts; protesting in a sort against the same. To which his Maiesties answer alwayes was, that he would send Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a limited Commission, and that he durst not vpon the perill of his head attempt any such matter; and if he did, he would surely doe iustice vpon him, or send him bound hand and foot into
Spaine,

Spaine, and all the gold and goods he should obtaine by Robbery, and bring home, were they neuer so great. And for further caution, his Maiesty enjoyned Secretary *Winwood*, to vrge Sir *Walter Raleigh* vpon his conscience, and alleagiance to his Maiestie, to deale plainely, and expresse himselfe, whether he had any other intention, but onely to goe to those golden Mines in *Guiana*, which he not onely solemnely protested vnto the saide Sir *Ralph Winwood*, but by him writt a close letter to his Maiestie, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseuerations: and that he neuer meant or would commit any outrages or spoiles vpon the King of *Spaines* Subjects. But notwithstanding, his Maiestie acquainted the *Spanish* Ambassadour with this his protestation; yet the saide Ambassadour would neuer recede from his former ieaiousie, and importuning his Maiestie to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of shippes that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly, that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering (vpon Sir *Walter Raleigh* his answere thereunto, that those ships were onely prouided for his safe conuoy) that if Sir *Walter Raleigh* would goe with one or two ships onely to seeke the saide Mine, that he would moue the King of *Spaine* to send two or three ships with him backe againe for his safe conuoy hither with all his gold; And the saide Ambassadors person to remain here in pledge for the King his Master his performance thereof. But such were the constant faire Offers of the saide Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and specious promises, as his Maiestie in the end reiected the importunate Suit of the saide *Spanish* Ambassadour for his stay, and resolved to let him goe: but therewithall tooke order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good securitie, to behaue themselves peaceably towards all his Maiesties Friends and Allies; and to obserue strictly all the Articles of the Commission, which his Maiestie for that, had the greater care to haue it well and clearly penned, and set downe. And that his Maiesties honest intention may herein the better appeare, the words of the Commission are heerein inserted, as followeth:

“*JAMES*, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seene, and to euery of them greeting.
 “Whereas Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Kt. intendeth to vndertake a voyage by Sea and shipping, vnto the South parts of *America*, or elsewhere within *America*, possessed and inhabited by heathen and sauage people, to the end to discouer and finde out some commodities and merchandizes in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the Subiects of these Our Kingdomes and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no vse or estimation; wherevpon also may ensue by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and reformed Religion amongst those sauage and Idolatrous people: And whereas We are crediblie informed that there are diuers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the sayde Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enioy their due parts of the profits returned (in respect of the perill of Law wherein the saide Sir *Walter Raleigh* now standeth :) And
 “whereas

whereas also We are informed, that diuers other Gentlemen, the kinsmen and friendes of the sayde Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and diuers Captaines and other Commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to aduenture their liues with him, in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himselfe.

Know ye, that We, vpon deliberate consideration had of the premises, being desirous by all wayes and meanes to worke and procure the benefit and good of Our louing Subiects, and to giue Our Princely furtherance to the sayde Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his friendes and associates herein, to the incouragement of others in the like laudable Iourneys and enterprize, to be heereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in aduancement and furtherance, aswell of the conuersion of sauage people, as of the increase of the Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes vsed by Our Subiects of this Our Kingdome, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, doe giue and graunt vnto the saide Sir *Walter Raleigh*, full power and authoritie, and free licence and libertie out of this Our Realme of *England* or any other Our Dominions, to haue, carry, take, and leade, for and towards his said intended voyage into the said South parts, or other parts of *America* (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to trauell thither, all such and so many of Our louing Subiects, or any others strangers that will become Our louing Subiects, and liue vnder Our obeyfance and alleageance as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habiliments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wilde people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall thinke most necessary for his voyage, and for the vse and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to giue away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandizes and premises to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his company, and such other person or persons, as shall be aduenturers or assistants with, or vnto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, conuey, and bring into this our kingdom, or or any other Our Dominions, such gold, siluer, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandizes, or commodities whatsoeuer, as they shall thinke most fit and conuenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conueyed, and brought into this our Kingdome, or any other our Dominions, to haue, take, keepe, retaine, and conuert to the only proper vse, benefit, and behoofe of the sayd Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his sayd Company, and other persons aduenturers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the let, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of Us, Our Heires or Successours, or any the Officers or Ministers of Us, Our Heires or Successours, whatsoeuer, Paying and answering vnto Us, Our Heires, and Successours,

the

' the full fift part in fīue parts to be diuided, of all ſuch gold, and ſiluer,
 ' and bullion, and oare of gold or ſiluer, and pearle, and precious ſtones, as
 ' ſhall be ſo imported ouer and beſides, and together with ſuch Cuſtomes,
 ' Subſidies and other duties, as ſhall be due for or in reſpect of any other
 ' Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatſoeuer to be imported by the true
 ' meaning of theſe preſents. And to the end the ſayd Sir *Walter Raleigh*
 ' may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterpriſe, and all our
 ' louing Subiects deſirous to be aduenturers with him or aſſiſtant vnto him,
 ' may be the more incited to further his proceedings: We doe hereby in *ver-*
 ' *bo Regio*, for Vs, Our Heires and Succeſſours, couenant, promiſe, and grant,
 ' to and with the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* and all other perſons that ſhall accom-
 ' pany him or to be attendant upon him, or to be aduenturers or aſſiſtants
 ' with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, ſiluer, goods, wares, or
 ' merchandizes whatſoeuer of what kind or ſort ſoeuer, by him or them or any
 ' of them to be imported into this Our Kingdome of *England*, or any other
 ' our Dominions from any the ſayd South or other parts of *America*, (poſſeſ-
 ' ſed or inhabited as aforeſayd) ſhall be attached, ſeized or taken by Us,
 ' Our Heires or Succeſſours, or to the uſe of Us, Our Heires or Succeſſours,
 ' or by any the Officers or Miniſters of Us, Our Heires or Succeſſours what-
 ' ſoeuer; But that the ſame and euery of them (the fift part of the ſayd gold,
 ' ſiluer or bullion, and oare of gold and ſiluer and pearle and precious ſtones,
 ' and other the Cuſtomes and duties aforeſayd being truly answered and payd)
 ' ſhall be, and remaine to the ſole and proper uſe and behoofe of the ſaid
 ' Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his ſayd company, and ſuch perſons as ſhall be ad-
 ' uenturers with him, or aſſiſtant to him in this voyage, Any Law, Statute,
 ' Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Prouiſion, or reſtraint, or any right,
 ' title or clayme of Vs, Our Heires or Succeſſours, or any other matter or
 ' thing whatſoeuer to the contrarie in any wiſe notwithstanding. And fur-
 ' ther, of Our more ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion,
 ' We do hereby for Vs, Our Heires, and Succeſſours, ordaine, conſtitute
 ' and appoint the ſayd Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be the ſole Gouvernor and com-
 ' mander of all perſons that ſhall trauell, or be with him in the ſayd voiage,
 ' to the ſayd South, or other parts of *America* (ſo poſſeſſed and inhabited as
 ' aforeſayd) or in returning from thence: And We doe hereby giue vnto
 ' him, full power and authority to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne and rule
 ' them or any of them, according to ſuch orders, ordinances, conſtitutions,
 ' directions, and inſtructions, as by the ſayd Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhall be from
 ' time to time eſtabliſhed, as well in caſes capital and criminall, as ciuil, both
 ' Marine and other; So alwayes as the ſayd ſtatutes, ordinances and proceed-
 ' ings (as neere as conueniently may be) be agreeable to the Lawes, Statutes,
 ' Gouvernement and Policy of this our Realme of *England*, and not againſt
 ' the true Chriſtian faith now profeſſed in the Church of *England*. And be-
 ' cauſe that in ſuch and the like enterpriſes and uoyages, great inconueniences
 ' haue growne by the mutinous and diſorderly carriage of the Marriners and
 ' Saylors imployed in the ſame, for want of ſufficient authoritie to puniſh
 ' them

' them according to their Offences: We doe therefore by these presents for
 ' Vs, our Heires and Successors, giue full power and authority to the said Sir
 ' *Walter Raleigh*, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to vse and
 ' exercise Marshall law (upon iust ground and apparent necessity) in as large
 ' and ample manner as Our Lieutenant Generall by sea or land, or Our Lieu-
 ' tenants in Our Counties, within Our Realm of *England*, haue, had, or
 ' ought to haue by force of their Commission of Lieutenancie. And We doe
 ' further by these presents, giue full power and authoritie to the said Sir *Wal-*
 ' *ter Raleigh*, to collect, nominate and appoint such Captaines and other in-
 ' ferior Commanders and Ministers vnder him, as shall be requisite for the
 ' better ordering and gouerning of his companie, and the good of the voyage.
 ' And further, We doe by these presents, for Us, Our Heires and Succes-
 ' sors, straightly charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque-ports,
 ' and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surueyers, Searchers, Waiters and
 ' other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our Heires and Successors for the time
 ' being, that they, and euerie of them doe quietly permit and suffer the said
 ' Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all person and persons that shall be willing to trauell
 ' and aduenture with him in this voyage with their Ships, Munition, Goods,
 ' Wares and Merchandizes whatsoever out of this Our Realme, or any other
 ' Our Dominions, to passe into the said South or other parts of *America*,
 ' (possessed and inhabited as afor-said) and from thence to returne and import
 ' into this Our Realme, or any other our Dominions, any Goods, Wares or
 ' Merchandizes whatsoever, and there to sell or otherwise to dispose of the
 ' same, to the best benefit and aduantage, and to the onely vse and behoofe
 ' of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his companie, and such other persons as
 ' shall be aduenturers with him in this voyage, paying the fift part of all
 ' gold and siluer, bullion, and oare of gold and siluer, and of pearle and
 ' precious stones imported, and other the Customes and Duties aforesaid. And
 ' these Presents, or the inrollement thereof shall be vnto the said Warden of
 ' the Cinque-ports, Customers, Comptrollers and other the Officers and mi-
 ' nisters aforesaid, for the time being a sufficient Warrant and discharge in
 ' that behalfe. And our Will and pleasure is; And by these presents, for
 ' Vs, our Heires and Successors, We doe grant vnto the said Sir *Walter*
 ' *Raleigh*, That these our Letters Patents, or the Inrollement thereof, and
 ' all and singular grants, clauses and things therein contained, shall be firme,
 ' strong, sufficient and effectuell in Law, according to our gracious pleasure
 ' and meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Prouision, Ordi-
 ' nance or restraint, or anie other matter or thing to the contrarie thereof in
 ' any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention, &c. In Witnesse
 ' whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at *Westminster*, the fixe and twentieth day
 ' of *August*, in the fourteenth year of our Reigne of *England*, *France*, and
 ' *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fiftieth.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.

THIS Commission so drawne and framed (as you see) his Maiestie himselfe did oft peruse and reuise, as forseeing the future euent; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so farre from giuing Sir *Walter Raleigh* warrant, or colour to inuade any of the Territories, occupate and possesse by the *Spaniards*, as it tended to a direction rather of commerce, then spoile, euen towards the Sauages themselves. And the better to containe Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and to hold him vpon his good behauiour, his Maiestie denied (though much sued vnto for the same) to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those that were vnder his Command, (in case he should attempt to exceed his Commission) and to reserue him to the Iustice of the Law, if by new offences he should make himselfe indigne of former mercies. And as for the good securitie which his Maiestie ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behauiour in the voyage; his Maiestie neuer heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed till they were vpon their parting; and then was it told him, that euery one of the principals that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which if his Maiestie had knowen in time, he would neuer haue accepted of.

But howsoever the Commission was penned; and whatsoever the cautions were which his Maiestie intended or vsed, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequell of his Actions, that he went his owne way, and had his owne ends: First, to procure his libertie, and then to make new fortunes for himselfe, casting abroad onely this tale of the Mine as a lure to get aduenturers and followers; hauing in his eye the *Mexico* Fleete, the sack-ing and spoyle of Townes planted with *Spaniards*, the depredation of Ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences (little looking into the nature and Character of his Maiesties Iustice and gouernment) and if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some forraine Countrey.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir *Walter Raleigh* carrying the reputation of an actiue, wittie, and valiant Gentleman, and especially of a great Commander at Sea, by the inticement of this golden baite of the Mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew vnto him many braue Captaines, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazzard and aduenture their liues, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his Voyage: whose ruines and decayes following, remaine as sad and grievous reliques and monuments of his vnfortunate iourney, and vnfaithful proceedings.

But before he went from *London*, he was not so reserued, nor so constant vnto his pretence of the Mine, but that some sparkes brake forth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his Company, That he knew a Towne in those parts, vpon which he could make a sauing Voyage in *Tobacco*, though there were no other spoile. Neuerthelesse, to make the better faith of that he had giuen

out touching the Mine, he promised his Companie at *London*, that when he came to *Plimouth*, he would take a great company of Pioneers out of the West, (where best workemen are of that kind) and he maintained this his pretence so farre, as he billited the sayd Pioners for seuerall ships; but when he came into the West this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himselfe confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the Mariners, and common Souldiers, that he would haue made fall to worke; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principall a point. As for Picke-axes, Mattockes and Shouels for the working of the Mine, it is true he carried some small quantitie for a shew, but by the iudgement of all that were in his companie, nothing neere sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the Mine, which he excused onely by saying, that his men neuer saw them vnpacked, and that the Mine was not past a foote and a halfe vnder ground.

After, when he was once at Sea, he did not much labor to nourish and maintain the beliefe, that he meant to make his voyage vpon the profite of the Mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visibill prooffe, that such a Mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For soone after his setting forth from *Ireland*, he professed, that if he brought home but a handfull or basketfull of Oare, to shew the King, he cared for no more, for it was enough to saue his credit; and being charged therewith, he confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that if there had beene a handfull of the Mine, it followed there was a Mine to be confessed; as if so many Ships, so many liues of men, such charge of prouisions, and such an honourable Commission, had beene but for an experiment.

About the same time likewise, he began to forget his Commission, aswell as his pretences of the Mine; for he did declare himselfe to diuers of his company, that he meant to take *St. Thome*, and that he would make his voyage good vpon that Towne, for that it was very rich; So as where it was blowne abroad, that the assault of *St. Thome* was enforced by a kinde of necessity, for that our Troupes were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at *London*, of a Towne indefinitely, and by this his speech earely in his voyage at Sea by *St. Thome* by name, that it was an originall designe of his from the beginning: And yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of *Guiana*, where *St. Thome* was scituate, were planted by *Spaniards*, who had diuers Townes in the same tract, with some *Indians* intermixed, that are their Vassals, so as it is plaine, both place and persons were out of his Commission.

And that this was well knowne to him it appeares notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his returne from his voyage, wherein he complains, that the *Spaniards* of the same place did murder diuers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seuen yeeres past; neither doeth he in that letter, any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but stands vpon a former title, which he would needs

now haue strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way competible with his Commission, and that himselfe before his going neuer made ouerture, or allegation of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated any such design or purpose.

Againe, before he came to the Islands, he made no difficultie to tell many in expresse termes, that he meant to surprise and set vpon the *Mexico* Fleete, though sometimes he would quallifie it, by saying, *If all failed, or if the Action of the Mine were defeated.*

And Sir *Walter Raleigh* himselfe being charged with these speaches, confessed the words, but saith, that in time, they were spoken after the Action of the Mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end, to keepe his men together, and if he spake it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when he began to be vpon the approaches of his pretended designe of the Mine, and was come to *Trinidad*, he fell sicke in some extremitie, and in doubt of life (as was thought) at what time he was moued by some principall persons about him, vpon two points, in case he should decease: The one, that he should nominate a Generall to succeed him; The other, that he would giue some direction for prosecution of the Action of the Mine. To the first he made answere, that his Commission could not be set ouer, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselues: but for the Mine, he profest he could giue them no direction; and stayed not there, but told them, there was another course which he did particularize vnto them to be a *French* Commission, whereby they might doe themselves most good vpon the *Spaniards*.

When he was vpon recouerie, he dispatched the Land-forces pretended for the Mine, and had designed Captaine *Sentleger* to command in that Expedition: but by reason of *Sentleger's* infirmitie at that time, he resorted to his kinsman Captaine *George Raleigh*, who was his Sergeant Maior; in whose written Commission which he gaue him, he was wary enough not to expresse the taking of *St. Thome*, but onely inserted a clause of Commandement; *That they should in all things obey him, as they would doe to himselfe in person*: yet in priuate directions and instructions, he did open himselfe to diuers of his Company, that in case they should not receiue some aduertisement, that the Towne was reinforced by new supplies of men (whereby the enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number) they should take the Towne first, telling them, that the Mine was but three miles distant short of the Towne, and inferring (as *Kemish* expounded it afterwards) that it was in vaine to meddle with the Mine, except the Towne were first taken, and the *Spaniards* chased; for that otherwise, they should but discover it, and worke it for the *Spaniards*: and when he had opened himselfe thus farre, some of his company, of the more intelligent and duetifull sort, did in plain terms turn it vpon him, setting before him, that the taking of the Towne, would breake the Peace, and that they should goe against the Commission: Whereupon, most falsly and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirme, that he had order
by

by word of mouth from the King and his Councell, to take the Towne, if it were any hinderance to the digging of the Mine

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kinde of interpretation little needed, for that young M. *Raleigh*, (who was likest to know his fathers secret) when he ledde his souldiers vpon the Towne, vsed these or the like words, *Come on my hearts, here is the Mine that ye must expect, they that look for any other Mine, are fooles*; And with this did well concurre that which followed, in the prosecution of the Mine after the Towne was taken; For this Mine was not onely imaginary, but moueable, for that which was directed to be 3 miles short of *Saint Thome*, was after sought 30 miles beyond *St. Thome*.

All this while Sir *Walter Raleigh* staid at *Pont degallo*, by the space of some 9 weekes, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the Mine was dead, (wheras men in expectation do commonly feed themselues with the talke of that they long to hear of;) Nay more, after he had receiued newes of the taking of the Towne, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprize of the Mine, (in regard the Town that might haue been the impediment was mastered) he neuer entertained any such design, but contrariwise, hauing knowledge at the same time, that his son was slaine, (who as it seems was his onely care amongst the Land souldiers) he did mooue very inhumanly, to remooue not a little from *Pont degallo* to *Port-bercule* in respect of the danger of the Current (as he pretended) but to goe for the *Charibes* many leagues off; accompting (as it seemeth) the land Souldiers, but as *fruges consumere natos*, and hauing his thoughts onely vpon Sea forces, which how they should haue been imployed, euery man may iudge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if he should leaue some word at *Pont degallo* of direction, to what place the land Souldiers should follow him; it is plaine, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuall, as famine must haue ouertaken them, before they could ouertake him; at which time one of his Captaines told him, that he had deliuered out 52 men to that seruice, which were then at the enterprize on Land, whose liues he held at a deare rate, and that he would not weigh Anchor, as long as he had a Cable to ride by, or a Cake of bread to eate: So Sir *Walter Raleigh* finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruell purpose was diuerted.

It was also much obserued, that after that vnfortunate returne of *Kemish*, notwithstanding Sir *Walter Raleigh* did publicquely giue out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the Mine, he had him at Dinner, and Supper, and vsed him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to *Geo. Raleigh* the Sergeant Major, to whom he did vse the like discountenances in publique, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it; he did open himselfe more plainely, telling him that he must seem to doe as much as he did, to giue satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginarie Mine vanished, and was defeated, and that his Company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were

were but abused, Sir *Walter Raleigh* called a Councell of his Captaines, and held the same in his Cabbine, where he propounded to them, that his Intention and designe was; First, to make to the *New-foundlands*, and there to revictuall and refresh his Ships; And thence to goe to the *Westerne Islands*, and there to lie in waite to meet with the *Mexico* Fleete, or to surprise some Carrackes; and so hauing gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any forreine Countrey, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himselfe as a man of great enterprise, and fame abroad; but then and at diuers times, he did directly, and openly declare, that it was no coming for *ENGLAND*, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he (for his part) would neuer put his head vnder the Kings girdle, except he first saw the great Seale for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations imbracing *East* and *West*, rather than any returne into his Countrey, he did in particular make promise to a principall Commander in his Company, to giue him a Ship to goe into the *East Indies*, if he would accompanie him thither. But according to his first proiect, he went to the *New-foundland*, which he needed not to haue done, if his purpose had been for *England*, (for that he had victuals enough, and to spare, for that iourney) and there at *New-foundland* his other company hauing formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own companie which was in his own Ship began likewise to mutinie. And although some old Pirates, either by his inciting, or out of feare of their own case, were fierce and violent for the Sea, and against the returne, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood vpon the Sea-banke, and put it to a question, whether they should return for *England*, or land at *Newfoundland*: Whereupon there was a diuision of voyces, the one part to the *Starre-board*, and the other to the *Larboard*; of which that part which was for the returne for *England*, was two parts of three, and would by no meanes be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselues in the Ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiuing, for feare of further mutinie, professed in dissimulation, that he himselfe was for the returne into *England*, and came and stood amongst them that had most voyces; But neuerthelesse, after that he despaired to draw his companie to follow him further, he made offer of his own Ship (which was of great value) to his company, if they would set him aboard a *French Barque*: The like offer he made, when he came vpon the Coast of *Ireland*, to some of his chiefe Officers there.

But about the time of his arriual vpon the coast of *Ireland*, the forcing and sacking of *Saint Thome*, and the firing of the Towne, and the putting the *Spaniards* to the sword, was noysed abroad in all parts, and was by speciall aduertisement come vnto the knowledge of the *Count de Gondomar*, then Ambassador for the King of *Spaine* with his Maiesty, who therevpon prayed audience of his Maiesty, and with great instance demanded Iustice against the persons, and their goods (who had committed those outrages and made those spoyles vpon his Maiesties subiects) according to his Maiesties promise, and the treaty of Peace. Whereupon his Maiestie published his Royall Proclamation

mation for the discovery of the truth of *Raleigh's* proceedings, and the advancement of Iustice. Notwithstanding all which, his Maiestie vsed a gracious and mild course towards *Sir Walter Raleigh*, sending downe *Sir L. Stucley* Vice-admirall of the Countie of *Deuon*, to bring *Sir Walter Raleigh* in faire manner, and as his health would giue leaue, by easie iourneyes to *London*. For about this time *Sir Walter Raleigh* was come from *Ireland* into *England*, into the Port of *Plimouth*, where it was easie to discerne with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; For soon after his comming to *Plimouth*, before he was vnder guard, he dealt with the Owner of a *French Barque* (pretending it was for a Gentleman a friend of his) to make ready his Barque for a passage, and offered him twelue Crownes for his paines: And one night he went in a little Boate to haue seen the Barque that should have transported him, but the night being verie darke, he missed of the Barque, and came backe againe, nothing done; wherein by the way appeares, that it was not any traine laide for him by *Sir Lewis Stucley* or any other (as was voyced) to moue or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to flie, and escape from his first arriual into *England*.

But in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute, and fixed, after that the Lords of his Maiesties Councell, obseruing the delaies in his comming vppe, had sent vnto *Stucley*, some quicke letters for the hastening thereof: But thereupon, as his desire of escape encreased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for that *Stucley* from that time forth kept a better guard vpon him, whereof he tooke that apprehension, in so much as (knowing *Stucley* to be witty and watchfull) he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except he could winne one of these two points; either to corrupt *Stucley*, or at leste to get to haue some liberty, when he came to *London*, of remayning in his own house; for guiltinesse did tell him that vpon his comming to *London*, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the *Tower*. Wherefore he saw no other way, but in his iourney to *London*, to counterfeit sickenesse in such a manner, as might in commiseration of his extremity, moue his Maiesty to permit him to remaine in his own house, where he assured himselfe ere long, to plot an opportunity of an escape: And hauing in his company one *Mannowry* a *French* man, a professor of Physicke, and one that had many *Chymicall* receipts, he practised by Crownes, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sicke, the story whereof, *Mannowry* himselfe reporteth to haue passed in this manner.

V P O N Saturday the 25 of *Iuly*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, *Sir Lewis Stucley*, and *Mannowry* went to lie at Master *Drakes*, where the Letters of Commission from the Priuie Councell were brought vnto *Sir Lewis Stucley*, by one of his Maiesties messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste then was expected before: and the countenance of *Sir Walter Raleigh* was much changed after *Sir Lewis Stucley* had shewed the Commission; for *Mannowry* saw him from the stairehead (he being alone in his chamber, the

the doore standing halfe open) how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himselfe by the haire, swearing in these words, *Gods wounds, is it possible my fortune should retorne vpon me thus againe?*

From Master *Drakes* they went on their iourney to the house of Master *Horsey*, distant from thence four miles, or thereabouts. It was in that houre that Sir *Walter Raleigh* began first to cause *Mannowry* to be founded, what was in his heart, by an old domesticke of his called Captaine *King*, who there began to discourse vnto *Mannowry* of the infortunitie of his Master, and amongst other things, sayd thus; *I would we were all at Paris.* To whome *Mannowry* answered, *I would we were all at London, alas, what should we do at Paris? Because,* quoth *King*, *that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head:* Whereupon *Mannowry* answered, That he hoped better then so, and that he was forrie for his ill fortune; and that according to his small abilitie, he was ready to doe him all honest seruice he could, so it might be done without offence.

After dinner, it being *Sunday*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* departed from Master *Horsey* his house, and went to *Sherburne*, and in the way when he came within view thereof, turning to *Mannowry*, and shewing him the place and the territorie about it, he sayd vnto him sighing, that all that was his, and that the King had vniustly taken it from him. He and *Stucley* lay not at *Sherburne*, but were inuited to the house of old Master *Parham*: *Mannowry* and their traine went to lie at *Sherburne*, at the signe of the *George*. The next day, being *Munday*, the seuen and twentieth of *Iuly*, *Mannowry* went to them, and from thence they took their way towards *Salisbury*, five and thirty miles from *Sherburne*; and arriuing there, Sir *Walter Raleigh* going afoot downe the hill, addrested himselfe vnto *Mannowry*, and asked him if he had any of his Vomits, or other Medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell no body thereof. *I know* (quoth he) *that it is good for me to euacuate many bad humours, and by this means I shall gaine time to worke my friends, giue order for my affaires, and, it may be, pacifie his Maiesty before my comming to London; for I know well, that assoone as I come there, I shall to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I vse no meanes to escape it; which I cannot doe, without counterfeiting to be sicke, which your vomits will effect, without suspicion.* For which cause the same euening, as soon as he arriued, he laide him down vpon a bedde, complayning much of his head, and blaming his great dayes iourney from *Sherborne* to *Salisbury*, (notwithstanding he supped very well) but after supper he seemed to be surprised with a dimnesse of sight, by a swimming or giddinesse in his head, and holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed, and being ledde by the arme by Sir *Lewis Stucley*, he staggered so, that he strooke his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his Chamber, which made Sir *Lewis Stucley* thinke that he was sick indeed; in which beleete *Mannowry* left him for that time.

The next day in the morning, he sent his Lady his wife, and most of his seruants to *London*, and also Captaine *King*: and *Cuthbert* and *Mannowry*, and
Sir

Sir *Lewis Stucley* being in *Stucley's* chamber, a seruant of the said Sir *Walter* named *Robine*, came and told them that his Master was out of his wittes, and that he was naked in his shirt vpon all foure, scratching and biting the rushes vpon the Plankes, which greatly pitied Sir *Lewis Stucley*, who rising in haste, sent *Mannowry* to him, who when he came, found him gotten againe to his bed, and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it of purpose. And Sir *Walter Raleigh* asking him for his vomit, he gaue it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it downe incontinentlie: At which time Sir *L. Stucley* comming in, Sir *Walter* began againe to crie and raue; Then *Mannowry* went out of the Chamber, and the vomit which he had giuen him was an houre and a halfe before it wrought, but in the meane time Sir *Walter Raleigh* beganne to drawe vp his legges and armes all on a heape, as it had been in a fit of Convulsions, and contractions of his Sinewes; and that with such vehemencie, that Sir *Lewis Stucley* had much adoe with the helpe of others to pull out straight, sometimes an arme, sometimes a legge; which against all the strength they had, he would draw vp againe as it was before; whereat the sayd Sir *Lewis Stucley* took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chased; which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself afterwards told vnto *Mannowry*, laughing, that he had well exercised Sir *Lewis Stucley*, and taught hem to be a Physitian.

This fained fitte being thus past, Sir *Walter Raleigh* called *Mannowry*, and when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. *Mannowry* shut the doore, and being alone with him, Sir *Walter Raleigh* tolde him, That his vomite had done nothing as yet, and said, that he would take another more violent; but *Mannowry* assuring him, that without doubt it would worke, he contented himselfe, and asked *Mannowry* if he could inuent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principall parts, or making him sicke inwardly: *Mannowry* studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a Composition presently, of certaine things which would make him like a Leper from head to foot, without doing him any harme, which at his intreatie he effected speedily; at which time Sir *Walter Raleigh* gaue him the reason, why he did it, telling him that his being in that case, would make the Lords of the Counsell affraide to come neer him, and mooue them with more pitie to fauour him. Soon after that *Mannowry* had put this Composition vpon his Brow, his Armes, and his Breast, Sir *Lewis Stucley* came into the Chamber, and *Mannowry* went away, and Sir *Lewis Stucley* perceiuing the places where *Mannowry* had put this Composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of diuers colours, hauing in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skinne as it were inflamed with heate, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious, and being very much astonished at the suddaine accident, he asked *Mannowry* what he thought thereof, but *Mannowry* iudged it fit to conceale it from him at that time, seeing Sir *Walter Raleigh* had not yet told him, that he meant to flie out of *England*, but that it was onely to gaine time to satisfie his Maiestie.

Vpon *Mannowry* his vncertaine answere to Sir *Lewis Stucley* touching Sir *Walter Raleigh* his maladie, *Stucley* resolved to goe to my Lord Bishop of *Elie*, now of *Winchester*, to relate vnto him in what case Sir *Walter Raleigh* was, and brought vnto *Raleigh* two Physicians to see and visit him; who being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sicknesse was composed. There came also a third, a Bachelour in Physicke, who all could not by all that they could doe, discouer this disease; Onely they gaue their opinion and aduise, that the Patient could not be exposed to the Ayre, without manifest perill of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, vnto which *Mannowry* also set his hand.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that in the presence of the sayde Physicians, the vomit beganne to worke both vpwards and downewards. And because he doubted that the Physicians would aske to see his water, hee prayed *Mannowry* to doe something to make it seeme troubled and badde; which to content him, (giuing him the Vrinall into his bedde) *Mannowry* rubbed the inside of the glasse with a certaine Drugge, which as soone as hee had made water therein, the Vrine euen in the hands of the Physicians turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to haue an ill fauour, which made the Physicians iudge the disease to be mortall and without remedy, but from Heauen.

Hee made *Mannowry* also to tie his arms about with blacke silke ribband, which, he tooke from his Poyniard, to trie if it would distemper the pulse, but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following he called *Mannowry*, and prayed him to make some more such blisters vpon him, as vpon his nose, his head, his thighes, and his legges: which *Mannowry* hauing done, it succeeded according to his desire, for which he was very iocund and merry with *Mannowry*, and sayde vnto him, that the euacuation which his physicke had caused, had so opened his stomacke, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed *Mannowry* that he would goe and buy him some meat secretly; for, quoth he, if I eate publicquely, it will be seen that I am not sicke; so according to his request, *Mannowry* went to the *White-bart* in *Salisbury*, and bought him a legge of Mutton and three loaues, which he eat in secret, and by this subtilty it was thought that he liued three dayes without eating, but not without drinke: Thus he continued vntill *Friday* the last of *Iuly*, seeming alwayes to be sicke in the presence of company, and neuerthelesse, being alone, he wrote his Declaration or Apology, and prayed *Mannowry* to transcribe it, which was since presented to his Maiestie.

The same euening Sir *Lewis Stuckeley* discoursing vpon his sicknesse, and whence it should proceed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* said in these words, *As God saue me, I thinke I haue taken poyson where I lay the night before I came to this Towne; I know that Master Parham is a great louer of the King of Spaine, and a Papist, and that he keepes alwayes a Priest in his house; but I will not haue any of you to speake of it, nor you Mounsier* (quoth he) speaking to *Mannowry*. Also Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Chamber doores being shutte, walked vp and downe, and
only

only *Maunowry* with him, there naked in his shirt, and tooke a looking glasse, and looking vpon the spots in his face, whereat he tooke great pleasure, and laughing, said vnto *Mannowry* these wordes, *We shall laugh well one day, for hauing thus cozened and beguiled the King, his Councell, and the Physitians, and the Spaniards and all.*

Vpon the *Saturday* that his Maiestie arriued at *Salisbury*, which was the first of *August*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* desired to speake with *Mannowry* in secret, and seemed to haue a verie great apprehension of something, and hauing made him shut the doores, praying him to giue him a redde leather coffer, which was within another coffer, which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called *Mannowry*, and putting nine peeces of *Spanisb* money of gold into his hand, he said thus ; *There is twenty Crownes in Pistolets, which I giue you for your Physicall receipts, and the victuall you bought me ; and I will giue you fiftie pound a yeere, if you will doe that which I shall tell you, and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stucley doe aske you what conference you had with me, tell him that you comfort me in mine aduersity, and that I make you no other answere then thus, as is here written, which he had alreadie written with his owne hand in a little peece of paper for Mannowry's instruction, as followeth :*

Vela M. Mannowry L' acceptance de tout mes trauaus, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes maladies & douleurs. Vela L' effect de mon confidence au Roy. Which paper of *Raleigh's* hand writing *Mannowry* produced.

And now Sir *Walter Raleigh* beganne to practise with *Mannowry*, and to tell him that he would flie and get himselfe out of *England*, and that if *Mannowry* would aide him in his escape, it was all in his power : and that Sir *Lewis Stucley* trusted in no body but *Mannowry* ; whereupon *Mannowry* made him an ouerture, that at his comming to *London* he should keepe himselfe close in a friends house of *Mannowry's* in *Shire-lane*, in *London*, whereunto he seemed to encline, and found *Mannowry's* aduise good for a while ; but in the end he told him, that he was resolu'd otherwise, and that he had alreadie sent *Captaine King* to hire him a Barke, below *Grauesend*, which would goe with all windes, and another little boat to carrie him to it ; For, quoth he, *to hide myself in London, I should be alwayes in feare to be discouered by the generall searchers that are there ; but to escape, I must get leaue to goe to my house, and being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stucley by a backe doore, and get me into the boate ; for no bodie will doubt that I can goe on foot, seeing me so feeble, as I seeme to be.* And then *Raleigh* hauing mused a while, without speaking, *Mannowry* asked him, *Sir, wherefore will you flie ? your Apologie, and your last Declaration, doe not they iustifie you sufficiently ?* Then all in choler, *Raleigh* answered him in *English* thus ; *Neuer tell me more ; a man that feares is neuer secure ;* which fashion of his put *Mannowry* to silence for that time.

Now there rested nothing but his Maiesties Licence, to permit him to go to his owne house, without which (he sayde) he could not possibly escape. This Licence was after granted him by the meanes of Master Vice-chamberlaine, and Master Secretarie *Naunton* ; which being obtained, *Mannowry* tooke occasion

to say to him, *That hereby one might see, that his Maiesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to goe to his owne house to recouer his health. No (quoth Raleigh) they vsed all these kindes of flatteries, to the Duke of Byron, to draw him fairely to the prison, and then they cut off his head; I knowe that they haue concluded amongst them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to reasssure the Trafficke which I haue broken in Spaine.* And thereupon brake foorth into most hatefull, and Trayterous wordes against the King's owne Person, ending in a menace and brauery, *That if he could saue himselfe for that time, he would plot such plots, as should make the King thinke himselfe happy to send for him again, and render him his estate with aduantage; yea and force the King of Spaine, to write into England in his fauour.*

Mannowry at that time did aske him further, if he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stucley? and whether he should loose his Office and Estate? *Not to death (quoth Raleigh) but he will be imprisoned for a-while, but his landes the King cannot haue, for that they are already assured to his eldest sonne; and for the rest, it was no part of his care.* Mannowry further asked him, if it were not Treason in himselfe to be ayding to his escape? *No (quoth he) for that you are a stranger; neuerthelesse, you must not be knowne of any thing, for then you will be sure to be put in prison.* In conclusion, Mannowry demaunded of him yet further, *But what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape? why (quoth he) follow me into France, (that is your Countrey) and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.*

After, Raleigh went on his iourney to Andouer, and so to Hartford-bridge, and from thence to Staines, during which time, Sir Lewis Stucley being made acquainted by Mannowry with Raleigh his purpose to escape, vsed extraordinarie dilligence in guards and watches vpon him; which Raleigh perceiuing, said to Mannowry at Staines; *I perceiue well, it is not possible for me to escape by our two meanes alone, Stucley is so watchfull, and sets such strait guard vpon me, and will be too hard for us, for all our cunnings; therefore there is no way but to make him one of our counsell; and if we can perswade him, to let me saue my selfe, I will giue him in hand two hundred pounds sterling worth: and thereupon drew forth a Iewel, and shewed it to Mannowry, and gaue it into his hand, made in the fashion of haile powdered with Diamonds, with a Rubie in the midst, which he valued at a hundred and fiftie pound sterling, and said, Besides this Iewel, he shall haue fiftie pound in money; I pray you goe tell him so from me, and perswade him to it, I know he will trust you.*

Mannowry went presently to Stucley, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that Mannowry should report backe to Raleigh, that he would accept of his offer, and bade him tell Raleigh also, that he was content to doe as he desired; but he would chuse rather to goe away with him, then to tarrie behind with shame and reproach; and he bade Mannowry, aske him further, how he thought he could doe this, without loosing his Office of Vice-Admirall, which cost him fixe hundred pounds, and how they should liue afterwards; and to what place they should go, and what meanes he would carrie with him, to furnish this intended escape; which Mannowry did, and was answered

swered by the said *Raleigh*, and prayed to tell *Stucley*, that if he would sweare vnto him, not to discouer him, he would tell him his whole intent ; and that for the first point, though *Stucley* should loose his Office, yet he should be no looser vpon the matter ; and for afterwards, as soone as he was gotten into *France*, or *Holland*, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds Sterling, and that he carried with him onely a thousand Crownes in money and Jewells to serue for the present in his escape. But after supper, *Raleigh* said vnto *Mannowry*, Oh, if I could escape without *Stucley*, I should doe brauely ; But it is no matter (said he) *Ile carrie him along, and afterwards Ile dispatch my selfe of him well enough.* And after, *Mannowry* relating all that had passed, to *Stucley*, brought them together, at which time *Raleigh* shewed the Jewell to *Stucley* ; and he making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his Office ; whereupon *Mannowry* seeing them so accorded vpon the matter in appearance, tooke his leaue of them to goe to *London* ; and in the morning *Mannowry* vpon the taking of his leaue, saide to *Raleigh*, that he did not thinke to see him againe while he was in *England* ; Whereupon *Raleigh* gaue him a Letter directed to *Mistris Herrys of Radford*, that should deliuer him an yron fornace with a Distillatory of Copper belonging vnto it, and charged him to tell euery man he mett, that he was sicke, and that he left him in an extreme loosenesse that very night.

BUT *Raleigh* hauing formerly dispatched a messenger to *London*, to prepare him a Barque for his escape, came at last to *London*, and hauing wonne his purpose, (by these former deuices of feigned sicknesse) to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remaine at his owne house, till his better recouerie ; there fell out an accident, which gaue him great hopes and encouragement speedily to faciliate his intended designe for escape. For as he came on his way to *London*, in his Inn at *Brentford*, there came vnto him a Frenchman named *La Chesnay*, a follower of *Le Clere*, last Agent here for his Maiesties dearest brother the French King ; who tolde him that the French Agent was very desirous to speake with him as soone as might be, after his arriual at *London*, for matters greatly concerning the sayd *Sir Walter's* weale and safetie ; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arriual at *London*, the said *Le Clere*, and *La Chesnay* came vnto him to his house, and there did the said *Le Clere* offer vnto him a French Barque, which he had prepared for him to escape, and withall his Letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the *Gouernour of Calis*, and to send a Gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there ; to which offer of his, *Raleigh* after some questions passed, finding the French Barke not to be so ready, nor so fit as that himselfe had formerly prouided, gaue him thanks, and told him that he would make vse of his owne Barke, but for his Letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholding to him, because his acquaintance in *France* was worne out. So passionately bent was he vpon his escape, as that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so neere, vpon his first acquaintance, and vnto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he neuer saw before.

before. And thus after two nights stay, the third night he made an actuall attempt to escape, and was in Boat towards his Shippe, but was by *Stucley* arrested, brought backe, and deliuered into the custodie of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

For these his great and hainous offences, in acts of Hostilitie vpon his Maiesties confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his Commission, as of his Maiesties Subiects vnder his charge, Impostures, Attempts of escape, declining his Maiesties Iustice, and the rest, euidently prooued or confessed by himselfe; he had made himselfe vtterly vnworthy of his Maiesties further mercy: And because he could not by Law be iudicially called in question, for that his former attainder of *Treason* is the highest and last worke of the Law (whereby he was *Ciuiliter mortuus*) his Maiestie was inforced (except Attainders should become priuiledges for all subsequent offences) to resolute to haue him executed vpon his former Attainder.

HIS Maiesties iust and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good Subiects by this preceeding Declaration, not founded vpon coniectures or likelyhoods; but either vpon confession of the partie himselfe, or vpon the examination of diuers vnsuspected witnesses, he leaues it to the world to iudge, how he could either haue satisfied his owne Iustice, (his honourable intentions hauing been so peruered and abused by the said Sir *W. Raleigh*) or yet make the vprightnesse of the same his intentions appeare to his dearest Brother the King of *Spaine*; if he had not by a Legal punishment of the Offender, giuen an example, aswell of terrour to all his other Subiects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary course for the attaining to their owne vnlawful endes; as also of Demonstration to all other forreigne Princes and States, whereby they might rest assured of his Maiesties honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur: By which means his Maiestie may the more assuredly expect and claime an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocall correspondence from them, vpon any the like occasion. But as to Sir *Walter Raleigh* his confession at his Death, what he confessed or denied touching any the points of this declaration, his Maiestie leaves him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in beginning of this Discourse. For Soueraigne Princes cannot make a true iudgement vpon the bare speeches or asseuerations of a delinquent at the time of his death, but their iudgement must be founded vpon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such like reall proofes, as all this former discourse is made vp and built vpon; all the materiall and most important of the said examinations being taken vnder the hands of the examiners that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer then fixe of his Maiesties priue Counsell, and attested by their alike seuerall subscriptions vnder their hands, which were my Lords, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Verulam* Lord Chauncellor of *England*, the Earle of *Worcester* Lord Priuy Seale, Master Secretary *Naunton*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Edward Coke*.

To the KINGS most Excellent Maiestie. The humble petition and information of Sir LEWIS STUCLEY, Kt. Vice-admirall of Deuon, touching his owne behauiour in the charge committed vnto him, for the bringing vp of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and the scandalous aspersions cast vpon him for the same, 1618.

BEING deterred by your Maiesties more important affaires, from any hope of redresse of those scarres cast vpon my reputation by Sir *Walter Raleigh* at his death, without some remonstrance of the businesse made by my selfe; I haue presumed to offer to your most Excellent Maiestie, a iust defence of my carriage in that affaire: Wherein as I hold it the part of an honest man, to preferre publique duty before priuate affection; so I cannot but keepe the heart of a Gentleman, which is euer more sensible of a wound giuen to his reputation, then to his life. I haue no pleasure to fight with a ghost: But seeing an Angel of darkenesse, did put on him the shape of an Angel of light at his departure, to performe two Parts most cunningly; First, to poison the hearts of discontented people; Secondly, to blemish me in my good name, a poore instrument of the iust desires of the State, with false imputations: Giue me leaue, most Gracious Souereign, to speake for my selfe: which I doe not to insult vpon the dead, but to defend my selfe against the false reports of the liuing, taken from the dead vpon trust, to strike me directly, but through my sides indirectly, ayming at a higher marke. All men haue long knowen, that this mans whole life was a meere sophistication, and such was his death, in which he borrowed some tincture of holinesse, which he was thought not to loue in his life, therewith to couer his hatred of others in his death. As it appeareth, that being moued by the Deane of *Westminster*, and thereupon promising charitie to me in the prison, doth thus vent his hatred on the Scaffold, in shew of charitie to the liuing, to take heed of so dangerous a man. An vncharitable charitie, not much vnlike that mans repentance, who purposing to hang himselfe, writes his repentance of that sinne before hand in his booke, which he did purpose to commit.

Yet will not I take vpon me to iudge of his last repentance, I leaue him unto God, to whom he stands or falls; but I would he had giuen a better signe of it, then by godly words at his death to gather credit to himselfe to worke vpon the compassion of men, thereby to infuse more warily the venome of sedition into the hearts of as many as he might, and to gain reputation vpon his Soueraigne, but to spend his malice vpon me your poore seruant, who did

did nothing, but execute your iust Commands, with the perill of my life. Witnesse his open inuitation of diuers to his death, wherein he means, as in his last Will and Testament, to leaue a Legacie of his hatred vnto me, to be executed vpon me by them to my destruction

But it is nothing in respect of his generall end, to spread by them whom he had inuited, the contagion of his seditious humour vnto others, which the euent doth manifest: That it growes verie questionable, whether this man did more hurt by his life, or by his death: By his life through his ill example; By his death through his false testimony to traduce the Iustice and instruments of the State. Yea but it was the testimony of a dying man, now a penitent (as all say) as some say, a Saint, euen then when as himselfe said, it was no time to flatter or feare Princes: yea, but it was the testimony of an enemy, of a perjur'd, of a condemned man. First, of an enemy, of an angrie enemy, euen with your Maiestie that would haue iustice executed on him, vpon his original condemnation, who were satisfied, as he publickely did speake of his innocence in that cause, as priuately before he bewrayed his deepe discontentment, when it was vrged, that the testimony of the Lord *Cobham* was neuer retracted, Sir *Walter Raleigh* did peremptorily deny it. To whom answere was made, that then the publike Act registred in the Counsell booke would manifest it, for there it appeares. So fain would this man cast aspersions vpon your Iustice for taking the life of an innocent in that cause, wherein he was condemned by his Countrey. When this would not serue his turne, then did he flie to the Commission of a Generall; pleading it as an implicit pardon of that former offence: Not considering that being already a man condemned for treason, he was, as the learned in the Law held, vncapable of another triall, by which he might haue been found as *Nocent* as before. For he hauing a Commission, to goe into those parts of *America*, vnpossessed by any Christian Prince in league with your Maiestie, and no where else, either to plant or trade, he made his designe for the Riuer of *Oreonoque*, where he knew the Subiects of the King of *Spaine* were already planted, which, as he confessed vnder his hand to your Maiestie, he concealed from you; and this vnder pretence of his gold Mine, which he did apparently to this end, to breake the League, and to imbroyle the two States. Many Generals haue for exceeding their Commissions beene punished, euen for good seruices: how then could he haue escaped, for this his disseruice, being against his Commission, if he might by the law haue been tryed vpon it? Its cleere then, that he was angry with your Maiestie for commanding Iustice to be done vpon him: how then could he chuse but be angry with me the poor Instrument who brought him backe to Iustice, from whence he intended often to make an escape?

First at Sea, vpon his returne, making motion to be set on shore in *France*, and to quit his Ship to his company on that condition; for the which he was blocked vp in his Cabin a moneth together, as himselfe hath confessed vnto me, and is to be prooued by diuers of his company: By which it is cleere againe, that out of his guiltinesse, he did not so much trust in your goodnesse,

as

as he said on the Scaffold he did too much, or else he had not suffered death. Next at *Plymouth*, after he was by your Maiesties speciall command, committed to my keeping, he plotted with two *French* Captaines; by name, with Captaine *Flory*, and Captain *Le Grand*, to escape in one of their shippes, then there in harbour, as he then confessed to the Lords Commissioners, it being first evidently prooued against him; by which it appeareth againe, he did not trust your Maiesties goodnesse; as he writte and said at his death. But I am sure by this he did much wrong my kindnesse, to my vndoing, had not the goodnesse of heauen preuented him. Next he plotted his escape at *Salisbury*; which my worthy Cozen *William Herbert* first discovered to your Maiestie. Last vpon the same *Saturday* when I receiued your Maiesties Commission, by my Cozen *Herbert*, by whom also I receiued intelligence, that at that instant, he was flying from my custody without my priuity; not hauing as yet made him any semblance of condiscient, so that I almost came on him at vnawares, euen at the instant that he was putting on his false beard, and his other disguisements: Which declares he did still distrust your goodnesse; doubtlesse out of the conscience of his guiltinesse, whatsoeuer he writte or said to the contrary. And is it any maruaile then, that he was angry with me at his death, for bringing him backe? Besides, that beeing a man, as he was thought, of so great a Wit, it was no small grieffe, that a man of so meane a wit as I, should be thought to goe beyond him. Yea, but you should not haue vsed such craft to goe beyond him; No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex iustior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua.* But why did not you execute your Commission barely to his apprehension on him in his house? Why? my Commission was to the contrary, to discover his other pretensions, and to seaze his secret papers, &c. And can any honest Subiect question mine honesty, in the performance of such a Commission, which tended to the discovery of the secret intentions of an ill affected heart to my Soueraigne? How can any dislike this in me, and not bewray his owne dishonest heart, vnto the State? Yea, but though another might haue done this, yet how might you doe it, beeing his kinsman and his friende? Surely if I had been so, yet in a publique employment, and trust laid vpon me, I was not to refuse it, much lesse to prefer priuate kindnesse or amity, before my publique duety and loyalty: For what did I know the dangerous consequence of these matters, which were to be discovered? or who knowes them yet, of those that make themselues my competent Iudges? But if there were no kindred or amity between vs, as I auow there neuer was, what bond then might tie me to him, but the tie of compassion of his miserie? which was in my Soueraignes heart to distribute, when he saw time, that did command me, and not in the dispensation of me, nor of any other instruments of power, that is to be commanded. Hitherto I haue prooued he was angry, both with your Maiesty, and with my selfe, and therefore his testimony ought not to be of any force against me. It followeth next to proue, that his protestations and oathes, concerning others were false, both before he came to the Scaffold, and vpon the Scaffold. Before, against Queene *Elizabeth* of infinite famous memory, who

aduanced him with great fauour from the dust. For one day my selfe vpbaying him with the notorious extreame iniury he did my father, in deceiuing him of a great aduenture which my sayd father had in the *Tyger*, when he went to the *West Indies* with my Vnkle Sir *Richard Greenuill*; which was by his own confession worth fifty thousand pounds: which came all to his hands, my father's portion at the least being tenne thousand pound that he might lawfully clayme: He answered that the Queene howsoeuer she seemed a great good mistresse vnto him in the eyes of the world, yet was so iniust and tyrannous vnto him, that she layde the envie aswell of this, as of many other her oppreessions vpon him: and that she tooke all the pearle in a Cabinet vnto her selfe, without euer giuing him so much as one pearle. This he swore to me, and to Captaine *Pennington*, he did so basely and barbaroullie raile vpon that our most excellent Queen oftentimes, as he can attest, that no man hath cause to beleue his oath against others, that would breake his oath of Allegiance to so excellent a mistresse, that had rayfed him from such meannesse to such greatnesse, as we of his countrey did well know.

Now that he swore that he was not guiltie of the plotting of the Earle of *Essex's* death, nor did insult vpon him being dead, there is a Gentleman of worth, which about that time came from out of a long captiuitie, which he had suffered in *Spaine*, who touched at *Sherborne*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* asked him, What they said in *Spaine* of *Essex's* death? He answered, They heard not of it there: But that he was sorry he heard in the *Iland* voyage, That the Earle had brought him to his mercy. To which Sir *Walter Raleigh* answered, But I trust I am now quittance with him; which this Gentleman is ready to attest. Besides, in his Letters written to others, he did ordinarily vpbraid him, That he died like a Crauen: and in another, That the great boy dyed like a Calfe: And he was often heard to say, That he died like a foole, and like a coward: So persecuting his ghost, and insolently trampling in his ashes; that it thence grew into many mens mouthes; That it was better to be a living dogge, then a dead Lyon. But a more euident demonstration there cannot be of any thing, then that an olde Warder of the *Tower* will depose, that he saw Sir *Walter Raleigh* the night before the Earle's suffering, with his footman onely with him, to come to the *Tower*, and heard him giue strait instructions to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* for execution of the Warrant, for that worthy Lords execution, which shortly followed him. Whether then he forswore not himselfe euen at his death for publique applause, about the not plotting the destruction, and not insulting on the death of that most noble Earle, and excellent Saint of God; whose Christian humilitie and charitie, if Sir *Walter* had followed, he had not called his repentance and Saintship so farre into question, as now he hath done, and so seditiously haue poisoned the hearts of discontented people, nor so maliciously wounded the reputation of an honest Subiect: Who vpon iust reason, beleueing the disloyall and dishonourable wordes spoken by such a proude vassall against your sacred person to Monsieur *Mannowry*, as other his disloyall deeds which he intended against you: That if he had escaped, he was like to prooue as dangerous a Traitor

to this Crowne, as euer *Antonio de Peres* was to the Crowne of *Spaine*; tooke them to heart, and performed my best *deuoyer* to bring him vnto Iustice. But whether, I say, he forswore not himselfe in these things, I referre my selfe to them that are better acquainted with the Tragoedie of that time.

Not to forget in the end, that which he confessed himselfe vnto me and others, that he took an oath vpon the Bible to his Company, which he purposed to breake; which perjury, his Lady hath said, was the cause of all his ruine. And what interpretation can my greatest enemy make of his oath, which voluntarily he swore vnto my selfe in the Lieutenants dining chamber, the *Wednesday* after his commitment; which was, That he loued me as well, as any friend he had in the world; to which I haue substantiall witnesse. But in all these things he vsed an equivocation, as he doeth in these things now concerning me. To which I answered in generall once for all, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, father to his wife, was thought iustly to except against the testimonie of one *Vaughan*, brought against him, because he was a condemned man: And may not I then except against the testimonie of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, vrged against me vpon the Scaffold, coming from an Outlaw after Iudgement, euen in a case of high Treason? Yet to answer in particular to the points, he sayth first; I neuer did receiue aduice from my Lord *Carew* to make mine escape. And I doe now verely beleeeue he neuer did receiue any such aduice, as I euer said to the Lords: But that *Raleigh* tolde it vnto *Stucley*, yea, and that many times, I will auow it vnto death, and take the Sacrament vpon it.

To the second; I neuer named my Lord *Hay*, and my Lord *Carew*, in other wordes and fence, then as my honourable friends, amongst other Lords my honourable friends. That is very true, and I would the rest of his Honourable friends vnderstood how farre he named them, as well as I doe. But as euer I beleeeued, that he did abuse their Honourable names, to seduce me, and to draw me to his purpose: So did I promise to my selfe, that some of the chiefe of them being ioyned in the bond either of blood or affinitie with me, a poore Gentleman, would be a comfort vnto me in the way of my loyalty, and renounce the testimonie of such a disloyall man, that was neuer true to any, but to himselfe. There is no mans displeasure can further hurt me, he hath threatned me, That if I reuealed the things he told me in priuate, I should die for it. And die for this cause I am content, so it be not by an as-facinate: But whensoever I die, there shall die your Maiesties faithfull and loyall seruant, and one that will part with his blood at as deere a rate as he can.

For the third, concerning the shewing of a letter to me about money, his wife if she were put to her oath, can tell whether it were so or no. But vnder the former protestation, I auow it to be true, that he shewed me such a letter; though I think it not true what the letter spake. I omit his periury in swearing he had no design for *Fraunce*; when as Sir *John Fearne*, and Capitaine *Penington* are able to testifie vpon their oathes, that he often told them he had commission to stand them in stead from the High Admirall of *France*,

which confirms the testimony of M. Mannowry, who saw the Commission at *Plymouth*, as he will depose it. I vrge not his periury in that Article concerning Sir *Iohn Fearne*, that he neuer had it in his thought to goe from *Trinidado*, to leaue his company: which Sir *Iohn Fearne* is ready to prooue, by the deposition of 60 persons, that Sir *Walter* propounded it vnto them, whatsoeuer he intended. And therefore how this man equiuocates at his death, all the world may see. O barbarous cruelty, to leaue so many gentlemen, when he had secretly heard that his son was dead, to the mercy of their enemies, without hope or meanes to returne. Where he also perswaded Captain *Penington* to goe away, who answered him, he would rather die then lay the guilt vpon his soul, of the death of so many gentlemen: But if I would, you lately swore you haue no money left, quoth Captaine *Penington*, without which we cannot victuall at *Virginia*; But, whatsoeuer I swore (sayd Sir *Walter*) I haue 300 pieces in a corner at a dead list; as he confessed also to the Lords that he gaue one hundred and fifty pieces to his company to come home: And how then can that be true, which he swore at his death, that he carried but 60 pieces with him, and brought home neer the same summe. Certainly periury was but a *Peccadillio* with this man, which he shewed also towards me, when he protested that I perswaded him to goe to Sir *Edward Parham's* fathers house, which is most vnttrue: For Sir *Walter Raleigh* hauing a secret intention, which afterwarde appeared to play the mountebanke at *Salisbury* to pretend the taking of a doze of poyson, by which he deceiued me first, that by me he might deceiue others, which was a most base vnmanly part; thought Sir *Edward Parham's* fathers house, whom he thought to be a Papist, to be a fit subiect of suspicion, which he meant to cast vpon his friend, who had so louingly and worthily entertained vs. For, sayd Sir *Walter*, though the Gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be Priests or Iesuites there that did it: For I remember after my mornings draught, of a cuppe of Ale, which Sir *Edward Parham* offered me in the Hall, I felt presently a kind of excoriation in mine Intrails, as if some Iesuit had been the Butler. Now when I saw the pustules break out vpon him at *Salisbury*, my Compassion I confesse was too credulous to report from his mouth so much, wherein I made no lie, but told a lie: *Non mentientis astu, sed compassionis affectu*, which hath been ill requited by him to whom I shewed it. But I am heartily sorry for it, that being so farre abused as I was, I should wrong my true kinsman, which mooued me after to no small iust indignation against Sir *Walter*, who had thus abused vs both. When I heard of his often purposes to escape to mine vndoing, to draw him forward to it, which he intended of himself by making of a lie, *Non amore mendacij, sed officij*, the rather because he had inueigled me to hurt my kinsman by telling of a lie, which I doubt that Diuinitie would not bear but reason of State, (as the best Philosophers do hold) doth bear it to be lawfull to lie for the discouerie of Treason to do seruice to the common-wealth. Yea, but they say, that he hath not left so sufficient a man behind him, and that therefore his death is a losse to the common-wealth; I doubt much of both. But no man denies,

but

but he had many sufficiencies in him: But what were these, but so many weapons of practise and danger to the State, if he escaped, being so deeply tainted in so many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyaltie? He knew, as he writ, that as in nature, so in policy, *A privatione ad habitum non fit regressio*, and therefore being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable with the height of his mind, who can doubt, but he would haue made vp his fortune elsewhere vpon any tearmes against his Soueraigne and Countrey? No *Coriolanus* heart could be more vindicative, then he was vnto them to whom he did impute his fault. Yea, but he died most resolutely: Yea, but he was taken most sheepishly. Neuer was there man out of the conscience of his own corruption and guiltinesse so cowed at his taking, as he was; trembling and weeping to come before Iustice. Yea, but he gathered his spirits afterwards, and died resolutely. Euen so hath many a Iesuite done at *Tyburne*; a cancred enemy to God and his Soueraigne: But with this difference, that they died in hope of false Martyrdome, and this with a desire of a false popular fame.

But he died like a Saint too: He hath before verie much called his Saintshippe into dispute by the carriage of his life: We may now iudge of it, by that he did a night before his death, who after his Conferences with the Deane of *Westminster*, for his better instruction, and preparation of his soul for God, called the Keeper of the *Gatehouse* (Master *Weekes*) to him, and was curiously inquisitive to know, whether he had any *Romish* Priests vnder his charge, and custodie, and what they were; but vpon his answer (that he had not any) whether he mistrusted that Master *Weekes* would not deale plainly with him, or would not be true vnto him, he presently surceased from any further Inquisition of that matter; which whether it might proceed of an irresolution in the Religion wherein he professed himself to die, or out of a popular affectation to insinuate and applie himself to all factions, I leaue it to the censure of the Iudicious Reader, and of such as best obserued the whole Scene of his action vpon the Scaffold. But to go further, they say he died like a Souldier and a Saint, and therefore then to be beleeued, not only against me, but against the attestation of the State. O wicked times, to say no more! But my hope is, that Religion and the feare of God, and the conscience of our duty and loyaltie to your Maiestie, will sway more with the most and best, by that time men shall from the State be better informed. *Opinionum commenta delebit dies, veritatis iudicia confirmabit*, saith *Tully*. Wherefore I doe here make two most humble petitions to your most excellent Maiestie. First, that seeing I your poor loyall Subiect am burthened and oppressed, with the Testimony of a bitter enemy, of a periur'd and condemned man, which is against all reason, conscience, and law: That I may haue your Maiesties leaue to the confirmation of the truth, which I haue avowed to be sufficient; to receiue the Sacrament vpon it in your Maiesties Chappel. The next is, that your Maiestie will be so gracious unto me, as to suffer a declaration to come forth from the State, for the cleering of these matters, and further satisfaction of the world: By which it may appeare, that
the

the Iustice of God, and the Iustice of the King, did neuer better meete together in one man: Which my iust and humble request, I hope your Ma-iestie will not deny to

Your Maiesties loyall Subiect and Seruant,

LEWES STVCLEY.

The Funerals of the High and Mighty Prince HENRY, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewaile and Rothsay, Count Palatine of Chester, Earle of Carick,, and late Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

Which Noble PRINCE deceased at St. James's, the sixt day of November, 1612, and was most Princely interred the seuenth day of December following, within the Abbey of Westminster, in the Eighteenth yeer of his Age.

LONDON: Printed by T. S. for Iohn Budgde, 1613.

THE body of the said PRINCE being bowelled, embalmed and closed vp in Lead, there were foure Chambers hung with blackes, viz. the Guard Chamber and the Presence with blacke Cloth, the Priuy Chamber with finer Cloth, and that which was his Highness's Bed-chamber, with black Veluet: in the middest whereof was set vp a Canopy of blacke Veluet, valanced, and fringed; vnder which vpon Tressels the Coffin with the body of the PRINCE was placed, couered with a large pall of blacke Veluet, and adorned with Scuchions of his Armes. Vpon the head of which Coffin was layde a Cushion of blacke Veluet, and his Highness's Cap and Coronet set thereon, as also his Robes of estate, Sword and Rod of Gold; and so it remayned (being daily and nightly watched) vntill two or three dayes before his Highness's Funeral. In which time euery day, both Morning and Euening Prayers were said in his Presence or Priuy Chamber, by his Chaplaines, and his Gentlemen and chiefe Officers attendant thereat.

Thursday before the Funeralls his Princely body was brought forth of his Bed-chamber into his Priuie-chamber.

Friday it was brought into his Presence-chamber, and set under his cloath of estate.

Satterday, the fift of *December*, about three of the clocke in the after-noonne it was remoued into the Guard-chamber, where all his chief seruants and

and Officers being assembled, and the Officers of Armes in their Coates, the corps was solemnly carried into the Chappell of that house, and placed vnder a canopy in the midst of the Quire, the Bishop of *Lichfield* read the Service, and the Gentlemen of the King's Chappell, with the children thereof, sung diuers excellent Anthems, together with the Organs, and other winde instruments, which likewise was performed the Day following, being *Sunday*.

Monday, the 7th of *December*, (the Funerall day) the representation was layd vpon the Corps, and both together put into an open Chariot, and so proceeded as followeth :

Poore men, in gownes, to the number of 140.

About 300 {
Gentlemens seruants.
Esquires seruants.
Knights seruants.
Baronets seruants.
Barons sonnes seruants.
Viscount sonnes seruants.
Earles sonnes seruants.

Two *Drummes* and a *Fife*, their *Drummes* couered with black cloth, and Scuchions of the Prince his Armes therevpon.

Portesmouthe, Pursuiuant of Armes.

The great Standard of Prince HENRY, being a *Lyon* crowned, standing on a *Chappeau*, borne by Sir *Iohn Win*, Knight and Baronet, the Motto therein, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*.

About 306 { Prince HENRY his Household Seruants, according to their
several Offices and Degrees : with Tradesmen and Artificers that belonged vnto his Highnesse.

Trumpets.

The Coronet of the Prince, being the three Feathers in a Crownet, with his Motto ; *Iuvat ire per altum* ; borne by Sir *Roger Dallison*, Knight and Baronet.

About 360 {
Barons seruants.
Viscounts seruants.
Earles seruants : as well *English* as Strangers.
The Duke of *Lenox* his seruants.
The Lord Chancellors seruants.
Count *Henry de Nassau* his seruants.

Trumpets.

A Banner of the Earledome of *Carick*, borne by Sir *David Fowles*.

A Horse

A Horse led by a Quirry of the Stable; the Horse was couered with blacke cloath, and armed with Scuchions of that Earledom, hauing his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 80 { Archbishops seruants.
Prince *Palatine* his seruants.
Prince *Charles* his seruants.

Blew-mantle Pursuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Earledome of *Chester*, borne by the Lord *Howard* of *Es-
fingham*.

A Horse led by a Quirry of the Stable, couered with blacke cloath, and armed with Scuchions of the Earledome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 40 { Faulconers and Huntsmen.
Clearkes of the Workes.
Clearkes of the Poultry.
Clearkes of the Acatry.
Clearkes of the Larder.
Clearkes of the Spicery.
Clearkes of the Kitchen.
Clearkes of the Coffery.
Clearkes of the Stable.
Clearkes of the Auery.
Clearkes of the Wardrobe.
Master of the Workes.
Pay-Master.
And Clearke Comptroller.

About 60 { Serieants of the Vestry.
Children of the Chappell.
Gentlemen of the Chappell in rich Copes.
Musitians.
Apothecaries and Surgions.
6 Doctors of Physicke.
24 The Princes Chapleyns.

Portcullis Pursuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Dukedome of *Rothsay*, borne by the Lord *Bruse*, Baron of *Kinlosse*.

A Horse led by a Quirry of the Stable, couered with blacke cloath, armed with Scuchions of that Dukedome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 80 { Pages of the Chamber.
Gentlemen, the Princes seruants extraordinary.
The Princes Solicitor, and Counsell at Law.
Groome Porter.

Gen-

Gentlemen Vfhers, quarter Waiters.
 { Groomes of the Priuy-Chamber extraordinary.
 { Groomes of the Priuy-Chamber in ordinary.
 { Groomes of the Bed-Chamber.
 { Pages of the Bed-Chamber, and the Princes own Page.

Rouge-Dragon Pursuyuant.

A Banner of the Dukedome of *Cornewall*, borne by the Lord *Clifford*.
 A Horfe led by Mr. *Henry Alexander*, couered with Scuchions of that
 Dukedome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 146 {	Viz. {	Count <i>Henrickes</i> Gentlemen.
		Count <i>Palatines</i> Gentlemen,
		<i>Viz.</i>
		— Monsieur <i>Eltz.</i>
		— — — <i>Helmstadt.</i>
		— — — <i>Colbe.</i>
		— — — <i>Benefer.</i>
		— — — <i>Adolfshein</i>
		— — — <i>Nenzkin.</i>
		— — — <i>Walbron.</i>
		— — — <i>Waldgraue.</i>
		— — — <i>Faetes.</i>
		— — — <i>Carden.</i>
		— — — <i>Berlinger.</i>
		— — — <i>Grorode.</i>
		— — — <i>Cawlt.</i>
		— — — <i>Stensfels.</i>
		— — — <i>Ridzell.</i>
		— — — <i>Helinger.</i>
		— — — <i>Henbell.</i>
		— — — <i>Auckensten.</i>
		— — — <i>Gellu.</i>
		— — — <i>Wallyne.</i>
		— — — <i>Pellinger.</i>
		— — — <i>Berlipps.</i>
		— — — <i>Shott.</i>
		— — — <i>Weldensten.</i>
		— — — <i>Croilesemere.</i>
		— — — <i>Leuinsten.</i>
		— — — <i>Dathenes.</i>
— — — <i>Calbe.</i>		
— — — <i>Scultetetz.</i>		
— — — <i>Rampf.</i>		

{ Mounſieur *Dawnſier.*
 { ——— *Maier.*
 { ——— *Wanebach.*

Prince *Charles* his Gentlemen,
 Gentlemen of Prince *Henries* Priuy-Chamber extraordinary.

Knights and Gentlemen of his Highneſſe Priuy-Chamber
 in ordinary, and of his Bed-Chamber, with Sewers,
 Caruers, and Cupbearers.

The Prince his Secretary.

The Prince his Threſorer of his Houſhold. The Thre-
 ſorer of his Reuenewes, and the Comptroller of his
 Houſhold together, bearing their white ſtaues.

Roug-croix Purſuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Princes Principalitie of *Scotland*, with a Labell, borne by
 the Viſcount *Fenton*.

A Horſe led by Sir *Sigifmond Alexander*, couered with blacke cloath, armed
 with Scuchions of that Kingdome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

Baronets.

Barons yonger ſonnes.

Sir *Edward Phillips*, Maſter of the Rolls, being the Prince his Chauncel-
 ler, going alone.

Knights Priuy Councillors to the KING, viz.

Sir *Iohn Herbart*, Secretary.

Sir *Iulius Ceſar* Chaunceller of the Exchequer.

Sir *Thomas Parry*, Chaunceller of the Duchie of *Lancaſter*.

Barons eldeſt ſonnes.

Three Trumpets.

Lancaſter Herauld.

A Banner of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, quartered with *Wales*, borne by
 the Viſcount *Liſle*.

A Horſe led by Sir *William Webb*, Kt. couered with blacke cloath, his
 Cheiffon and Plumes.

Earles yonger ſonnes.

Viſcounts eldeſt ſonnes.

Barons of *Scotland*.

Barons

Barons of *England*, Viz.

Lord <i>Kneuit</i> .	— Lord <i>Candish</i> .
Lord <i>Arundell</i> of <i>Wardor</i> .	— Lord <i>Carewe</i> .
Lord <i>Stanhop</i> .	— Lord <i>Denny</i> .
Lord <i>Spencer</i> .	— Lord <i>Garrard</i> .
Lord <i>Danvers</i> .	— Lord <i>Harington</i> .
Lord <i>Peters</i> .	— Lord <i>Russell</i> .
Lord <i>Wotton</i> .	— Lord <i>Knowles</i> .
Lord <i>Norris</i> .	— Lord <i>Compton</i> .
Lord <i>Hunsden</i> .	— Lord <i>Chandos</i> .
Lord <i>Northe</i> .	— Lord <i>Darcy</i> of <i>Chich</i> .
Lord <i>Sheffield</i> .	— Lord <i>Rich</i> .
Lord <i>Wharton</i> .	— Lord <i>Evers</i> .
Lord <i>Wentworth</i> .	— Lord <i>Windsor</i> .
Lord <i>Mounteagle</i> .	— Lord <i>Dudley</i> .
Lord <i>Stafford</i> .	— Lord <i>Dacres</i> .
Lord <i>Morley</i> .	— Lord <i>Laware</i> .

Bishops 5 {

The Bishop of *Rochester*.

The Bishop of *Conentry* and *Lichfield*.

The Bishop of *Ely*.

The Bishop of *Oxford*.

The Bishop of *London*.

The Earle of *Exeter*.

The Prince his Chamberlayne, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, alone, bearing his white staffe.

The Lord Chancellor, and Count *Henricke*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* : Preacher.

The great Embrodered Banner of the *Vnion*, borne by the Earles of *Montgomery* and *Argyle*.

A Horse led, called *Le Cheual de deul*, couered with blacke Veluet, and led by a chiefe Quirry, Monsieur *Saint Antoin*.

The Prince his Hatchments of HONOUR, carried by Officers of Armes, viz.

The Spurres, by *Windsor*. The Sword, by *Norroy*, King of

The Gauntlets, by *Somerſet*. Armes.

The Helme and Crest, by *Richmond*. The Coat, by *Clarencieux*, King of

The Targe, by *Yorke*. Armes.

Three Gentlemen Vſhers to the Prince, bearing their wands.

The Corps of the Prince, lying in an open Chariot, with the Princes representation thereon, inuested with his Robes of estate of Purple Veluet, furred with Ermines, his Highneſſe Cap and Coronet on his head, and his Rod of Gold in his hand, and at his feet, within the ſaid Chariot, ſat Sir *David Murrey*, the Maſter of the Wardrobe.

The Chariot was couered with blacke Veluet, fet with Plumes of blacke feathers, and drawn by fixe Horses couered, and Armed with Scuchions, hauing their Cheiffrons and Plumes.

A Canopy of blacke Veluet borne ouer the representation by fixe Baronets.

Ten Bannerols, borne about the body by ten Baronets, viz.

Sir Moyle Finch.	Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Thomas Mounson	Sir George Gresley.
Sir Iohn Wentworth.	Sir Robert Cotton.
Sir Henry Saule.	Sir Lewis Tresham.
Sir Thomas Brewdnell.	Sir Phillip Tiruit.

Four Affistants to the Corps, that bore vp the corners of the Pall, viz.

1. The Lord Zouch.	3. The Lord Burghley.
2. The Lord Abergaueny.	4. The Lord Walden.

William Seger, Garter, Principall King of Armes, between the Gentleman-Vsher of Prince Charles, and the Gentleman-Vsher of the Prince Palatine.

Prince CHARLES chiefe Mourner, supported by the Lord Priuy-Seale, and the Duke of Lenox.

His Highnesse Train was borne by the Lord Dawbney, Brother to the Duke of Lenox.

Then followed the Prince Elector, FREDERICK, Count Palatine of the Rhein.

His Highnesse Traine was borne by Monsieur Shamburgh.

Twelue Earles Affistants to the chiefe Mourner, viz.

Earle of Nottingham.	Earle of Suffolke.
Earle of Shrewsbury.	Earle of Worcester.
Earle of Rutland.	Earle of Suffex.
Earle of Southampton.	Earle of Pembroke.
Earle of Hartford.	Earle of Essex.
Earle of Dorset.	Earle of Salisburie.

Earles strangers, attendants on Count Palatine.

Count Wigensten.	Count Nassaw Scarburg.
Count Lewis de Nassau.	Count Le Hanow, Iunior.
Count Lewingsten.	Count Isinbersh,
Count Hodenlo.	Count Solmes, } Pages.
Count Ringraue.	Count Zerottin,
Count Erback.	

The Horse of Estate, led by Sir Robert Dowglass, Maister of the Princes Horse.

The

The *Palzgreaves* Priuy-Counsellors; viz.

The Count of *Solmes*.

Mounſieur *Helmstedt*.

Mounſieur *Shouburgh*.

Mounſieur *Shouburgh*, Iunior.

Mounſieur *de Pleſhau*.

Mounſieur *Landſhat*.

Officers and Groomes of Prince *Henries* ſtable.

The Guard.

The Knight Marshall, and twenty ſeruants that kept order in the proceeding.

Diuers Knights and Gentlemen, the Kings ſeruants that came in voluntary in blacke. So that the whole number amounted to two thouſand, or thereabout.

A DISCOURSE of the moſt Illuſtrious Prince HENRY, Late Prince of Wales. Written, Anno 1626, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Kt. ſometimes Treasuſer of his Highneſſe Houſe.

LONDON: Printed for *Iohn Benſon*, 1641.

To the High and Mightie CHARLES, Prince of Great-Britaine, &c.

Moſt gracious Prince,

BESIDES my particular zeale, there is a natural intereſt in this enſuing Diſcourſe to your Highneſſe, as being the hopefull heyre of this Kingdome of *Great-Britaine*, and the true inheritour of your Noble Vncles vertues (Prince *Henry*) as of his fortunes. The eyes of all men are upon you, in full view of thoſe ſweet graces of Nature and ingenuous diſpoſition to goodneſſe which all admire. If you ſhall be pleaſed to adde theſe examples and precepts to thoſe of your Royall Father, taking them hand in hand, they will lead you in your tender yeares, in the faire continuance of Honour and Vertue; and then his Maieſty your Royall Father may for many yeares (for which we hope and pray) be a living Mirrour unto you of Piety, Wiſdome, and Juſtice, and all other Regall Indowments fit for ſo great a Dignity, to which you are born.

Glad

Glad I am that it was my chance to meet with this part of *Treasure*, truly gathered by that worthy Knight, deceased *Treasurer* to your Highness's Vncle; and great cause I have to rejoyce that by this (thro' your gracious acceptance) I haue the opportunity, humbly to tender, with this, my prayers at your Highnesse feet, for your long and happy prosperity.

So prayes your Highnesse most humbly devoted,

J. B.

IN this most Illustrious PRINCE, may most cleerly be discerned, that God's judgements are onely knowne to himsele, and his thoughts and determinations unsearchable: For having so framed and fashioned him, as his most rare parts in youth gave so many presages of his becomming to his divine Majesty, (from whom he received them) an honour and glory, to the world a wonder, and to the people of these Kingdomes an exceeding happinesse; yet what he pleased in the spring of his yeares, and of the hope had of him, to take him to himself, and to deprive the world of him, neither could of his short life (so farre as the eyes of man could discerne) the reasons grow either out of neglect, or want of performance of duties to God, or of obedience to his Parents, the observance of which Commandement, onely hath the enlarging of time upon this earth annexed unto it: for in the first, it cannot be denyed but he was exceedingly observant, never failing to sacrifice unto God the first of his actions, to continue in them with all demonstration of reverence, without any diversion or distraction; to cherish such as in whom he found ability to teach, and piety to expresse in life the fruits of their doctrine, to resolve so far to become immutable in the Religion he professed, as long before his end with solemne protestations, he vowed that he would never joine in marriage with a wife of a different faith, and had besides a determination (if longer he had lived) to have made choice of a Chapleine of his owne, a man in yeares, grave in Divinity, rarely learned, and of great discretion, experience and wisdom, by whose advance in all matters spirituall and tending to the rectifying of his Soule, he intended to have received a continual direction.

Of the second, to speake not by hearesay, but of mine owne knowledge (howsoever some moaths and mice of Court in that time, not enemies to him in particular) but maligners of true vertue, and only friends to their own ambitions and desires, to possesse the eares and opinions of Princes, had in that particular traduced him: So true and sincere he was both in profession, and execution of all duties and obedience, and bare so naturall and filiall a reverence and respect to the King his Father, as although sometimes out of his owne inclination, or the incitation and encouragement of others, he repaired to the Court and moved the King in some things, either concerning the Commonwealth; his own particular interest, or that of others; yet with the least word,

word, countenance or signe given him of his Majesties disallowance, he would instantly desist from further pursuite of it, and returne either with satisfaction in regard that he understood it to be disagreeing with his Majesties pleasure, or with such a resolved patience, as he neither in word nor worke gave so much as any semblance of being displeased or discontented: Nay, which is more, so truly was he affected to the pleasing and satisfying of the King his Father in all things, as some good time before his death, he made unto my selfe a solemn protestation, that to the end he might not in any thing be either displeasing, or give the least distaste unto his Majesty, he would from thenceforth utterly remove his thoughts from all affaires whatsoever, that should not particularly concerne himselfe, his owne estate, or the government of his household.

In this discourse of that memorable Prince, I will forbear to speake of his infancy or youngest yeares, (although I have heard by such as did then attend him) the same did most presage his ensuing vertues. My purpose and desire is to deliver nothing but verities knowne to my selfe, not things received by tradition from others.

In the first spring of his yeare of understanding, the King his father committed unto him the disposing of the Lands and Revenues assigned to him, and the government of his household; for the administration whereof, his Majesty appointed unto him certaine especiall Officers; in the number of whom (my selfe being not long before returned out of *Spaine*, where I served the King divers yeares as his Ambassadour) was constituted Treasurer of his house.

The place gave me occasion continually to attend him, and the especiall favour that I after found with him, not onely meanes to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the most of his thoughts.

My first step into his favour and especiall trust, grew out of that which with some other Princes would have caste me downe either into perpetuall disgrace, or at least into a temporary distaste and dislike, hardly recoverable; I so much admired his judicious parts in so unripe an age, and discerned in him so great a will to know, and so Noble and rare a disposition to give eare to advertisements, as out of the duty of my place, and extraordinary affection to himselfe, taking hold of some fit occasion and opportunity, I adventured to make proove whether he would endure advice or advertisement reprehensive.

Young Princes left to their owne wills, and great men that are set upon the highest stage of worldly greatnesse, and lulled in the lap of fortune, doe rarely endure a reprovings voice, especially from those of a lower forme.

I took the occasion from a then generall supposall, or at least, suspition of a little too much streightnesse in his hand in rewarding, and of some errors in his actions, but did so tenderly tread upon those grounds, and with so retiring a foote, as occasioned a discovery from himselfe of desire to receive and have a full sight of them, before I pulled off the maske wherewith I had covered them.

In conclusion, I delivered them in substance plainly, but in words soft and
respective,

respective, (as to such a Prince became me) Kings and Princes being to be treated with, with words of filke not of iron.

To the first, he gave answers satisfactorily.

To the other, exclusively.

But what were the fruits succeeding to his ever enduring honour, Truth enforceth me to publish, that I ever after in mine own particular, found my selfe exceedingly engreathed in his favour, and that those few things that were erred became reformed.

To this so rare a disposition, which being by a Prince entertained, cannot but make him both scient of the Offices appertaining to his high estate, and in time also, as good as great, which in one born to governe, of all things is the most desiraeable, is to be added another vertue in one of Regall power, as valuable, and not much lesse necessary: So very close he was and faithfull a keeper of whatsoever secret was disclosed unto him, as it was never knowne to any, that ever he discovered any one word in that kinde delivered unto him.

Apt he was to heare and desirous to receive advertisements and advises, by any in whom he discerned knowledge gained by learning, or abilities wonne out of time, and experience to give them, neither did he take them in *Transitu*: As in the Old Testament they celebrated the Passeeover, nor as a man receiveth his cloake to put about him, not within him; but gave both time to the deliverers to relate them, and leasure to himselfe to consider and digest them.

Counsellis are to be chewed not swallowed, he would therefore unrip every seame of them by interrogations used by himself, and receive resolutions by those that offered them, untill by mature debate and consultation, (which are the true foiles that giue cleernesse and assurednesse to counsellis) he had both perfected and made them solid and fit for his use whensoever occasion should be offered.

In the government of his household in yeares so very young, he gave examples imitable to all other Princes

His family was ample, as that which consisted of few lesse then five hundred, many of them young Gentlemen, born to great fortunes, in the prime of their years when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences to temper and subject them to reason most weake, his judgement, his grave and Princely aspect, gave temper to them all, his very eye served for a commandement, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very lookes of him, then by sharp reprehensions of some other Princes: If any questions or quarrells were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stoppe and stay to them, at the very beginning by referring them to some such of his principall Officers, as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproofe to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as in so numerous a family there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrell or debate betweene any.

Plenty

Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected, but not without such a temper, as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation; he caused to be set down in writing unto him the several heads of all his annuall charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparell and wardrobe, his rewards and all such other thinges, as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers, and comparing them with his annuall revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them by shortning what he found superfluous, and encreasing what was wanting and too short in any of them, as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray, besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds which he reserved for a store or treasure to be ready for all events and occasions accidentall.

By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, he delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his Tenants, either by any unmeasurable improving their Farmes or their Fines, or seeking or taking advantage of any of their forfeitures, and became also unnecessitated to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former Princes purchased lands appertaining to his Dutchy of *Cornwall*, which could not by Law be alienated from the same, to whom out of his Princely bounty and gracious compassion, upon resuming of them, he gave some reasonable satisfaction.

The banquets and feasts that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his Princely dignity, yet not without an especiall eye and care had that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well managing by his officers; in those he ever affected the demonstration of a Princely greatnesse, and that all things should passe with decency and decorum, and without all rudenesse, noise or disorder.

In any thing either committed or permitted unto him by the King his Father, concerning the State and defence of the Kingdome, exceeding willing, sedulous and carefull he ever shewed himselfe, to perform all offices and duties understandingly, and with much circumspection.

He was once sent by his Majesty to take view of the Navy at *Chatham* *, whither my selfe waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was not onely to see with his owne eyes every particular Ship, but to inable himselfe, by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his Majesties Officers of the Navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the Ships, to understand their strengths and the forme of their sailing, to take knowledge of such as were then perfitted and fitted for present service, and which defective, and in what several parts, to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing them; he also very particularly informed himselfe of their severall equipages and furniture, went in person to take an exact view of them and of his Majesties store for that purpose, and would not be satisfied without un-

* His Highnesse, during his abode in that place, lay at Mr. Legat's house, then Clarke of the Chequer,

derstanding the speciall uses of every of those things, and of all other that tended to make them serviceable and usefull; what further in yeares more ripe was in Navall affaires, wherein consisted the principall strength, honour and advantage of this Kingdome, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his understanding and Princely courage, shewed upon occasion of discourse, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a Navall warre with *Spaine*, whensoever that King shall give cause of a publicke hostility.

To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of State, but two especiall thinges being propounded, which were the preparation of a Navy, consisting of a certaine number of Ships to be sent into the *West-Indies*, and another to attend the coasts of *Spaine* to prohibit all entry or issue of Ships either into or out of the same.

Admirable it was in one of yeares so young, to heare what interrogations he used of every particularity of that designe, of the feisiblenesse and of the difficulties of every branch of it, how he insisted upon every doubt, untill by the best experienced and practised both in Sea services and in Navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied, and that done, how narrowly and neerly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not untill he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yeerly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved, to shew the valour of his owne heart, he openly protested to such as were present, that should the King his Father be pleased upon any future occasion to breake with *Spaine*, himselfe (if so it should agree with his Majesties pleasure) would in person become the executor of that Noble attempt for the *West-Indies*.

In persons private it may suffice to be Religious, honest and just within themselves.

To Princes and men constituted in high places, it behoveth to be also givers of good example to others.

Inferiours and Subjects cast their eyes more upon what Princes doe, then upon what they command, their examples with them are of more force then any Law of letters.

This became to this Prince so great a motive, as he thought not fit to lose any houres of the life that upon this earth were appointed unto him, but so to bestow them, as they might not onely become profitable to himselfe, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He so distributed the day by dividing his houres into the service of God, to the apting himselfe to the office he was born unto, both in government Civill and Military, and to necessary exercises and recreations, as no part of it could be said to be in vaine bestowed; to inable his knowledge in government civill, he read Histories, the knowledge of things passed conduced much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come.

In

In the military, he added thereunto the Mathematicks, study of Cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and forme of fortifications.

For practice, he used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables most excellently furnished, oftentimes to runne at the Ring, and sometimes at Tilt, both which he so well and dexterously performed, and with so great a comelineffe, as in those his first years, he became second to no Prince in *Christendome*, and to many that practised with him much superiour.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and in times of yeare fit for it learning to swimme, at sometimes walking fast and farre, to accustom and enable himselfe to make a long march when time should require it; but most of all at Tennis play, wherein, to speake the truth, which in all things I especially affect, he neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftentimes his play for the space of three or foure houres, and the same in his shirt, rather becomming an Artisan than a Prince, who in things of that nature are onely to affect comelineffe, or rather a kinde of carelesse in shew, to make their activities seeme the more naturall, then a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and of his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was as in all other things content to heare advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming, he shewed himself not much inclined, yet would sometimes play at Obesse, at Bilions, and at Cards, but so very Nobly and like himselfe, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gaine; for whether he wonne or lost, his countenance was ever the same, and for the most part, greater appearance of mirth in him when he was in losse, then when he wonne, thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgement in adventuring no more than what he made no regard of if he lost it: and his Princely magnanimity and temper in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him through any crossnesse of Cards or chance.

In some young Gentlemen whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not onely disadvise them from it, but gave unto some of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it; for pleasures he tooke them all as it were in passage without semblance, either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them.

The pleasure of the flesh, especially which is most incident to young yeares, and by Princes rarely avoidable, whose fancies and affections, are commonly as vehement as their persons and powers are great; and therefore most like to fall themselves, and give occasion of falling to others, although some in those times, there were that taking measure of him by the yard-wand of their owne unbridled appetites, were pleased otherwise to conceive and report of him, yet my selfe having beene present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto he invited the most beautifull and specious Ladies of the Court

and City, could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eyes or his countenance, any shew of singular or especial fancy to any, or at any other time such loosenesse either in words or action, as whereupon in justice or reason to ground any such opinion of him.

But rather thus with truth and assurednesse to determine, that were he not himself chaste in his inward thoughts, yet did he with so incomparable judgement and temper cover them, as to just and judicious eyes they gave no true occasion to suspect him.

It is true, that to take a wife though he shewed no vehement desire, yet he demonstrated a good inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in *Spaine*, in the time that my selfe there served, who had from the King his Father commission to treat it, but finding that the overture there, grew rather out of a desire to winne time to advance their owne designes, then with true intention to performe it, in regard of the difference of Religion, I for my part gave end to that negotiation in a manner so soon as I began it.

After my returne from thence and entry into his Highnesse service, like motions were made both by *Florence* and *Savoy*: But those not conforming with what in alliances with Princes of his greatnesse, either in encrease or equality of Honour or Utility, or for strength and surety of estate was especially to be regarded.

That of *Spaine* was upon a new overture, made by the Ambassadour of the King there, againe entertained and committed by his Majesty here, to be treated of by his Ambassadour, who in that Court succeeded me.

But after some protractions used there, it was upon the first opening, found to have come too late, that Princessse for whom the Treaty was intended, being the eldest daughter of that King, and the onely who in yeares was fit for him, being formerly promised to the *French* King that now is.

Lastly, there grew a proposition for a daughter of *France*, wherein his Highnesse having as in duty it became him, submitted and reserved himselfe to the King his Father, the same was not proceeded in, to any effect.

In this Noble Prince was to be observed a singular integrity and cleernesse of thoughts; he had a true Kingly disposition, and so farre from being induced to piece up the skinne of the Lion, with that of the Fox, as above all things he hated flattery and dissimulation.

A Nobleman in those times, in the highest favour with the King his Father, wrote unto him by the especiall commandement of his Majesty, a letter wherein he recommended unto him a matter of very great consequence to be instantly answered unto, and in his subscription used these words,

Yours before all the world.

This answer his Highnesse committed unto me, who having written it, did also set down some words of favour to the Nobleman to precede his Highnesse Signature; the letter itselfe he read, and having considered it, allowed it wholly without alteration.

Onely

Onely in regard of the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste that he made of the dispatch, he commanded me, it should be new written and those left out, and notwithstanding all the reasons that I used to the contrary, would by no meanes be perswaded to suffer it so to passe, saying, that he to whom he wrote had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his hand should never affirme that his heart thought not.

This Prince as he was no coverer of his thoughts where he had just cause of dislike, so would he also to those he trusted, be acknowne of his love to such as he affected.

Of the titular Nobility of this Kingdome upon occasion offered, he would expresse himself best to love and esteeme such as were most anciently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed, whom sometimes also he would not forbear by name to particulate.

His Highnesse brother our now Sovereigne then Duke of *Yorke*, and his sister since that time Queen of *Bohemia* he entirely loved; yet must I confesse at sometimes by a kinde of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he discerned her to desire, he tooke a pleasure in giving both to the one and to the other, some cause in those their so tender yeares to make proove of their patiences.

To say the truth, such were both these excellent Princes, their owne rare parts and most sweet dispositions, as had there beene none other attractive of bloud or nature, would to them have enforced his love and best affection.

He gave also in the administration and government of his own particular estate, much presage of what he would have become if he had lived to possesse the Diademe.

At such time as he attended the King his father to houses of remove, or in progresse, he would not endure that carriages or provisions, should be taken for him without full contentment given to the parties.

In removes to his owne houses in like manner.

Nay so carefull he was that none by him, or any of his traine should be either prejudiced or annoyed; as whensoever he went a hawking, before harvest ended; he would take care that none should passe through the corne, and to give them example, would himselfe ride rather a furlong about, truly and judiciously conceiving that to Princes there is no surer fortresse than that of hearts, and that those once had and settled, the rest of what they possesse is at their commandment.

Of his disposition to justice, he gave also upon all occasions much proove and demonstration.

He would never either condemn or censure any man unheard or undefended, retaining in his memory that notable example given to Princes by God himselfe, whose divine knowledge both of workes and thoughts, needed no informers; yet after *Adam's* fall, would neither censure him nor his *Eve* without hearing what either of them could say in their own defence.

This I could demonstrate by divers particulars, as also of his being misericordious

cordious after offence acknowledged, should not a long discourse seem unproportionable to so short a life.

It is true, that he was of an high minde, and knew well how to keep his distance, which indeed he did to all, neither admitting a neere or full approach either to his power or his secrets.

He oftentimes protested that neither fantasie nor flattery should move him to conferre upon any a superlative Place in his favour, but would to the uttermost of his understanding, measure unto all according to the merit of their services, as holding it not just to yeeld unto affections, or rather second respects, that which is onely due to vertue and deservings.

That remunerative he was of services, and considerative of those that deserved and needed.

A most memorable and imitable example he gave before his death, having to divers of his servants, who longest had served, and in whom he noted want, given by severall Patents sent unto them, Pensions during life, to the value of eleven or twelve hundred pounds by yeare, and that without all mediation and intreaty by others, and at a time when themselves did least expect it.

To conclude of this Prince, did he not all thinges well? The fault is rather to be imputed to those that in yeares so unripe, by their advice should have assisted him and lined out his wayes, than to any want of will or Religious and Princely disposition in himselfe.

He was of a comely personage, of indifferent stature, well and streight limmed, and strongly proportioned, his countenance and aspect inclining in those his young yeares to gravity and shew of Majesty.

His judgement so farre beyond what his age could promise, as it was truly admirable.

His speech slow and somewhat impeded, rather, as I conceive, by custome and a long imitation of some that did first instruct him, then by any defect in nature, as appeared by much amendment of the same.

After that he had beene advised to a more often exercise of it, by using at home amongst his own servants, first short discourses, and after longer, as he should finde himselfe inabled.

Yet would he oftentimes say of himselfe that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.

Towards the latter part of his time, so well became forraine Princes by their Ambassadors informed of his rare parts, as the adverse to this Kingdome beganne to feare and redoubt him, and the well-affected and confederated to love and entertaine great hopes of him.

But God seeing it good to bestow another Crowne upon him, excelling all that on earth was to be had or hoped.

After some five dayes sicknesse endured with patience, and as often recognition of his faith, his hopes and his appeales to God's mercy, as his infirmity which afflicted him altogether in his head would possibly permit.

He

He yeelded up the Ghost at St. James next Westminster, and was interred at Westminster, where his body now resteth.

I wish it were in my power to raise such a monument unto his fame, as might eternise it unto all posterities.

A Relation of the Royal Festiuities, and Juego de Cannas [A Turnament of Darting with Reedes after the manner of Spaine] made by the King of Spaine at Madrid, the 21st of August this present yeere, 1623.

To Honour the Espousall Treaties of the Illustrious Prince of WALES, with the Lady INFANTA MARIA of Austria, before the departure of the Prince from his Court towards the Sea-side, to take shipping for his returne into England.

Composed by Dr. Iuan Antonio de la Penna, natife of Madrid, and faithfully translated out of the Spanish printed Copie.

LONDON: Printed for Henry Seyle, 1623.

TO DON PHILIPPE PACHECO, Marquesse of Villena, Duke of Escalona, and Count of Santistena, &c.

THIS Relation requires your Excellencie for a Mecœnas, above a thousand other Titles, because you are a Person more interessed in the fauours of his Maiesty, shewed the day of Turnament to my Lady the Countesse of Miranda, and to my Lady the Marquesse her Neece, when he honoured her house with his Royall presence: And that your Excellencie hath now recouered your health, I thought good to honour you with this presentation in writing, of what you enioyed with your sight and presence, a while to entertaine you, being assured to be pardoned for those faults, which in this Treatise may occurre the same, being as secure to be freed from all Court-Censure, by such a Patrone, whose Life and State Heauen euer make happy.

Doct^r Iuan Antonio de la Penna.

THE KING, our Lord and Master, not content, nor satisfied with the Festiuities and Entertainements hitherto shewed to the Highnesse of the Illustrious Prince of *Wales*, Prince CHARLES, Sonne to the KING of *Great-Britaine*; wherein, the Nobilitie, liberalitie, and glory of my Countie of *Madrid*, and Caualeers of the Court, vpon sundry occasions had concurred, as by other Relations is made manifest; his Maiesty determined to conclude his Festiuities, publikely, in the great Market-place of the Towne. A worthy Amphitheater, whereon for the Monarch of the two worlds, to represent the memoriall of most renowned *Romane* Solemnities, to burie them in obliuion, which in despite of enuie, new emulation and glory hath renewed. *Munday*, was the day appointed, being the one and twentieth of *August*: for which end, the Market-place was set forth with that order, disposition, and ornament, as is vsuall; allotting conuenient prospect for these rarities, in the same erections, made in the forme of Scaffoldes, so necessarie for the placing of many strangers which were there, as also, being prouidently distinguished and separated. The Councels of State, and Peeres of the Kingdome, took their places, after the accustomed manner. The *Panaderia* was set forth with rich hangings, with two Canopies of crymson cloth of siluer; Chaires, and Pillowes of the same, in the two principall Scaffolds allotted to the King and Queene, but that there was a little partition which separated them; a respect as due to the Illustrious Prince of *ENGLAND*, the chosen Spouse of her Highnesse, as deseru'd in his affection; which lighting on so superior an obiekt, might seeme to be offended with any interposition to his eye. The renowned *Infanta Lady Maria* seconded, and augmented this fauour; being clothed for this Festiuitie, in the Prince's colours, in white, as an vnspotted Doue, after the Maiestie of *England*. The manes of her Coach-horses were twisted with blue ribbands; a demise of the Noble Fleece of her future Spouse: all these being premises, which seeme to glue assurance of what hath been treated vpon. There accompanied the Lady *Infanta*, the Lord *Don Fernando*, her brother, clothed in *Romane* Purple, that radiant Sunne of the Church, euen as his Sister is the resplendent beames of true beauty. The Queene, our Lady, came in a Chaire of State, supported by mens hands, with her vsual state and magnificence: whom there followed, as the Stars the greater light, the Minions and Ladies, bringing with her the peoples benedictions. His Maiestie, and their Highnesses din'd this day in publicke, in the spacious Halles of the *Panaderia*: and about two in the after-noone, came in Coach into the Market-place, our Lord the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and the Lord *Infante Don Carlos*, braue with grauity, and grave in brauery. The King came apparrelled in blacke, with his Brother, and the Illustrious Prince in white: their habits diuided in fashion, halfe after the *English*, and halfe after the *Spanish* manner; they entred the Scaffoldes, his Maiestie giuing the right hand, as alwaies he did, to the Prince. Foure and twentie Charriots (being inuented moueable groues, and Fountaines brought to that place) began to disperse of their liquors, after the vsuall manner: and about

about halfe an houre past two, the Marquesse of *Rentin* hauing dismissed it, and *Don Fernando Verdugo*, with requisite gallantrie and authority, required in such solemnities, by the Gate that issues out into the Imperiall Street, causing much delight, and awaking all mens desires, *Leonardo*, Sergeant Trumpet to his Maiesty, entered, richly clad, and on horseback, whom followed sixteene Kettle-Drums, threescore Trumpets and Clarions, and four and twenty Musicians, all his Maiesties seruants, and with his Liuerie, which for this day, was of carnation Sattin, garded with siluer lace, and blacke welts, cut vpon silver tynsell; large Cassocks, Hats with blacke and carnation Plumes, Swords and Daggers hatcht with siluer, with siluer Hangers, twisted with blacke filke; all mounted on goodly Horses, with bridles of the same: and the Trumpets and Drummes had his Maiesties Armes on their Pennons, as glorious and entire as could be made, in the most famous triumph of the world. Then followed the Kings Querrie, all the Kings Riders, his Pages, and Officers leading the way, vncovered, before a rich Horse, on which his Maiestie was to runne, all exceeding braue and gallant: there came four Groomes of the Stable, four Farriers, with Powches of Crimosine Veluet, and in them whatsoeuer was requisite for the shooing of Horses; twelue Lacqueys of note, and sixtie horses of a brown bay, white and blacke trappings, with muzzlers of siluer, mixt white and blacke, couered with horse-clothes of new and fresh Crimosin Veluet, there being embroidred on them in cloth of Gold, the name of *Philip IV.* and his Royall Armes, with edgings of filke and gold, and frindge of the same: A Lacquey led euery Horse with the right hand, in a Liuerie of carnation Sattin, hose and jacket laid with siluer and blacke silk lace, the forepart and bottome being cut vpon siluer tynsell, black hats, siluer hat-bands, carnation and black Plumes, Sleeues of Cloth of siluer, and siluer Furniture. There came forth forty Yongsters of the Stables, after the *Turkish* manner, open Hoses, Iackets and Bonnets of carnation Taffata; and after all the horses, with wonderful Maiestie and Greatnesse, they brought along leaning on their shoulders, a goodly Rider, with his mounted steps of fine Wood, in-laid with Lifts of Ebony, couered with carnation Taffata, with frindges of gold and siluer. There followed this glorious Sight, another no lesse sumptuous, of twelue Mules laded with bunches of Canes, couered ouer with cloathes of crimson Veluet, and vpon it richly imbroidered, the Royall Armes, headstalles of Silke, bits of Siluer, Pettrels, and Bridles of the same; on the sides and fore-parts of the Mules, and on the tops of their heads and Saddles, were set carnation and blacke plumes, strip'd with siluer, which seemed Mountaines of feathers, cast ouer with gold: with euery one of them there went a Groom, or Youth, in a Liuary of the Lacqueys; all which, to the admiration of this order, and equipage, added a pleasure and delight to the view. Presently with the same order, and equipage, entred the horses of other troupes, the shew of the towne following, and the rest of the Gentlemen, as their lot fell out, as betweene so great Princes to auoid discontentments of precedencie, it was agreed.

The townes
show.

The honourable Towne of *Madrid*, sent forth four Trumpets on horseback, with caparisons of Orange-colour'd Taffata, laid with Siluer Lace, and the Trumpeters in Cassocks of the same; blacke Hats lin'd with Orange-colour'd Taffata, Orange-colour'd Plumes, and siluer furniture, and four and twenty Horses with rich trappings, on whom were mounted four and twenty Lacqueys in a Liuary of Orange-colour'd Taffata, Hose, and Mandillions and Girdles, and furniture of Siluer; orange-colour'd Hose and Points, Hats, furniture and Plumes like to the Trumpets; white Targets, and orange-colour'd Bandels; and after them came the Maior of the Towne, discharging the place of chiefe Rider.

Don Duarte.

There followed the towne troope, four Trumpets of the Lord *Don Duarte*, in a Liuary of tawny Taffata, with gabbardines layd with silver Lace, and Hats of the same, with tucks of siluer, tawny Plumes, and branches of siluer; at the bottom of them, siluer furniture, and tawny hangers: They wore in their Trumpets pennons, the Armes of *Portugall* and *Castile*; and the Trumpetters wore vpon their shoulder plights, and on their breasts the same Armes; their Horses with caparisons of tawny Sattin, and furniture garded with Siluer Lace. He brought forth six and thirty Horse in rich trappings, and muzzelers, with white Targets, and tawny Bandels, who were led by the right hand with as many Lacqueyes: and besides these, there went along twelue other Lacqueyes of note, cloathed in the same colours, with tawny Hose and Iackets, laid with siluer Lace, sleeues of tawny Sattin, buttons of Siluer, tawny Bases, white Lifts, and Roses, siluer furniture, tawny Hangers, black Hats, with wreathes and Hat-bands of siluer twist, and tawny Plumes: there went distributed among the horses, after the *Turkish* manner, twenty young men, with tawny Ribbons and Hose, bonnets of the same, and cloathes of Shag, wherewith to wipe and smooth the horses, with their speciall Rider, in great gallantry and brauery, manifesting his Royall bloud, and *Portugall* glory.

Infantado.

That the precedent shew might no wayes be abated, it was requisite the Duke of *Infantado* should follow the lustre and honour of the *Mendozas*. He brought with him four Trumpetters in four white Freezado Mantles, with gabberdines of black Damaske, edged with siluer Lace, and the armes of the *Mendozas* on their shoulders, breasts, and pennons of their Trumpets, blacke Hats, wreathes, and bands of siluer, white and blacke Plumes, siluer furniture, and hangers siluer and blacke, and the edgings of the skirts of blacke Damaske, imbroidered with siluer. He brought with him forty horses, flea-bitten, with blacke and white trappings, white *Turkish* barbes, white tayles and maynes, white Targets, and blacke Bandels, with the illustrious and glorious blazon of the *Aue Maria*; the which, by reason of the opposition of colours, yeelded to the sight a pleasant obiect. A Lacquey led euery horse with his right hand, and there were eight and forty more, of note and respect, all in Hose and Iackets of blacke Sattin, garded with broad siluer Lace, siluer furniture, hats with bands and wreathes of siluer, white and blacke Plumes, white Bases, and loopes of siluer Plate, with
thirty-

thirty-six Groomes clad in crimson Taffata, with downe-cut open Hose, Iacquets and Bonnets, after the *Turkish* manner, and rubbing cloathes of Freezado on their shoulders: and after the last horse, vpon another very faire and beautifull saté the Rider.

This Pompe of the Duke, was followed by *Don Pedro de Toledo*, *Don Pedro de Toledo* the honour of the *Castilian* Knights: the Admiration, and wonder of strange Nations. Four Trumpets led in his troupe of horse themselves, vpon Sorrell horses, in gabberdines of yellow-coloured Sattin, laid with gold Lace, Hats of Taffata, with wreathes and bands of Gold, white Plumes, guilt furnitue and Spurres, with the Armes of the House of *Toledo* on their breasts, and the falling of their shoulders; their horses, with caparisons of the same the Trumpets had. He brought in with him thirty Sorrell Horses, all with caparisons of Cloth of Gold, and Muzlers of the same, white Targets and Bandell of Gold. As many Lacqueys led them along in their right hands, with eightheene others of respect and note, in a Livery of hose loopt all ouer, cut and edged with broad gold Lace, laid vpon an inward lining of siluer Tynsell; Iacquets laid with Gold Lace, and cut vpon Tynsell, guilt Furniture, white Bases, and sleeues of Tynsell; Hats imbroidered round about with little Wind-mills of Gold, with white Plumes, and Tucks of siluer tynsell; and with them the Rider.

Presently then entred the Admirall of *Castiles* Troupe, with The Admirall. the same Maiestie and Greatnesse, as vpon all occasions his Excellencie is accustomed: there went before his horse four Trumpeters, in long Coates of blacke Sattin, garded with Gold Lace, with his Armes on their breasts, falling of the shoulders, and pendants, the Horse with cloathes of the same, blacke Hats, yellow and white Plumes, Hat-bands and wreathes of Gold, golden furniture, and their Farrier on foot, with a Sattin Powch, and that necessarie in it for the shooing of Horses, which were thirty in number, all of a Chesse-Nut coate or colour, with trappings of white and Gold; and eight of them which were to runne, had their tayles and manes plighted with short gold twist, and sumptuous Inuention, and that mou'd wonder all ouer the place, blacke Targets, and Bandell of Gold, Lances with two heads, and with euery horse a Lacquey; they being in all, with those of note and respect, sixty two, cladde in blacke, Hose and Iacquets laid with gold Lace, yellow Bases, and blacke Lifts, with frindges of Gold, white shooes, and gilded furniture; blacke Hats, with wreathes, and bands of Gold, orange-colour, and white Plumes, and twelue stable groomes clad in Hose, and Iacquets of blacke Taffata, thwarted ouer with Laces of Gold; bonnets of the same, and wiping cloathes of course cloath, and it gaue no small contentment, to see in the Market-place a troope of them, slicking and smoothing the Admirals Horse.

The Troope hemn'd round about the Rider, and four Trumpets of the *Count de Monterey* *Monterey.* followed, with long Coates of white Sattin, Laces and Flowers of Gold, Hats of the same, blacke Plumes, and golden furniture, with his Armes vpon the Trumpets, and the Horses

that went with horse-cloathes in the same Liurey. He brought with him fifty horses of Chest-nut coat, in trappings of white and gold, white Targets with white Bandels, with Imagerie wrought in gold; the colours of the Illustrious Prince of *Wales*, who much fauoureth the *Count*. There came with them in all an hundred Lacqueys: their Liuries were in white, leaues of gold and black Effes, golden furniture, blacke Hats, with wreathes, and bands of Gold, blacke and white Plumes, and twelue young men of the Stable, after the *Turkish* fashion, in the same Liurie, blacke shooes and Buskins gilded, and their Rider.

Ca^oel-Rodrigo.

There followed him the Marquesse of *Castel-Rodrigo* his company a *Portuguese*, who was conducted by an Vnder-Rider, and four Trumpets on horseback, with caparisons of green Sattin, and siluer Lace: the Trumpeters themselues, with Cassocks of the same, and the Armes imbroidered on their pendons and Trumpets, white Bootes, Spurs and gilded furniture, black Hats wrought with siluer, and tawny plumes. He shewed two and forty different horses, with rich trappings of purple, gold and siluer, white Targets, and green bandels, with fifty Lacqueys in green, hose and Cassock laid with siluer Lace, sleeues of tawny taffata, with bases and hose of tawny, green points and Roses, with little imbroidered Wind-mills of siluer, gilded furniture, with tawny hangers, black Hats, band and wreath of siluer, and tawny plumes, twelue Stable-groomes with Mandillions, hose and bonnets of green taffata, with six caparisons of siluer-worke, and his Rider all in *Portugall* brauerie.

Sessa.

To whom in emulation, succeeded the *Castellan* of the *Cor-douas*, in the company of the famous Duke of *Sessa*, who shewed glory and brauerie proper to his Family. He brought four Trumpets on horseback, with Cassocks of sea-water green, waued with gold Laces, hats of the same, with green pennons, plated furniture, and his Armes vpon the Trumpets; the horses with cloathes of taffata, of the same colour, and garded with siluer Lace. There followed them four and thirty sorrell horses, with crymosine trappings, and *Turkish* barbes of the same colour, forty and two Lacqueys, between the leaders and those of note, with a Liurey of Sea-water green, and siluer hose and cassocks garded with lace, green hose, and blue points plated furniture, with black hats, wreathes and bands of siluer, and green plumes, and their Rider with eight Lacqueys.

Cea.

Last of all, inclosing these magnificent shewes, came in the Duke of *Ceaes* horse, *Don Francisco de Sandoual y Roias*, with that hereditarie Greatnesse he deriues from his Grandfather: he brought with him four Trumpets in four Freezado Coates, clad in gabberdines of blue Sattin, laid with siluer Lace, black hats, wreathes and bands of siluer, blue plumes, plated furniture, with black hangers; the hose with cloaths of the same Liurie, and his Armes on the Trumpets; about four and twenty horse, with rich trappings of Pearles, Pouncings, Gold, Siluer, and Pomegranates, and amongst them he that is called the *Seuillero*, vpon whom he ranne his Canes: their targets were white with blue bandels, four and twenty Lacqueys led them with

with the right hand, and thirty others of note, cloathed in blue sackcloth, laid all ouer thicke with many filuer laces, black hats, wreathes and bands of filuer, blue plumes and bafes, points of filuer thread, white shooes, plaited furniture, and their Rider all in black, with Lacqueys also in black, after a graue and modest fashion. The Horse were all in number, five hundred twenty and three, with those of the Trumpets, Kettle-drummes and Riders: and the Lacqueys five hundred fourscore and six: twelue Muleters; Farriers, Horse-keepers, and Stable-groomes, an hundred forty and one: their entry continued aboue an houre. And hauing shewed, and made their obedience, they baited but a few Bulls, to giue way to the running of the Canes.

His Catholike Maiestie, and the Lord *Infante Don Carlos*, shewing their accustomed courteous complements to the Queene, the Prince, and the Lady *Infanta*, left their Scaffolds, and at a gate that goes into the street of *Atocha*, took Coach, where an infinite concourse of people attended their entry. The street reflected vpon by the Sunne, was fanded and watered, and the entries chain'd vp, a remedy against the cumbersome annoyance of Coaches, the disturbance of Festiuities, which the prouidence of *Don Iohn de Castilla* preuented, as he vseth to doe. Aduertisement was giuen some few dayes before, to the Countesse of *Mirandas*, that his Maiestie would honour her, by coming thither to maske himselfe, and the Messengers were one day, the *Marquesse de Flores Auila*, and the other day *del Infantado*. Her Excellency entertained this fauour, prouiding her house, conformable to the short warning she had: she whited it all ouer, euen to the staires of Ascent, setting forth the Court round with new Hangings, and hanging vp in all the entries or Portals of the Kings Quarter, Curtaines of white Damaske, with gold Frindge, and Walking Rods guilded: There were beds laid for the King and the *Infante*, which were brought out of the Palace, by the Duke of *Infantados* order, who requested the Countesse in this one thing to follow his direction, though her Excellencie had provided those that were most rich: but she followed the Dukes counsell, as a friend, though it were against the ancient custome of her House; who, in such like entertainments, without having any thing from the Palace, had euer plentiful and honorable store: the Roomes were washed with sweet powders, and water of Amber mingled, yeelding an excellent and comfortable odour to the senses. Next to his Maiesties Quarter, she prouided another for the *Conde de Oliuares*, with a rich bed of Needle-worke, and the Gussets of the soft knappings of Silk, and in the lower part of the house, a Quarter for *Don Iayme de Cardenas*, who was this day one of the Guard, and appointed to cloath the King: for which purpose he had prouided Gloues, Handkerchiefs, present collation, and sundry waters of delight. In the same manner was there prouided another Quarter for the *Marquesse del Carpio*, who was to attend the Lord *Infante*, and another hang'd with crymson Damaske fring'd with gold, for the Lords that would refresh themselues, with abundance of conserues, sweet meats, and waters of all sorts, and delightsome. She prouided shirts, for his Maiestie and Highnesse to change, at their coming or going, as they did. She gaue two Boxes for Reliques, of inestimable value, to his Maiestie, with

with a famous relique of St. *Philippe* the Apostle: to the Lord *Infante*, and another of St. *Lawrence*, which Pope *Sixtus V.* gave to the Countesse, when she was Vice-Queene of *Naples*: and the Galley wherein they came being sunk, after a yeeres space, the Trunk wherein they came was seen in the water, which being known to belong to the Conde, *Iohn Andrea Doria* sent it him; a miraculous accident, and which approues the certaintie of reliques, a pious and discreet present vpon such an occasion, and to such persons: she also had Gloues and handkerchiefes for them, in cabinets of Rock-christal, wrought with gold, Pastes to be eaten, in glasses of the same: and apples of sweet waters, all christall, and gold, and being most wise and discreet, to give full contentment to his Maiesty, she procured that in the Monastery of the holy Trinitie, the holy Sacrament should be opened, with great solemnitie of lights and Ornaments, which his Maiestie, and Highness humbly ador'd, from the Countesses window, shewing the deuotion which the House of *Austria* euer had. At the Countesses staires, there receiued his Maiestie the Ladies of *Zunniga*, and the first that kist his hand, was the Countesse of *Monte-Rey*, whom the King honoured, with laying his armes vpon her; the Lady of *Nieua*, and the Marquise of *Flores Dauila* did the like; the Lady of *Alcannizas*, and the two Countesses of *Stantisteuan* and *de Villa Alonso*, to whom his Maiestie vouchsafed the courtesie he vsually sheweth to Ladies; and so passing through the midst of them all, he went directly to the Quarter of the Countesse *de Miranda*, where her Excellencie attended; and being saluted by his Maiestie, she made sute for his hand to kisse, with a briebe and modest discourse, manifesting the fauour that herein she receiued.

After this, his Maiestie went to maske himselfe, into his owne Quarter, where they had placed a Royall Table, furnish'd with all manner of Conserues, about forty Plates and dishes of Siluer, with dry'd Suckets, and rose-sugar confections of eight feuerall sorts. The King tasted some of them, and commanded it should still stand ready prepared till they returned from running. All this passed in the Countesses house, which being so worthy to be imparted to those curious to learn and know, I thought good, in this description, to make a digression from setting down the Festiuities. And no great wonder that *Philip IV.* thus honoured the Countesse of *Miranda*, knowing that wise *Philip II.* his Grandfather, did as much, when she was Vice-Queene of *Barcelona*, being accompanied with the Ladies *Infantes*, Lady *Isabella*, and Lady *Catalina*, when the Count had the Duke of *Sauoya* for his guest, and the greatest part of his Court, for four moneths in his own house and at his charges, imitating in these fauours *Philip III.* the vertuous his Father, who in *Vallodolid* supped in the Countesses house, when the Duke was married, who is Duke of *Pennaranda*, fauours due vnto his Illustrious House and Lady. The Canes were now sorted out, the Drummes, Trumpets, and his Maiesties Musicians going before them, by the Streets of the *Relators*, and *Atocha*, even to the Market-place; and before their entring it, *Don Augustin Mexia*, and *Don Fernando Gyron*, of the Councell of State and Warre to his Maiestie, being valiant Souldiers, as all men know, made their Entries, as
Patrons

Patrons of the *Canes*, to present them to his Maiestie, and Highnesses; presently came in all the Musick, taking their places, The King. when his Maiestie, whom God preferue for many yeeres, entred, running against the *Count de Olivares* (a deserved honour of so faithfull a Prince) mounted on two brown bay horses, with such dexterity and force, and so iustly encountering in euery respect, that the earth enuying so equal a shock, remained with the impressions and prints in it of this Carreere, making footsteps in the sand, as a patterne and example for such as are accustomed to that exercise, and shall hereafter follow in the same place. At the King's running, his Maiestie and their Highnesses, with the Councillors of the Place made a complementall Rocognition. By and by, ran the Lord *Infante Don Carlos*, renewing in the valour of his tender yeeres, the memoriall of his great Grandfather, and the Marquesse of *Carpio* ran against him, as euer he vseth to do. There followed *Don Lewis de Ato*, an imitator of his Father, the Marquesse, and with him ran *Sant Estiuan*, *Don Iayme de Cardenas* enclosing the Troupe, brother to the Duke of *Maqueda*, and the Count *Portalegre*. The vestiments of his Maiestie, and the Lord *Infante*, were rich and costly, with *Spanish* Capes and Cassocks of Carnation Sattin, embroidered with black silk and gold, white frizled sleeues, and Plumes carnation and black, and answerable to the King's colours, was all the rest of his Squadron. By and by ran the Nobilitie of the Towne of *Madrid*, faithful seruants to his Maiestie; against whom, came *Don Iuan de Castilla*, their Cor- The Towne. regidor, and *Don Lorenzo de Oliuares*, *Don Pedro de Torres*, and *Don Christoual de Medina* seconding them, all three Regidors, *Antonio de Herrera*, and *Don Francisco de Garnica*, maintaining the courses, and *Don Gaspar de Guzman*, and *Don Sebastian de Contreras*, ending the Squadron, all in the habite of *St. Iames*. Their Liuerie was of orange-colour'd Sattin, embroidered with leaues of Siluer, plates of Siluer, and black filke, Bonnets with rich setting forth, and fairely spread with Orange-colour'd Plumes.

Presently ran the Lord *Duarte*, with the Count of *Villamor*, the encounter was braue, *Don Antonio de Meneses*, and the Count *Pennasflor* maintained it, there seconded them, *Don Rodrigo Pimentel*, and the Count *Pannonrostro*, and the Marquesse of *Malagon*, and the Duke of *Veraguas*, ended this Squadron. Their Liuerie was rich and sightly, Cape and Cassocks of tawny Sattin, embroidered with siluer and blue, cut vpon siluer tynfell, with white Pennons, and tawny Plumes.

By and by after, ran the Count of *Tendilla*, and the Marquesse of *Mondejar* his Father, the Duke of *Infantado* beginning the first course of the Squadron, with their accustomed spirit and valour; one honouring another, as the fruit doth the tree, and the Father assisting his Son, and giuing him his right hand. *De Corunna*, and *Villar* seconded them, and with rare equality; *de Annouer*, and *de la Peubla*, the Marquesse of *Belmar*, and *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Corregidor of *Toledo*, ending this Squadron. The Duke ran not with the *Canes*, both in respect of his venerable yeeres, as also of some other indisposition of body. Their Liuerie was very fantastically,

fantastically, Capes and ribbons of black damask, embroidered with branch worke of siluer, cut vpon Tynsell, with white and black Plumes.

Don Pedro de Toledo. The valour of the *Toledos*, contested in some sort with the force of the *Mendozas*, the Marquesse of *Belada*, and the Lord of *Higares* beginning the course; the Marquesse herein shewing that agilitie and dexteritie, which with the applause of the people he shewes vpon all such occasions. In imitation of him, followed *Don Luis Ponce*, Nephew to the Duke of *Arcos*, and *Don Francisco de Eraso*; and so maintaining that which was well begun, there followed *Don Antonio de Auila* and *Toledo*, Count of *Risco*, with the Lord *da la Horcajada*: *Risco*, as at all other times, performed it brauely: Last of all, to conclude the rest, which was good, *Don Pedro de Toledo*, with *Don Diego de Toledo* and *Guzman*, ended this Squadron. Their Liuerie was, Capes of Cloth of gold, vpon the Gold embroidered with siluer, Ribbons of cloth of Siluer, embroidered with gold; small wreath'd hat-bands, and Bonnets with white Plumes, with black sprigges, and open sleeues.

The last *Toledos* had scarce finished their courses, when, to continue admiration and delight, there entred the *Admirall*, and the Marquesse of *Alcanizas*, a worthy couple, to renowne and celebrate the place, by the sound their horses made, with the gold twisted in their manes and tayles. *De Tabarra*, and Count *de Villalua* seconded, with no lesse brauerie. In emulation of these, came in the Marquesse of *Toral*, chiefe of the *Guzmans*, and *Don Antonio Moscoso*, *Don Diego de Silua*, Marquesse *de Orani*, and the Count *de Villafior* ending this Squadron. They had rich open sleeues, black Feathers strip'd with gold, Ribbons and Capes of black Sattin; embroidered with Gold, and cut vpon siluer tynsell.

Monte-Rey. *Monte-Rey* gaue occasion of new commendation and praise, with the Marquesse of *Camarasa*, an Encounter of equall brauerie; who were seconded by *Don Iuan Carlos de Guzman*, and the Count of *Saluatierra*, *de Onate*, and *Don Pedro de Cardenas* and *Angulo*, the Illustrious *de Fromesta*, and *Don Iuan Erasco*, finishing the Squadron: all as gallant in their appearance, as ready and expert vpon their Gynnets. Their Liuerie was white Sattin embossed with Gold, and black powncings, *Mylan* Bonnets, and black Plumes.

Castel-Rodrigo. There followed the Squadron of the Marques of *Castel-Rodrigo*, who ran with the Duke *de Hajar*, with such equall valour and worthinesse, that one could hardly judge, whether it were one or two that ran; *Don Lorenzo de Castro*, and *Don Dionis de Faro*, Portugalls, followed, the Marques of *Orellana*, and *Don Baltazar de Ribera*. This Squadron ending in the Count *de Ricla*, and the Marques of *Almazan*. Their Liuerie was of green Sattin, imbroidered with siluer, the lining of Cloth of Siluer, and faire Bonnets, adorn'd with dark tawny Plumes.

Sessa. The Duke of *Sessaes* Squadron followed this, who ran with *Don Luys Vanegas*, a *Posentador* Maior, both dextrous with valour, and valorous with dexterities, who were seconded by the Lord *de Sueros*, *Don Francisco de Cordona*, *Don Lewis de Rojas*, and *Don Diego de Guzman*, the Count

Count *de Cabra*, and *Don Iuan de Cordoua* ending the Squadron, aduancing the equalitie of their first encounter. Their Liurey was very lustrous, Sea-water green Sattin, imbroidered with Siluer and black, black Plumes, strip'd with white, and faire and rich sleeues.

Last of all, for the last seruice of such Royall beginnings, and Princely progressions, there ran the Duke of *Cea*, and the Prince *Cea* of *Esquibache*; the Duke bare himselfe brauely, and the Prince accompanied his own noble disposition with martiall dexteritie, *de Pennafiel* and *de Valle* seconded them, a worthy emulation of such Precedents: the Counts *de Mejorada*, and *de Cantillana* imitated them: this Squadron ending, in *Xabalquinto*, and *Don Christoual de Gabiria*; so speciall a runner, as vpon any occasion he hath euer manifested. Their Liuerie was of blue Sattin, Cloake and Cassock imbroidered with drafts, and raisings of siluer, spots of black Silk and Siluer, with the lining of Cloth of Siluer, blue Turbants with seeing glasses (a witty conceit, because in the glasse of euery end and conclusion, we may behold the worthinesse of beginnings) their Plumes were blue, large, and lustrous, which on this day were so many in number, as it seemes incredible they could euer light vpon them, though not sufficient to write such magnificent Festiuities as this, yet enow to blaze the Fame hereof to all the world. After they had quarter'd out the place back to back, and ran along the sides thereof, they went to change Horses, and take in hand their Targets, making their windings and diuisions. The parties being diuided into fise Squadrons, for each one his Maiestie conducting some, and the Duke of *Cea* the rest. The Canes were run, as being guided by such a Master: for certainly without allowing herein of any flatterie, or affection of a Subiect, his Maiestie ran the best of them all, and the Lord *Infante Don Carlos* shewed himselfe to be truely his Brother. The Duke of *Cea* deliuered the Canes to the King, with that obseruance which becomes a Subiect to his Prince. The whole place brake forth into generall acclamations: *May his Maiestie liue long and many yeeres, and London questionlesse would now re-eccho to our sounds, seeing his Maiestie made this Triumphant Show to honour her Prince, and in a time of such vehement beate, tho' this very day it was somewhat qualified.* The Festiuitie ended, and his Maiestie and his Highnesse returned to the Countesses house, where they refreshed and comforted themselues with those sweet meates, which before were left standing on the Table, eating none of the hot meat which was prouided, being abundant and good: There was fresh drink allow'd. This Bounty continuing from the morning till night, with three Butteries, or Cellars, abundantly furnished. The Queene and the Lady *Infanta* returned to the Court, with the Lord *Infante* Cardinall; and his Maiestie, and the Lord *Infante Carlos*, to the *Pannaderia*, to bring home the Prince of *Wales*, who entertained these fauours with the same respect, and loue they deserued.

A true Relation of some Passages which passed at Madrid, in the year 1623, by Prince CHARLES, being then in Spain, prosecuting the Match with the Lady INFANTA.

As also severall Observations of eleven Ominous Presages, some of them hapning in the same year whilst the said Prince was in Spain, the rest of them hapned from that time untill his death. With a discovery of some of the wayes which the then Popish Bishops used to bring Poperie into this Nation.

By a lover of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the welfare of this Nation.

L O N D O N : Printed 1655.

To the Impartial R E A D E R.

R E A D E R,

I HAD no intent ever to have put in print these Ominous Presages, for they have been of an ancient standing in my head; (the most part of them) old things being fit for nothing but to be forgotten, or at least laid aside. But a friend of mine knowing that I had observed them long agoe (some of them being of thirty years standing or more) desired me to give him a short brief of them, which I did, but when I had collected my memory, and saw the troubles that do dayly increase by some who delight to fish in troubled waters; and considering that there are many good people that are not yet settled in their hearts concerning these mutable times, but do still continue opposite to the Government as now it is, and do not once think of, or it may be never heard of any of those sad Presages which the Lord sent to give warning to those that would take warning or notice of them, and did lay them to their hearts. I did also then consider with my self, that if they were published to the view of all the Nation, that they may give good satisfaction to some, and might draw them from their self-opinions, which of a long time they have had of these most turbulent times, so that if they will but look up to God, they shall plainly see, that the hand of God is in all the actions that hath passed untill this day; and that no one tittle of the work that the Lord hath appointed to be done, but it shall be fully effected, though men strive never so much against it. Therefore I desire thee to consider well of what thou shalt find written in these few lines, (for they are truth) and were acted by those which sought to bring in Popery to this Nation, in those days when they had

had the reins in their own hands. And certainly these Predictions are true, and were purposely sent by God to some (though not to all) that they might take notice of them. I having long agoe spoke with some that did take notice of them as well as my self (and did look upon them as from the hand of God). And I do wish in my heart that all those into whose hands they shall come, to read them carefully and imprint them in their hearts, and be well advised how they do practise or contrive any thing tending to the shedding of any more innocent blood in this Nation, for certainly they will be found out, and themselves will have as great a share in the destruction which they do practise as any of those shall have which they shall practise against, either in their Lives, Limbs, Estates, Wives, Children, and all that is dear unto them; nay, which is the greatest of all, their souls will have the greatest losse when they shall lose heaven, without the great mercy of God. I will conclude with the words of the Psalmist, O that men would fear the Lord and praise his holy name, for his mercie endureth for ever! For certainly he will (as heretofore he hath done) overthrow the horse and his rider if they do persist in their exorbitant wayes. And I will now say with Paul, as in any other case, My hearts desire to God is, that men would serve the Lord with fear and trembling, and sit still and see the Lords worke done in his own good time.

READER,

I DO desire thee to consider with thy self if thou hast heard of, or seen of any of these observations following; if yea, then whether thou didst make that use of them, as was expected from God's hands thou shouldst have done; for certainly they were not done in a corner, but were sent from God as fore-runners of his wrath against the late King, and all those Popishly inclined Prelates, and other his abettors, that did assist him in those Practises and Counsels, for the bringing in of Popery into this Nation, as it did plainly appear by the silencing of so many Godly and Orthodox Ministers, as then were put from their preaching and livings since his coming from Spain, at which time many young Divines at receiving their Orders for preaching, were forbidden to read certain mens works, as M. Perkins his works, Clark's Sermons, and others, and were likewise limited what subject they should preach on, as the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, and the like, and the better to bring their practises to passe, they did cause all Orthodox books that were out of print, and to be reprinted, (although the Authors of them were dead many years before) to be brought to the Bishops Chaplains to be reviewed by them, who were half, if not altogether Popish, or at least Arminians, and they to expunge, or put in any Popish tenet, which they thought fit to put in, although those men which wrote those books were men of as sound judgment as any of those that did corrupt or abuse their Works, and it is very likely that if the Bishops themselves were so much given to Popery, they would entertain none to be their Chaplains, but such as should be as themselves were, and by that means many good Ministers Works were corrupted, and themselves counted Popish by all that should read their new revised

Works, which the Authors were no ways guilty of. But you will say, that many of the Bishops were free from Popery. It is very true, some of them were so, but those that were nearest to the King in his Councils were not, as *Neal, Wren, Laud*, and others were not; but mark I pray you, thirty years before the Angels of *England* did begin to fall, (which were the Bishops, as Mr *Brightman* a famous Divine did call them; and one whom the then Bishops persecuted even to the forsaking of his Native Countrey) he the said *Brightman* did prophesie the downfall of them to begin in the year 1639, which fell out very near the time, for in the year 1640, or very near it, they were expelled the Parliament for their misdemeanors there, for many of them appeared then to be Popish.

And after the Wars began, Bishop *Wren's* house being searched, there was found in it a new set of Massing plate, it was as neat a set of plate as the Pope hath any in his Chappel. And Dr. *Peerce*, the then Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, (as it was confidently spoken of, and likewise written) did send word to the then Bishop of *Canterbury* (*Laud*) and in his Letter to him, did thank God that he had not left a Lecture in all his Diocese, (a thing very fit to thank God for!) But I pray take notice that all these things were acted after the King came from *Spain*, (by the Bishops) for the late King being in the year 1623. but Prince, was sent into *Spain* by King *James*, accompanied with *George Duke of Buckingham*, and Sir *Francis Cotington*, where after some treaty with the King of *Spain* concerning the *Infanta*, (whom he conceived should have been his Wife) the Divines of *Spain* opposing the match, did put many rubs in the way, but the chiefest of them was the unlawfulness of matching the daughter of *Spain* with an Heretick, and one that they could have no assurance of, that she should have the free exercise of her religion, for herself and her retinue, without good caution given for the same, and no other caution would be accepted on but the two Port Towns of *Plymouth* and *Dartmouth*; neither did they conceive it fit to have any farther treaty on the premises, untill approbation thereof were first had and obtained from the Pope's Holiness.

And to that end the Prince writes his Letter to his Holiness, wherein he gives him the style of most Holy Father, and after Complements used suitable to the dignity of his Holiness, he makes known unto him the cause of his suddain coming into *Spain*, which (as he said) was to gain the Lady *Infanta* to be his Wife, and withall related to his Holiness what a dangerous consequence it would be to the Catholiques of *England*, if the Divines of *Spain* should make any further scruple in opposing the match; and he did also profess, upon the faith of a Christian Prince, that he would hazard his life and all his Kingdomes, for the propagating the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, with other circumstances of the like nature.

His Holiness answered his Highness Letter with the like Complements, laying before him the Valour of his noble Ancestors, who hazarded their lives and all their fortunes, and all that was dear unto them in defending the Catholick faith, and did not only merit unto themselves eternall glory and happiness

happineſſe in heaven, but gained unto themſelves alſo, and to their poſterity, everlaſting fame and renown here upon earth, and then exciting him (as his Anceſtors had done) to go forward in promoting the Catholick faith; and ſo with his Holineſſe his benediction, he bequeathed his Highneſſe to the protection of the Almighty.

Yet the Divines were not ſatiſfied with his Highneſſe ſo large promiſes to his Holineſſe, but ſtill oppoſed the match with might and main, ſo that the Prince was conſtrained to ſend another writing to the King of *Spain*, of one whole ſheet of paper fully written, and ſent it by the hands of the Duke de *Olivarce*, intimating what a diſhonour it would be both to his perſon and reputation, if he ſhould not obtain the prize which he ſo much aimed at, and which he did eſteem above all the treaſures in the whole world, and that it would be a great hindrance to the Catholicks of *England* from attaining that which now they might obtain, if he might not have her which his ſoul ſo much deſired; but he hoped that thoſe ſo celebrated Divines would not put him to give ſuch caution as was deſired, and as they propounded, and could not be by him with honour granted, eſpecially in regard his Father had granted the Catholicks of *England* the free exerciſe of their Religion ſeven years before his coming into *Spain*, and withall exciting them to conſider that neither his Father nor himſelf had broken their Words in the leaſt tittle of any of the capitulations that had paſt between them, and the Divines in not taking the Word nor Oath of his Father nor of himſelf, for the performance of what had been capitulated, would be a means to cauſe his Father's vaffals every day to raiſe new ſcruples and obſtructions, ſo that the Catholicks of *England* ſhould not enjoy that freedom of the exerciſe of their Religion which now they have, and that if he might enjoy her whom his ſoul ſo much deſired, it would be a means that none of his Father's vaffals ſhould dare to ſtir.

And he doth alſo promiſe upon the faith of a Chriſtian Prince, that nothing in the world ſhould make him break his word in the leaſt jot or tittle of any thing that ſhould be capitulated on, but would hazard his life and all his Kingdomes, and all that was dear unto him, for the promoting of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, for he would not be joyned to one in the affinity of marriage, whoſe Religion he ſhould hate, which promiſe he did faithfully keep, to the ruin of himſelf, and all his Poſterity.

But the firſt foundation of his ruin, and all their Peſterity, was laid by his Father King *James*; for in the matter of Sir *Thomas Overbury* his death, he did ſend for the Judges, and gave them a ſtrict charge to examine the matter thoroughly concerning the death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and did imprecate God's curſe upon them if they did not diſcover it to the full; and did upon his knees call for a curſe from God, and deſired that God would never proſper him nor any of his Poſterity, if he did ſpare any guilty perſon that had a hand in that poiſonous murder: and the Judges having proſecuted the buſineſſe ſo far, that they found *Sommerſet* and his Lady to be the chief actors in this murder, for they found that *Sommerſet* did write a friendly Letter to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, that he would uſe all the ways and means to get his enlarge-
ment

ment that possibly he could; and in that Letter he sent him a paper of Powder for him to take, as being the best thing that himself took in his sickness, (*Sir Thomas* being then sick of Poison sent him before) but this powder which was sent in this Letter was a poison of a lingring nature, whereof (with some other poison which *Mrs. Turner* had sent him of the like nature) he died, and after it was found out, there was justice done upon many of the actors, whereof *Weston* was the first, then *Sir Jarvis Elway*, the then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was the next that suffered, and after him, *Mrs. Turner* was also hanged, besides others; and when it was punctually proved that *Somerset* and his Lady were found to be the chief actors of this murther, and that he himself had sent the poison aforesaid, the King, contrary to the curse which he had formerly called from heaven upon himself and all his Posterity, did pardon both him and her, after the Lord *Coke* had past sentence of death upon them; and the Lord *Coke* was ever after in disgrace with the King, for passing this sentence against them, and for some other small matter which he crossed the Kings humour in; and so this noble Gentleman was poisoned, for no other cause but for opposing *Somerset* in the marriage of *Essex* his Wife. But the Lord did shew a great example upon them both, but especially upon her, for she died a more lothsome death then any woman ever died, but for civilities sake I will forbear the particulars thereof.

But let us now leave this, and speak no more of this curse, but let us look up to heaven upon him that sees all the actions that are done on earth, and that is the contriver of all marriages on earth both great and small, and you shall see how he doth frustrate the designs of all those that have plotted the downfall of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, by bringing them to utter confusion in all their enterprises; and I pray observe with me, how in the very Interim of this treaty the Lord did look down from heaven upon them, and did send his thunders as messengers of his wrath to give them warning, that he would meet with them and confound all their devises.

And in the first place, be pleased to take notice, that on *Thursday* the 30th of *June* 1623, whilst the Prince was in *Spain*, it being but two days after the Letter was written to the Pope (for it was written the 28th day of *June*.)

I. The Lord was pleased to send one great clap of Thunder, which stroke away the flag and flag-staffe from the main-top-mast-head of a Ship then riding at *Blackwall*, and bound for *Spain* with provision of fresh victuals to fetch the Prince home: as live Muttons, Capons, and other fowls fit for such a voyage, *Spain* being barren of such provisions (so that they could not be furnished there.) It was as fair a day as any hath been seen; it also split the main-top-mast, as one would have split an *Osier* twig, it threw one part on one side of the Ship, and the other part on the other side of the Ship; it raised the main-mast down to the deck, but did no other hurt to the Ship; it killed two men and one woman at *Croydon*, in the Bishop of *Canterbury's* Dioceffe, in a field where they were making hay. But you may object, this was but an accident, for thunders have done many such things, the bodies being scorched, and their clothes not so much as once to smell of the fire.

It

It is very true, such things have hapned many times and in many places, but look a little further and you shall see such other prodigious things that you will not say they were accidentall.

And now I beseech you consider with me whether these following Presages be accidentall or no.

II. And see what happened on the very next *Thursday*, being the 7th of our *July*; the Letter to the Pope being written the 8th of their *July* at *Madrid* in *Spain*, it pleased the Lord to send many great claps of Thunder, with abundance of raine, and withall so great a pillar of fire from heaven out of the South (which is the due course from *Spain*) that it reached from the heavens to the earth, not as a flash of lightnings gone in the very sight, but a very firme pillar of fire, which I believe did amase any that did behold it. It was my hap to be in the Parke neer *Southwark*, when it fell right before me, and so deterred me, that I prayed that the Lord was not angry with this Nation, for seeking to match with one whose Religion was not agreeable to the Gospell of Jesus Christ; but one of those claps of Thunder did strike away the Crown and Vane from the top of the Gatehouse of *St. James*, whereon the clock stood; it melted a piece of the bell, (which house was then the Princes house at that time) and he constantly kept his Court there; it also struck down a Gardner and his Wife in a Garden near the *Neathouse*, near *Westminster*, and brake through severall houses in the *Bowling-alley* near *Westminster* afore said; the man before-mentioned was dead, but the woman revived and was well again, the body of the man was scorched, but his clothes had no hurt. It split wainscots, chaires, tables and stools in the houses afore said. It killed also another man at *Croydon* the same time. Surely these things cannot be accidentall, when both these thunders did aim both at the head and Crown, as we may say it did, for the flag is as the hat on the King's head, for all Ships when they meet with any the King or States ships at Sea, they strike their topsails or the flag in obedience or homage to the Admirall. There is no man that is not wilfully blind, but he may see that these two dayes Thunders were not accidentall, but from the hand of God.

There is one thing more which a Heathen or an Infidell will not say was accidentall, and that is this:

III. Old *Thomas* Earl of *Arundell*, a great lover of Statues, had sent for the King's Statue in marble out of *Italy*; it being come, it was landed at a little garden-house in *Greenwich*, which the Earl then had there; his Lordship with others coming to view the Statue, did very much commend the workmanship of it; but while they were discoursing of it, their fell three drops of blood on the face of it, no man knowing how it should come there; the Earl seeing the blood was very much moved at it, they used all the means they could use to get away the blood, but could not; this questionlesse was not done by accident, but as the *Egyptian* Sorcerers said to *Pharaoh* in the plague of the lice, *This is the finger of God.*

Yet

Yet one thing more there is remaining, which I hope will give you full satisfaction that these Presages were sent by God.

IV. For in the same year 1623, while the Prince was in *Spain* (for then he was but Prince) promising to promote the *Roman Catholick* Religion, both to the Pope and likewise to the King of *Spain*, there was a *Buckinghamshire* man, a Taylor by trade, and as he said dwelt in *Alisbury*, he was near upon forty years of age, and a very sober man, he could not contain himself at his work in his house, but must of force in the same year while the Prince was in *Spain*, making those promises to propagate the *Romish* Religion in *England* aforesaid, he did in all, or most part of all the eminent streets in *London*, in that very year curse the *Romish* Religion, pronouncing woe to *Rome*, woe to the Pope, woe to all Papists; and God confound the Pope and all Papists, and all that did adhere to Popery, by what name or title soever they were called, whether Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Lords, Viscounts, or of what degree soever; he did constantly three or four days in the week, all or most part of the time the Prince was in *Spain*, come to *Whiteball-gate*, King *James* being then at *Whiteball* for the most part, he did there make a prayer of three quarters of an hour long, it was as effectually a prayer as any Divine in *England* could make; in that prayer he prayed that the Gospell of Jesus Christ might still continue and flourish in this Nation, and after praying for the Gospell, he again cried these woes as formerly; and when he had made his prayer at *Whiteball-gate*, with his hat under his arme all the time of his praying and journey (for so he called it his journey, as you shall see by and by) he then betook himself to march thro' the City, praying this prayer, and crying these woes and cursings against Popery as aforesaid. He began his journey at *Whiteball-gate*, and marched as far as there was any house in *Whitechappell*, *East-Smithfield*, *Shoreditch*, *Islington*, *St. Giles in the Fields*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and many other walkes, and in this manner he past through all or the most part of all the streets in *London*; and although he made the most part of his prayers at *Whiteball-gate*, King *James* being then there, yet no man reproved him for it, or asked him why he did so, till one day Sir *Harry Spiller* saw him crying these woes at the upper end of *Holborn*, did send him to the *New Bridewell* near *Clerkenwell*, where he remained three weeks, (and then being charged as *Peter* and *John* were by the *Jewish* Rabbins, that he should teach no more in that name, he was let go) but he regarding not their threats did cry these woes a long time after; at length he went to his house in *Buckinghamshire*, thinking to cry these woes no more, but went to fall to work at his trade, yet when he was at his work he had not the power to finish it, but threw it aside and came up to *London* the second time, to cry these woes which he did a long time after.

I did once meet him near *Bishopsgate-street* as he was coming back from crying these woes, where a man of his acquaintance met him, and asked him if he would drink a cup of beer? he said he would, for said he, I have done my journey; therefore it is evident he was sent of God to cry these woes against the Papists, as the Lord sent that man to *Jerusalem* many years before it

it was destroyed, and at last cried, Woe, woe to himself, and immediately was struck dead by a clap of thunder. It is much about thirty-two years since this man did cry these woes in *London*; and who knows but the Lord may very speedily purge this Nation of all those blasphemous opinions which do now swarme in it, and of all those that do seek to uphold Popery, or any other false opinions, which this Nation is now over-run with; and I beseech you to consider, that this mans crying these woes just in the interim when the Prince was in *Spain* acting against the Gospell, is necessary that we should take notice of it, and of other things of the like nature, and to the same purpose; for after he was King and had married the Queen out of *France*, he did entertain *Signior Con* the Pope's Nuncio, and one *Price* Superior of the Benedictine Monks, a very great Polititian and Statesman he was, which two men were so great with *Laud* then Bishop of *Canterbury*, that they had free acceffe to him and *Windebank* at all times; and they were so great with *Laud* (he being a Jesuiticall Monke) that he gave out that he should have the Cure of the Church in *Covent-Garden*. This *Signior Con* and this *Price* had so much power with *Laud* and *Windebank*, that they did brave the purservants which had Commission for the apprehending Priests and Jesuits, and did threaten them to cause their Commissions to be taken from them; and *Windebank* himself did revile the Purservants, calling them Knaves, and threatning them, that if they did ever meddle with any more Priests and Jesuites, he would make them smart for it. I my self having seized a great number of Popish books in *English*, Bishop *Laud* would send for them to the Registers Office, for the High Commission Court, and the same night would deliver them to the owners of them, to be disperst through the Nation; so that it is evident, that if the King were not Popishly inclined, yet the chief Bishops, and the chief officers about him, were absolutely Popish. I could name many more that were in great places about the King that were Papists, and known to be so, by many that grieved to see it at that time. But let me speak a little more of this man, in all the time that he was crying these woes, he was never seen to beg or receive any thing by way of relief of any man, yet he wanted nothing that ever I could hear of; he always wore one suit of cloth whole and sound, and there is no question but the Lord did keep him while he was doing his work. But if there be any that do distrust the truth hereof, there be many thousands this day living in *London*, that did both hear him, and see him as well as my self, while he was doing his work.

V. After this one of the Crownes and Vanes of the *Tower* was turned over the top of the spindle whereon it was placed, by a very small gale of winde, and so both Crown and Vane hung at the foot of the spindle three quarters of a year or more, at which time new ones were set up. The Crown and Vane did weigh 100 weight at least, and was forelockt one to the top of the spindle with a forelock of iron; surely if a greater providence then this small gale of winde had not took it off the spindle, it might have remained there untill this time, but the Lord had ordered it so to be, that some (though not all)

might look upon it as from the hand of God, for many thousands did see it, and did take notice of it, as from the hand of God at that time.

VI. There is one thing more to be looked on as from the all-seeing eye of heaven, which fell out very strangely concerning the late King: His hand and Scepter broke off from his Statue at the *Exchange*, and fell down to the ground, even at Change time, to the admiration of all beholders, the Change being then full of Merchants and others at the same time, and the next day it was set up again, it was taken as a sad Presage by all that beheld it; yet I believe there be many that will make no account of these remarkable passages, but will slight them as things not worthy to take notice of; but my simple thoughts do lead me to conceive, that the falling down of the Hand and Scepter, did presage the taking of the Government out of his hand, as is seen this day; and I could wish that all those that do so slight the former passages, to consider better, and not to slight the next that follows, which is very remarkable.

VII. There was an ancient Gentlewoman which came from *Bristol*, a widow, and had been the wife of one Mr. *Cary*, a Woollen Draper on the back of *Bristol*; this woman had seen many strange apparitions of the late King at severall times, as his Crown all bloody, himself in black, and his head off, with many other such visions she could not be quiet, untill she came to *London* to acquaint himself with those visions which she had seen of him, and after two years time spent in soliciting this Nobleman and that Nobleman, and others to bring her to the King, at length the Earl of *Dorset* (after much importunity) brought her to the King, where she told his Majesty all that she had seen of him; he gave her the hearing of it, but would give no credit to what she had said, but bid take her away, she was a merry woman; then when she had told him all that she had seen of him, she returned to *Bristol* again, thinking there to rest herself in peace; she had not been there many days, but those Visions appeared to her as at the first, whereupon she could not contain herself, but must of force come up to *London* the second time, to acquaint his Majesty with what she had seen of him since her last being with him at *Whitehall*; but before she could get to *London* his Majesty was gone to *York*, yet though she was in years and a weakly woman, and the journey long and tedious for such a one as herself to undertake, yet she must of necessity go after him to *York*, and was conveyed to *York* in a Coach by means of a Lady, which at the writing hereof is living near *London*, who can justifie the same if any should scruple the truth hereof; and being come to *York* she had admittance to his presence, where she once again related to him all that she had seen of him since her last being with him at *Whitehall*, with much praying and beseeching him to consider what she had seen and said of him, but he would not hearken to her, nor give credit to what she had said unto him, for certainly the Lord had hid these things from him, and would not let him understand them because he would destroy him; for to that purpose the Lord did harden the heart of *Pharaoh*, that he should not believe the

the wonders which *Moses* the servant of the Lord wrought in his sight, to make his name known to all the world; for saith the Lord, *Exod. ix. 16. For this cause have I appointed to shew my power in thee, and to declare my name in all the world*; but the more plagues the Lord did send on *Pharaoh*, the more his heart was hardened by them.

I could wish that all those into whose hands these sad Presages shall come, that they would consider with themselves that there were more than an ordinary hand in causing this Gentlewoman, being so antient as she was, to take upon her two so great journeys as these were; first from *Bristol* to *London*, then to *Bristol* again, then to *London*, and so to *York*, and all upon her own charge; surely there must be more then an ordinary hand in it, which did guide this woman, she being so ancient as she was, and no kind of distemper at all in her, but in a very good temper both in mind and words, and in her behaviour very civill, as many people in *London* that did talke with her concerning these visions can witnesse.

 VIII. I have been credibly informed, that his Highnesse the Lord Protector that now is, being in a Gentlemans house at prayer, in a room wherein the King's Picture did hang, neer about the middest of prayer the Picture fell down to the ground, which was a sad presage to the King, and now seems to be a clear testimony of Gods purpose to reject him: but how hath the Lord Protector been preserved in so many great dangers as by Gods providence he hath gone through, in his own person, since these troubles began; and that danger which he escaped in the Coach was not the least, and questionlesse the Lord hath appointed him to be the man to Govern the Nation this time; who can deny Gods permissive providence?

IX. His Majesty being one day at *Causam* near *Redding* playing at Chess, he playing with the white men, the head of the white King fell off, which was as ominous a presage as any of the rest.

X. When the Lord *Fairfax* was at *St. Albons*, and the general Counsell of the Army drawing the grand Remonstrance, in order to require justice against the King, the Sign of the *King's-head* beneath the Hill from the Crosse, that part of the board between the head and shoulders, was broken out of the Sign, none knowing how it came to be so, so that the head and shoulders were separated from each other. It seemed then to be an ominous thing to what did shortly befall him in pursuance of that Remonstrance, then drawing up against him by the Army. Wherefore I would wish that all those malignant spirits that are so bitter against the Government, to consider that there is no power given unto men upon earth but by God; therefore let them sit still and see the Lords work done in truth and righteousness, for surely the Lord will own him so far as he doth act for the Lord, and no underhand practise shall prevail against him; maugre all the Devils in hell they shall not touch him to do him harme, for the Lord will be his Protector so long as he doth act for the Lord; but if he act not of, and for the Lord, then the Lord will bring all his actions to nought, and it will fall to the ground of itself, as once *Gamaliel* said to the *Jewish Rabbins*, *Refrain from these men and let them*

alone, for if this Counsell or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, least haply ye be found fighters against God, *Act. v. 38, 39.* And as M. Saltmarsh said once in a Sermon before the Lord Fairfax, So long as you serve the Lord, he will be with you, but if you fall from the Lord, the Lord will fall from you. Therefore to those turbulent spirits I will use our Saviour Christs own words to Saul going to Damascus to persecute the people of God, *It is hard for you to kick against prickles.* And I do now wish that you which are such enemies against this Government, to look up to God, and lay aside your own particular interest; and if there be any thing amisse in your hearts, cast it out, and leave all unto the Lord for himself to rectify, for your plots and devises will surely come to nought.

XI. There is one thing more yet as remarkable as the rest, When the King was at the High Court of Justice on his Tryall, the head of his cane fell off, he stooping to take it up himself, took it as an ominous Prefage unto himself, and so indeed he might have done all the former Prefages, the greatest part of them bending to the head; but as I said before, the Lord did hide them from him. And with my heart I wish that those ominous prefages, which the Lord did send as forerunners of his wrath against him in his so great fall and ruin, might deter all men, of what condition soever, to leave plotting and contriving any further tumults or seditions tending to the shedding of any more innocent blood in this Nation; but let them plot what they will against this Government, they will surely be destroyed in all their practises, as it is evidently seen in the two last plots; for when they thought themselves secure, and the child of the Devill, as I may truly say, brought to the very birth, see then how the Lord did frustrate their actions, and with the least breath of his nostrils brake them to pieces, and that in a moment, as he did all the enemies of that famous Queen *Elizabeth* all her life, as well before her coming to the Crown as after. First, by Bishop *Bonner* and his crew, by setting her sister Queen *Mary* to take away her life, and for no other cause, but for professing the Gospell of Jesus Christ; had not the Lord discovered it (in his due time) to King *Philip*, in a warrant which the Bishops had shuffled in amongst other warrants to be signed by him for her death, but the King reading the warrant refused to sign it, and threw it aside; but before they could bring their purposes to passe, Queen *Mary* died, and then their hopes were frustrate, for she was presently crowned Queen, to the great terrour of all those that did plot her downfall, for her heart was upright unto the Lord, and the Lord kept her from all their plots and devises; for after she came to the Crown, what plots and devises did they not practise to take her life away, by Pistols, Poysonings, Stabbings, and by many other hellish practises; how many lowing bulls of *Bashan* did the Pope send against her, discharging her Subjects of their allegiance unto her, animating her subjects to destroy her by any means whatsoever, as it was plainly seen in the treasons of those hellish Conspirators, *Lopus, Campion, Parry, Garnat, Banister, Summervild, Squire*, and the rest of that Popish rabble; and then by that
never

never to be forgotten deliverance of that Invincible Navy, as the *Spaniards* called that great *Armado* in 88, when they made themselves sure of all this Nation, and so to bring it to Idolatry, for they brought with them whips of wire, gags, and many other instruments of cruelty to force this whole Land to Popery. But blessed be God the snare is broken and we are escaped, except our sins, which are innumerable, do make us fall into the snare, for surely our sins are even ripe unto the harvest, and there wants nothing but the Lords putting in his sickle to reap us, for surely the Lords patience is very much in waiting for our repentance, therefore let us not defer it any longer, least the Lord cast us off if we repent not all the sooner; but blessed and praised be the Lord for it, he brought that Invincible *Armado* to nought, for not one third part of them ever came home to *Spain* again; and for all their malice against her, she died in a good old age, full of days, riches and honour, for she left all her coffers full of riches and treasure, which she got from those that sought her life, by making wars against them, for the Lord did prosper all her undertakings which she took in hand, for her heart was upright unto the Lord all her days, (as the heart of *Asa* King of *Judah* was) and the Lord did keep her in store to settle the Gospell of Jesus Christ in this Nation, and hath continued it here almost a hundred years, praised be his holy name for it, and grant good Lord that it may continue in this Nation so long as the Sun and Moon endureth.

And now let me return unto the King in his project of bringing in of Popery; he had the least cause of any in the world to have any alliance at all with Papists, much lesse to link himself in the affinity of marriage with them; for look but back upon the Powder-plot, and you shall see his Father, himself, and all their posterity, with all the Nobility and all the chief Gentry of this Nation, designed to be blown up into the aire, (the Lady *Elizabeth* his sister only excepted) for they had determined to marry her to some Catholick Gentleman, and so to have made her Queen, but God did laugh at them, and brought them to nought, blessed and praised be his holy name for it.

But his Father and himself very well knew that all the considerable Papists in *England* did know of it, and were engaged in it, and did contribute to it, and for him to make a firm league with them, the enemies of Jesus Christ, was most abominable; but as the Lord said unto *Ezekiel*, *Son of man turn thee, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these*: so he yet added more to all the rest, in putting forth that hellish book of sports, (as his Father had formerly done) which book was put forth by the Counsell, and advise of the then Popish Bishops long after his coming from *Spain*, wherein he gives free liberty to the people to commit all licentiousnesse for prophaning the Lord's-day, by dancing, revelling, gaming, and all that the Devill could invent, to the great dishonour of God and his Sabbaths; but it was contrived of set purpose to silence all conscientious Ministers that did scruple the reading of it, (as many of them did) and were put from their preaching for not reading the same, and also to draw the hearts of the rude multitude to himself, if there should be occasion offered to any that should oppose the rise of Popery, which

which the multitude is apt to do, as the multitude of *Asia* against *Paul*, but knew no cause for what they did, the whole City being in an uproar, but knew not for what; so this book was put forth to cause the rude multitude to rise in defence of the prophane liberty which was given them by authority, if there should be occasion, as I said before, it was one of the greatest Master-pieces that ever the Devill did put on foot in this Nation (to draw the people to himself) that ever was hatcht in hell, far greater than the Powder-plot, for that had destroyed but the bodies of a few, but this would have destroyed the souls of many thousands, if it had continued longer; It was worse than *Balaam's* counsell for the *Midianitish* women to draw the children of *Israel* to commit folly and Idolatry, but he had his reward, for he was slain shortly after by the *Israelites*; and so will all the enemies of *Jesus Christ* perish in all their wicked practises, if they desist not in the pursuance of them.

Here are pregnant examples enough to make men leave their wicked practises, if they will take notice of them, which God of his mercy give all those hearts to do, that shall read these Ominous Presages, and the Lord give all men hearts to understand what it is to strive against God. And my hearts desire is, that the Lord would stir up the hearts of those that are in authority, to put in execution that Additionall Act for the better keeping of the Lord's-day, which is so much neglected, and the Sabbath abused in the fields and Alehouses, where the people do muster at play as if it were the week-day, yea even in the time of divine prayer, to the great dishonour of God, and disgrace to this City, and that it may be carefully lookt into and amended, he prayeth, who is a lover of the Gospell of *Jesus Christ*, and the peace and welfare of this Nation.

A True Relation of the Treaty and Ratification of the Marriage concluded and agreed upon between our Sovereigne Lord CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britaine, France and Ireland, and the Lady HENRETTA MARIA, Daughter of France, and Sister to his most Christian Majesty the French King.

Printed 1625.

IN the Name of God the Creatour, *Know* all people present and to come, that so it is that the Christian King of *France* and *Navarre* now reigning, have had very many Propositions from *James* the late deceased King of *Great-Britain*,

Britain, of ever good and blessed memory, to the end to knit and strengthen their Crownes and Kingdomes more and more by one indissoluble bond of love and amity, thereby taking the example of many Kings their Predecessors, the aforesaid Kings very well knowing both how honourable and profitable for all *Christendome* that Princes of such Birth, Worth, and Greatnesse, would be united together by the intermarriage of his Majesty of *Great-Britain* now reigning: and then the most high and mighty Prince of *Wales* unto the said Lady *Henretta Maria*.

And to the end that the same intermarriage should not be delayed, but quickly take effect, the said late deceased King of *Great-Britain*, desirous to see so good a work concluded and fully ended, sent the Lords the Earles of *Carlile* and *Holland* as his Ambassadors extraordinary, with full power and authority for the concluding and ending of the said Marriage to his most Christian Majesty, who having deputed and appointed some of the Lords of his Councell, with the Lords the Cardinall of *Rochell*, Great Almoner of *France* and of *Ricbleire*, *Phaligre* Chancellour of *France*, and the Lords the Earls of *Standbridge* Chancellour of our Order and of our Privy Councell, Governour and Lieutenant-Generall, *Angelmina* & *Linsosen*, & *de la Villountbers*, Earle of *Mountbourne*, and also principall Secretary, giving them full power to hear and understand the aforesaid Propositions, and to treat, conclude and agree with the aforesaid Ambassador, touching and concerning the aforesaid Marriage, the which after many meetings to the liking and content of both his said Christian Majesty and the Lady *Henretta Maria*, and of the Princes of the Bloud Royall, Cardinals and other officers of the Crown of *France*, and principal Lords of his most Christian Majesties Counsels of the one part; as likewise in the presence of the High and Mighty Lord *James Hay* Earl of *Carlile*, Viscount *Donchester* Baron of *Sally*, one of his aforesaid Majesties Privy Counsell of *Great-Britain*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and the High and Mighty the Lord *Henry Rich* Earle of *H.* and Baron of *Kensington*, Ambassador extraordinary for his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, as for his most Christian Majesty appointed, were received in manner and form following:

I.

That the abovenamed Lords Ambassadors have promised and do promise for and on the behalfe of his Majesty of *Great-Britain* now reigning, that he shall take to Marriage for his dear Consort and Wife the said Lady *Henretta Maria* in Person, or otherwise, by Proxy, so soon as conveniently the same may be done.

II.

That also the aforesaid Lady, at the good pleasure and with the consent of his said Christian Majesty, and of the Queen his Mother, (after the aforesaid Majesty hath obtained a Dispensation from the Pope) doth promise to take for her dear Consort *CHARLES* the first King of *Great-Britain*, and according
to

to the aforesaid reciprocall promises, they shall be affianced and contracted after the manner accustomed in the Catholique and *Romish* Church.

III.

After the said contracting of the indissoluble Marriage shall be celebrated in *France* according to the Order and Form that was kept and observed in the Marriage between the late deceased King of *France*, *HENRY the Great*, and his deceased Queene *Margarite*, and the late deceased Lady his Sister, with the late deceased Lord the Duke of *Navarre*.

IV.

That after the celebration of the said Marriage, the aforesaid Lady shall be brought for *England* so soone as possible may be, and shall be conducted to the Town of *Bolloigne* at the cost of his most Christian Majesty; and at the said Town of *Bolloigne* the aforesaid Lady shall be consigned to such Noblemen as his Majesty of *Great-Britain* shall appoint and think worthy of such a purpose, and from the said Town of *Bolloigne* into *England* all the cost and charges of the said Lady shall be fully borne, paid and satisfied by his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, for all things whatsoever convenient and fitting to the worth and dignitie of such a Princeesse born out of the House of *France*, and joyn'd in Marriage to the King of *Great-Britain*.

V.

The aforesaid Marriage being celebrated and done in *France*, it is agreed that the said Lady being arrived in *England*, a day and place shall be appointed by his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, where his Majesty and his said Lady and Queene being in one of their Halls prepared for their presence, their Contract of their said Marriage, and the power whereby the same was concluded and agreed upon, shall be publikely read, and after that the aforesaid Contract shall be again ratified and confirmed by his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, by such as his said Majesty shall re-appoint and nominate for that intent and purpose, in the presence of such of the Realmes of the aforesaid King of *Great-Britain* as shall be present at the same Action, to which said Contract it shall not be lawfull to add or diminish any one Ecclesiasticall ceremony therein mentioned and expressed.

VI.

It is also agreed upon that the said Lady and all her followers, as also the children that shall be born to her Officers shall have free exercise of the Apostolique, Catholique and *Romish* Religion; and to that end the said Lady shall have a Chappel in each of the King's Pallaces or Houses, or in any Places of his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, where she shall chance to come and continue, and that the aforesaid Chappell shall be adorned and decked as is fitting; and the keeping thereof shall be committed to whom the said Lady shall appoint, in which the preaching of God's word, the Administrations of the Sacraments, the Masse, and other offices shall be freely and solemnly done according

according to the use of the *Romish* Church, yea all Indulgences and Jubilees which the said Lady shall obtain and get from the Pope may be done and executed there; there shall be also one Churchyard in the City of *London*, given and appointed to inter and bury such of her Ladyships followers as shall chance to depart their life according to the manner and forme of the Church of *Rome*, and that shall modestly be done; the which Churchyard shall be walled and inclosed about, that no person shall come therein to profane the same.

VII.

It is also agreed upon, that the said Lady shall have a Bishop for her great Almoner, who shall have all jurisdiction and necessary authority for all matters and causes concerning Religion, and who shall proceed against Ecclesiasticall Persons that shall be under his charge according to the Canons; and if it shall at any time happen that any secular Courts shall take any of the said Priests into their power, by reason of any crime or offence against the State by him committed or done, and do find him to be guilty thereof, yet shall the said Court send the said Priest to the said Bishop with the informations which they find by him, and the said Priest is priviledged from their power, and the said Bishop when he shall understand and know so much, he shall degrade the said Priest, and after send him back to the secular Court to do justice upon him, and for all kind of other faults the aforesaid Priest shall be sent to the said Bishop, to the end that he may proceed against them according to the Canons, in the absence or sickness of the said Bishop, the Priest which is by him appointed to be his great Vicar, shall have the same power and authority.

VIII.

It is likewise agreed upon that the said Lady shall have twenty-eight Priests, or Ecclesiasticall persons in her house; comprehending therein her Almoner and Chaplains, to serve and keep the said Chappell according as they are appointed; and if any of them be a Regular Canonick person, living under more prescript rules then the rest, yet he may hold and keep his habit.

IX.

His said Majesty of *Great-Britaine* is by oath not to endeavour by any means at all to have his said Lady and Queen, to forsake or renounce her said Catholique, Apostollicall, and *Romane* Religion: Nor compell her to do any thing that is contrary to the same.

X.

The said Queene howsoever shall be maintained with so much dignity, and with so great a number as ever any had that was Queene of *England*.

XI.

All the said household servants that the said Lady shall carry with her into *England* shall be Priests Catholiques and *French* by birth, and chosen and appointed

pointed by his Majesty of *Great-Britaine*; and if it happen that any of them die, or that the said Lady be willing to change any of her said servants, then she shall take in their steads, other Popish Catholique, *French* or *English*, always provided, His Majesty of *Great-Britaine* consent thereunto.

XII.

The aforesaid household servants shall take oath, to the form of the oath following, *viz.* I such an one do sweare and promise to be loyall and true to our Sovereigne Lord King *Charles*, King of *Great-Britain*, and to the Queen his dear Consort: Which oath I will faithfully and inviolably keep; and if I know or shall know of any, that shall or will attempt any thing whatsoever against the said persons, honours, or dignities, of the said King and Queene, by the oath that I have taken, I will reveale the same to the said King or Queene, or some others appointed for that intent and purpose, so far as I may or can.

XIII.

The marriage portion that shall be given with the said Lady, shall be eight hundred thousand crownes of three pounds a-piece *French* money: Whereof his most Christian Majesty shall pay the one half in the City of *London*, the day before the marriage; and the other half, one year after the first day of payment.

XIV.

If it shall happen the King depart this Life before the Queene without any child of their body begotten, then the marriage portion which she brought and paid, shall be wholly restored unto her to dispose thereof at her pleasure, whether she stay in *England*, or return into *France*. Then it shall be lawfull for her to bring her said marriage money with her.

XV.

But if they shall have any children living, then there shall be restored unto the said Lady, but two thirds only of the said marriage portion, and the other third thereof shall be and remaine unto the said children, whether the said Lady do return into *France*, or stay in *England*.

XVI.

The children which shall by reason of their intermarriage be born and live, shall be nursed and brought up near unto the said Lady and Queen, from the time of their birth, untill they come to the age of thirteene years.

XVII.

The children of the said marriage, after the death of the said Lady and Queen, shall inherit the two thirds of the said marriage portion that was restored unto her, if the said Lady do not marry the second time: And that she have children as well by the last marriage as the first, and then in such a case, the

the children of the first and second shall have part of the aforesaid two thirds, that was restored to the Lady.

XVIII.

And if it chance the said Lady to depart this life before the King without children, then his most Christian Majesty doth agree, the one half of the said marriage portion shall be restored: And if there be children, then it is agreed, that all the aforesaid portion shall firmly remaine unto them.

XIX.

The said Lady shall be indowed and have a Ioynter made unto her of eighteen thousand pounds a year sterling, amounting to the sum of in *French* money three score thousand Crownes.

XX.

His Majesty of *Great-Britain* shall give unto the said Lady, as a favour in regard of the said marriage, fiftie thousand crowns to buy her rings, and other jewels, which shall be hereafter as proper to her and hers, as the rings and jewells of which she now hath, or hereafter shall be given unto her.

XXI.

His Majesty of *Great-Britain* shall and doth undertake, for the maintenance of the said Lady and her house: And if the said Lady be a widow, then she shall have her joynture, and other things agreed upon.

XXII.

And if it happen the said King depart this life before the Queen, having children, or without children, then the said Lady shall freely enjoy and have her said Joynture assigned, and made unto her in any place, where she pleaseth to stay and abide: which Joynture shall be of certain cattels, or houses with appurtenances, and one house appointed to her for part of her joynture, shall be such an house as she may keep her dayly abode in: And shall be furnished with all things fitting for a Princeesse of her qualitie. And the said Lady shall have the disposing of the officers belonging to the said houses and lands, the one whereof shall have a title of *Duchie* or *Earledome*.

XXIII.

It shall likewise be free for the said Lady, after the death of the said King, whether she have children or not, to return into *France*, and to bring with her her Moveables, rings and jewells: and also her marriage portion, as is before specified and declared.

XXIV.

The said Lady in regard of her said marriage, hath renounced, and doth renounce all succession both by father and mother, and all collaterall succession to all the Crown Lands belonging to the demesnes Royall of *France*, sub-

ject to reversion, whether by way of gift by her deceased father, or mother yet living, or by any other friend whatsoever.

XXV.

And this Contract of Marriage shall be registred in the Parliament of Accounts at *Paris*, and shall be ratified and confirmed in *England* by Parliament there assembled, and also shall be there registred in the ordinary Courts appointed and ordained to and for such purpose, and his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, as also Ordinary Courts appointed and ordained to and for such purpose: And his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, as also his most Christian Majesty do promise not to go against any clause or condition in the said contract of Marriage.

XXVI.

And it is further concluded and agreed upon, that which of their said two Nations of *Great-Britain* or *France*, that shall faile in the accomplishing and performing of the said present Marriage, shall owe and be bounden to pay unto the other, four hundred thousand Crownes for his neglect therein.

To the observing and performing of which Articles, both his said most sacred Christian Majesty, and his Majesty of *Great-Britaine* are bounden, and do bind themselves, their heyres and successors upon oath; and the same Act was perused, concluded and agree upon at *Paris*, at the Castle called or knowne by the name of the *Laurance*, signed by both the said Ambassadors for his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, the said Lady HENRETTA MARIA, and and other Princes and Officers of the Crowne of *France*, and principal Lords of his most Christian Majesties Command, by his Commissioners and Secretaries of State this present *Thursday*, being the eighth of *May* 1625.

Signed thus,

Lovie, Mario, Ann Gaston, Hen. Maria, Carlile, Holland, Mountmorancie, Lovie de Lorraine, Ann de Mountashy, Henry de Bourbon, Delomenie, Poitier.

A Relation

A Relation of the glorious Triumphs and Order of the Ceremonies, obserued in the Marriage of the High and Mighty CHARLES, King of Great-Britain, and the Lady HENRETTA MARIA, Sister to the most Christian King of France.

Together with the Ceremonie obserued in their Troth-plighting, performed in the Castle of the Louure, in his Maiesties Chamber there.

As also the King's Declaration, containing a Prohibition unto all his Subjects to use any Traffique or Commerce with the Kingdome of Spaine. Published in the Parliament of Paris, the 12th of May 1625.

Whereunto the Originall French Copie is added.

L O N D O N: Printed by T. S. for Nathaniel Butter, 1625.

NOW at last, God being favourable unto our Countrey of *France*, hath pleased to grant what we most desired so long since; and those thick cloudes which seemed to obscure the lustre of our Country, and had as it were conspired to kill the fruite thereof in the very blossome, are now scattered and blown over, together with the bad influence which threatned us, God in his secret will permitting that two of the most mighty and potent Kingdomes of *Christendome*, should be united together, by the most glorious Marriage that ever was seen in the world. Therefore now our Invincible King *Lewis the Iust*, must needs promise to himselfe all felicity, glory and happinesse heaped upon him by this Union.

What great contentment hath *France*, and *Great-Britain* profit, to see themselves so inseparably united, by a more undissoluable knot then the *Gordion*, and by a friendship better cimmented, then the Stones of the *Babylonian* walles, founded by *Semiramis*? For neuer shall any enemies be found strong enough to shake two so flourishing Kingdomes, which derive their greatnesse from heauen, and their Limits from the circumference of the Globe: Let all good *Frenchmen* now then rejoyce, at such time as the adversaries of our State, trembling with amazement and feare, have their very souls afflicted with so goodly an alliance: And that I may leave an eternall memory thereof unto all posterity, I will most succinctly here declare, the magnificent triumphs and true manner of this happy marriage.

ON *Tuesday*, the 8th of *May*, the King came forth into his Chamber, and there appeared like the glorious Sunne, out-shining the other Starres, having his Queene with him, his second light; the Prince his onely brother, my Lords the Dukes of *Nemours*, and of *Elbeuf*, the Marshals of *Vitry* and *Bassompierre*, with other Lords of his Court, and sent for the Lady his Sister, who came thither accompanied with the Queene her mother, the Princesses of *Conde* and of *County*, the Dutcheesses of *Guise*, of *Cheureuse*, and *Elueuf*, with many other great Ladies. Her Gowne was of cloth of gold and silver, all poudered over with Flower-de-luces of gold, and enriched with many Diamonds, and other precious stones, and her traine was borne up by the young Lady of *Burbon*.

As she entred into the Kings Chamber, with a Majesty correspondent to her birth, my Lords the Earls of *Carlile* and *Holland*, Ambassadors for the King of *Great-Britain*, came likewise also in, as richly clad as can possibly be expressed, giving unto the King the Contract of Marriage, which was read aloud by the Lord Chancellour, after the King had agreed unto the Covenants. This done, the Ambassadors withdrew themselves into the Duke of *Cheureuse* his Chamber, which was over the Kings, and having communicated the Contract unto him: He forthwith repaired unto his Majesty, accompanied with the aforesaid Ambassadors, and many other great Lords, apparelled in a Suite of Black, the Paines whereof were all garnished with Diamonds, and the very tags of his points were enriched with the like.

Being come before his Majesty, he presented unto him his Procuration, and the power which the King of *Great-Britain* had given him, which was inserted at the end of the said Contract, which the King signed, and the Lady, both the Queenes, my Lord the Duke of *Cheureuse*, and the Lords Ambassadors likewise. This done my Lord the Cardinall *de la Roche Foucault* made them sure, after the manner accustomed.

Now as such an union as this could not be performed without great pompe, and infinite joy and contentment: So our Ladies Church was chosen for the Ceremonies of the accomplishment of the Marriage, and was hung with rich tapistry and cloth of Gold and Silver Tissue.

Then was there a faire and long Gallery raised, beginning at the entry of the Archbishops pallace, and reached even unto the Quire of the said Church: This gallery was under-propped with many pillars, which were covered at the top with Violet-colour Sattin, embroidered with golden Flowre-deluces, and below with faire fine linnen, trimmed with wax, through this same passed along all the Ceremonies of the Marriage as followeth.

First, the hundred Suiffers of the Kings Guard, clothed in his Majesties Liurey, their Drumbe beating and their Ensigne displayed. After them twelve *Haulbois* clothed in the like liurey, which ravished the hearts of the hearers. Then eight Drumbe covered with the like, which were so lustily beaten up, that the most coward courages were animated with the noise thereof.

Ten Trumpets also sounded so merrily that it rejoiced all the hearers. Then followed Monsieur *de Rhodes*, great Master of the Ceremonies, bravely apparelled, and well accompanied. After him marched my Lords the Knights of the *Order of the Holy Ghost*, all glistering with precious Stones. Then came seven Heraulds of Armes with their Coats of Red Crimson Velvet, powdered all over with golden Flower-deluces.

Then followed them my Lords of *Vitry* and *Bassompierre*, Marshals of *France*: After them my Lord the Duke of *Elbeuf*. Then my Lord the Duke of *Cheureuse*, apparelled in a Suite of Black-Cloath, cut and lined with cloath of Gold, with a Cap also of cloath of Gold, and upon his head a Jewell, which dazzelled the eyes of the beholders, with a short Cloak all imbroidered with Gold, and powdered with precious stones.

Then followed both my Lords the Ambassadors Extraordinary of the King of *Great-Britain*, &c. clad in cloth of silver.

Then came the King of *France*, in a garment all imbroidered with Gold and Silver, holding the Lady his Sister in his right hand, who had a crowne upon her head, and her Gowne powdered all over with Flower-deluces of Gold: And Monsieur the King's Brother on the other side, who led her in his left hand, being very bravely accoutred.

The Queene Mother followed next.

The Queene herselfe, in a gown all imbroidered with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. The Princesses of *Conde* and of *County* bearing up the long Train of the same. The young Lady of *Moutpensier*. The Countesse of *Seisons*, Madame *de Guise*, Madame *de Cheureuse*, Madame *de Elbeuf*, with many Lords and Ladies, of whom I cannot now make rehearfall, the number of them was so great.

All this Royall and generous troupe stayed at the entry of the great Portall of the said Church, before which was a place appointed to celebrate the Marriage in, and whereon was raised a Canopie of inestimable vallew, under which the King and Monsieur his Brother left the Lady their Sister, and consigned her into the hands of my Lord the Duke of *Cheureuse*, and then my Lord Cardinall *de la Roche Foucault* espoused the Lady with the ordinary ceremonies of the Church.

From thence all the Orders abovesaid marched into the Quier through a long Gallerie which was squared out by a line, in the midst of the body of the Church all covered with Tapistrey, the richest that might be.

In the midst of the said Quier were all ready placed on the one side upon eminent seates, my Lords the Presidents, having their Morters of Gold on their heads, and in their scarlet Robes lined with Ermines, and the Councellors of the Court of Parliament in the like Gownes.

On the other side sate alone the Provost of the Merchants, in a long Robe of Crimson and violet velvet, being accompanied with the Shirifes of the Towne.

In the Quier of the said Church, was there moreover another floore raised three steps high, upon which was another great Canopie, where the King,
the

the Queenes, and Monsieur the King's Brother were placed and conducted by the fore-named Duke of *Chevreuse* and the Ambassadors, who withdrew themselves into the Archbishops Pallace untill the Service was ended, and then afterwards returned to the King and the Queenes.

Prayers being done, they returned all in the like order as before into the Archbishops Pallace, where the whole Court supped.

During which, was heard such a noise and thunder of Cannon, as men would have judged that heaven and earth had joined together: In the like sort Bonfires, squibes, and such like were not spared throughout all the streetes: and it may well be verified, that *France* never saw so much rejoycing.

And God I pray, who hath ever beene propitious unto us, maintaine our Countrie in her greatnesse, and graunt our King a glorious triumphe over his enemies, and a large extent of his Dominions.

The ORDER of the Royall Feast.

THE Supper was kept in the Archbishops great Hall, and the Table reached from the one end thereof unto the other.

The King sate in the midst of the Table, served by my Lord the great Prior, who represented the great Masters person, before him there marched a number of Drums, Trumpets and Clarions, accompanied with Monsieur *de Beaumont*, great Steward of the Kings House, and thirty-two other Stewards of his Majesties Household, with their staves in their hands.

The meate was carried by my Lords the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Marshals of *France*, followed by the Gentlemen of the Court and their servants.

Monsieur *de Joinville* served as great Pantler, Monsieur *d'Elbœuf* as Cup-bearer, and my Lord the Earle of *Harcourt* as Carver.

The Queene Mother sat on the right hand of the King, served by my Lords the Dukes of *Belgarde*, *d'Vzais*, and *Luxembourg*.

The Queene herselfe on the right hand of the Queene Mother, served by my Lords the Dukes *d'Alvin*, *Brisac*, and *de Chaune*.

The Queene of *Great-Britain* sate on the Kings left hand, served by the Marshall *de Vitry* as great Pantler, the Marshall *d'Aubeterre* as Cup-bearer, and my Lord of *Bassompierre* as Carver.

My Lord the Duke of *Chevreuse* sate next the Queene of *Great-Britain*, served by the Lord of *Rochefort*.

The extraordinarie Ambassadors of *Great-Britaine* sate next unto the afore-said Duke of *Chevreuse*.

My Lord the Kings Brother sate neere unto the Queene, and next them all the Princes, served in most magnificent, and Royall manner.

The KING S Declaration, containing a Prohibition unto all his Subjects, to have any Traffique or Commerce with the Kingdom of Spaine.

Published in the Parliament the 12th of May.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and of *Navarre*, To all unto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Upon the complaints which have been made unto us by many of our Subjects trafficking into *Spaine*, of a Decree made the 2d of this month by our most deare and well-beloved Brother, and Brother-in-law, the Catholique King, unto his Officers, to seize upon and stay in all his Ports and Havens, the Shippes, Goods, and Merchandize of the *French* (our Subjects :) under pretext of Reprisals of some summes of money, which Our most deare and well-beloved Cousin, the Duke of *Guise*, our Governour and Lieutenant-Generall in *Provence*, did make stay of certain Barques, not far from *Marseilles*, as belonging unto some *Genoway* Merchants : as also because they haunted the desert Havens of our said Country of *Provence*, to the prejudice of our Ordinances and Provisions made by our Court of Parliament of *Aix* : The said King pretending that some part of the said money did appertain unto his Subjects (which is a thing not yet verified) and part thereof unto the said *Genowaies*. NOW therefore, because it is a matter of great importance for our Subjects good, to prevent them from receiving any further losse or hinderance of such their seizure and detention of their Ships and Goods as is ordained in *Spaine*, wherein there can be no better order taken, then a general interdiction of Commerce in those places, where the Merchants Our Subjects can no longer be at their libertie. WE make it knowne, That having deliberated of this affayre in Our Councill, where was present Our most honoured Lady and Mother, some Princes of Our Blood, other Princes and Officers of Our Crowne, Lords and notable Personages of Our sayed Councill, WITH THEIR ADVICE, and of Our own knowledge, full power, and royall Authority, We have made, and do by these presents, signed with Our hand, make most expresse prohibition unto all Our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition soever they be, to have any Traffique or Commerce in the Kingdom of *Spaine*, of any Corne, Wine, Cordage, and generally neither to carry thither, transport or buy any Merchandize whatsoever, upon pain unto the Offenders, of the confiscation of their Vessels and Goods, and to be punished according to the rigour of Our Lawes : and this to continue untill a restitution be fully made of our Subjects Goods seized upon in *Spaine*, or that by our Letters Patents We shall otherwise ordaine.

WHEREFORE We charge and command all Our loving and loyal Officers in Our Courts of Parliament, that they cause these Our present Letters to be read, published and registred, and the contents thereof to be kept and executed each one apart, and Our general Procurors or their Substitutes,

to make for the due execution of the same, all diligent and necessary persuite and inquirie.

And We give charge unto Our Governors, and Our Lieutenants-Generall in Our Provinces, particular Captaines and Governors of Our Towns and Places, chiefly those upon Our Frontiers, and the Bayliffes, Seneshals, and Provosts of Our most deare Cousins, the Constable and Marshals of *France*, or their Lieutenants, and unto all Our Justices, Officers, and Subjects, to assist unto the due execution of these presents: for such is Our pleasure.

In Witnesse whereof, We have caused Our Seale to be put unto these aforesaid presents.

Given at Paris, the 23d of Aprill, in the yeare of Grace, 1625, and of Our Raigne the fifteenth.

LEWIS.

And upon the Fowld, By the King.

De LOMENIE.

And Sealed with the Great Seale of yellow Waxe, upon double taile: And upon the Fowld hereof is written:

Read, published, and registred in Court, yea and the King's Attorney Generall requiring the same to be put in execution, kept, and observed according to their tennor and forme, and collected Copies of the same to be sent to the Bayliffes and Seneshals of that Iurisdiction, to be there likewise read, published, and executed by the diligence of the Substitutes of the aforesaid Generall Attorney, which he enjoyneth to certify the Court hereof within the month. In the Parliament at *Paris* the 12th of *May*, 1625.

Signed Du TILLET.

Imprinted at *Paris*, 1625.

Cum Prinilegio Maiestatis.

Le Triomphe glorieux & l'ordre des Ceremonies obserues au mariage du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, & de Madame sœur du Roy.

Ensemble l'ordre tenu aux fiançailles faites au Chasteau du Louvre, en la Chambre de sa Majeste.

EN fin le ciel propice a la France, a voulu ce qu'elle respire, il y a si long temps. Les nuages qui sembloient vouloir obscurcir son esclat, & qui auoient comme conspire de faire mourir le fruit en sa fleur, sont maintenant dissipez, & cette mauuaise influence est ancantie a ce coup, Dieu a permis par une volonte secrete, que les deux plus puissantes Couronnes de la Chrestiente soient unies ensemble, par le plus celebre mariage qui se soit jamais veu dedans l'Vniuers. C'est donc aujourd'huy que tant de felicite, de gloire, & de bon-

bon-heur ne promettent pas moins a nostre grand Roy, invincible LOVVS LE IUSTE, que l'Empire de tout le monde. Quel contentement a la France, & quel profit a la Grand' Bretagne, de se voit unies si inseparablement, par un noeud plus indissoluble que le gordien, & par une amitie mieux cimentee que les murs Babiloniens fondez par Semiramis ? Il n'y a point d'ennemis assez forts pour esbranler jamais deux Royaumes si florissans, qui puissent leur grandeur de ciel, & borner leur puissance de toute la terre. Resiouissons nous donc, bons François, a ceste heure que les adversaires de l'Estat tremblant de peur & de crainte, ont leur ame affligee d'une si belle alliance. Mais pour en laisser la memoire eternelle, & la donner en depost a la posterite. Je veux descrire icy le plus succinctement qu'il me sera possible, les magnificences, les triumphes, & l'ordre veritable de cet heureux mariage.

Le Ieudy huictiesme jour de May, le Roy paroissant dedans sa chambre comme un beau Soleil qui luit au dessus de tous les autres Astres, ayant avec luy la Royne seconde lumiere, Monsieur son frere unique, Messieurs les Ducs de Nemours & d'Elbœuf, Mareschaux de Vitry & de Bassompierre, & autres Seigneurs de la Cour, envoya querir Madame, qui y fut assistee par la Royne sa mere, Mesdames les Princesses de Conde & de Conty, Mesdames les Duchesses de Guyse, de Cheureuse, & d'Elbœuf, & plusieurs autres grandes Dames. Sa robe estoit de toile d'or & d'argent toute parsemee de fleurs de Lys d'or, & enrichie de plusieurs diamants, & autres pierres precieuses. La queue de ladite robe estoit portee par Mademoiselle de Bourbon.

Comme elle fut entree de dans la chambre du Roy avec une Majeste digne de sa naissance, Messieurs les Comtes de Carlile, & Milor Holand, Ambassadeurs pour le Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, y entrerent aussi tost, vestus avec le plus bel aduantage qui se puisse dire ; donnant au Roy le contract de mariage, qui fut leu tout haut par Monseigneur le Chancelier, apres que sa Majeste eut agreee les conuenances. Les Ambassadeurs se retirerent en la chambre de Monseigneur le Duc de Cheureuse, au dessus de celle du Roy, & luy ayant fait entendre les accords. Il fut trouver aussi tost sa Majeste, accompagnée desdits sieurs Ambassadeurs & plusieurs autres Seigneurs de marque, estant vestu d'un habit noir a bandes toutes garnies de diamants, & les fer d'aiguillettes en estoient enrichis.

Arrive devant sa Majeste il luy presenta sa procuration & le pouvoir que luy avoit donne le Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, qui fut inceree au bout dudit contract de mariage, que le Roy signa, Madame, les Roynes, Monseigneur le Duc de Cheureuse, & Messieurs les Ambassadeurs. Cela fait & arreste, Monsieur le Cardinal de la Roche-foucault fit les fiançailles a la maniere accoustumee.

Comme une telle union ne se pouvoit pas paracheuer sans de grandes pompes, & d'infinies resjouissances.

L'Eglise de Nostre-Dame fut choisie pour les ceremonies de l'accomplissement du mariage, & fut toute tendue de riches tapisseries, tissues de soy, d'or & d'argent.

L'on esleva environ de huit pieds de terre, une belle & longue gallerie, qui prenoit son commencement des l'entree de la maison Archi-Episcopale, & se venoit rendre a l'entree du Cœur de ladite Eglise. Elle estoit soustenue de plusieurs pilliers, couverte par le haut de satin violet, tout brode de fleur de Lys d'or, & par le bas d'une belle toile de lin ciree, par dessus laquelle passerent toutes les ceremonies du mariage, comme il s'ensuit.

Premierement, les cent Suisses des Gardes du corps du Roy, vestus des livrees de sa Majeste, le tambour battant, & l'enseigne desployee.

Douze haut-bois vestus de semblables livrees qui ravissoient par leurs sons agreables les ames par les oreilles.

Huit tambours couverts de pareilles parures battoient si furieusement que les courages les moins hardis s'animoient au bruit d'un tel tintamarre.

Dix trompettes faisoient sauter de joye & d'alegresse les cœurs de dans les corps.

Monsieur de Rhodes Grand Maistre des Ceremonies marchoit apres tout cela, vestu a l'avantage & fort bien accompagne.

Après luy Messieurs le Chevaliers de l'Ordre du S. Esprit tous brillans de pierreries.

Sept Herauts d'armes alloient en suite avec leur cottes de velours rouge cramoisie fleurdelisees d'or.

Messieurs de Vitry & de Bassompierre, Mareschaux de France.

Monsieur le Duc d'Elboeuf.

Monseigneur le Duc de Chevreuse, vestu d'un habit de drap noir tout coupe & d'ouble de toile d'or avec une toque aussi de velours noir, sur sa teste une enseigne qui esblovyssoit la veue par son esclat, une escope toute couverte de roses de diamants, un capot tout brode d'or & seme de pierreries.

Messieurs les deux Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires, tous deux couverts de toile d'argent batu avec la toque.

Le Roy avec un habit tout en broderie d'or & d'argent, tenant a sa main droit Madame, qui avoit une Couronne sur la teste, & sa robe toute parsemee de fleurs de Lys d'or.

Monsieur de l'autre coste qui la tehoit de sa main gauche aussi superbement vestu.

La Royne mere.

Lay Royne couverte d'une robe toute brodee d'or, d'argent & de pierreries.

Mesdames les Princesses de Conde & de Conty, portans la longue queue de ladite robe.

Mademoiselle de Mont-pensier.

Madame la Comtesse de Soissons.

Madame de Guyse.

Madame de Chevreuse.

Madame d'Elboeuf.

Et tous les autres Seigneurs & Dames de la Cour que je ne peux specifier par le menu, tant le nombre estoit grand.

Toute ceste Royale & genereuse troupe s'arresta a l'entree du grand portail de

de ladite Eglise au devant duquel estoit un grand parterre destine pour faire le mariage, & ou estoit esleve au dessus un grand poesse d'une valeur inestimable, sous lequel le Roye & Monsieur son frere quitta Madame, la mirent entre les mains de Monseigneur le Duc de Cheureuse, & alors Monsieur le Cardinal de la Roche-foucault espousa Madame, avec les ceremonies ordinaires de l'Eglise.

De la tout l'ordre cy-dessus s'en alla dedans le cœur par une longue gallerie qui estoit allignee au milieu de la Nef de l'Eglise toute couverte de tapisserie, la plus belle qui se peust jamais voir.

Au milieu dudit cœur estoient des-ja placez d'un coste en des sieges eminents, Messeigneurs les Presidents ayant leur mortier d'or sur la teste vestus de leur robes d'escatlates doublees d'hermines, & Messieurs le Conseillers avecques de semblables robes.

De l'autre coste proissoit a part Monsieur le Provost des Marchands, convert d'une longue robe de velours rouge cramoisoy & violet, assiste des Eschevins du corps de ville.

Dans le cœur de ladite Eglise estoit esleve de trois marches un par-terre, au dessus duquel estoit un autre grand poesse, ou le Roy, les Roynes, & Monsieur furent placez, & conduits par lesdits Duc de Cheureuse & Ambassadeurs, lesquels se retirent a l'Archeuesche jusqu'a ce que le service fut acheve, puis y retournerent trouver le Roy & les Roynes apres la fin de l'office.

Leurs oraisons finies, ils s'en retournerent au mesme ordre dedans l'Archeuesche, on toute la Cour soupa.

Et puis en mesme temps, l'on ouyt un tel bruit des coups de canons qui se tirerent, que l'on eust dit que la terre & le ciel se vouloient joindre ensemble.

Les feus de joye & d'artifices se firent par toutes les reus, & l'on peut dire avec verite, que jamais la France n'eust plus de resiouyssances.

Dieu qui luy a este tousiours favorable la maintienne en sa grandeur, & face que son grand Roy triomphe glorieux de tous ses ennemis, & borne ses terres de l'enclos de tout le monde.

L'ORDRE du festin Royal.

LE soupper fut dans la grand' Salle lambrissée de l'Archeuesche, & la table tenoit d'un bout a l'autre.

Le Roy estoit au milieu de la table, seruy par Monsieur le Grand Prieur, representant Monsieur le Grand Maistre, devant luy marchaient nombre de tambours, trompettes & clairons, accompagne de Monsieur de Beaumont premier Maistre d'Hostel, & trente-deux Maistres d'Hostel, tous le baston a la main.

La viande estoit portee apres eux par Nosseigneurs les Princes, Ducs, Pairs, & Mareschaux de France, suivis des Gentils-hommes de Cour & servans. Monsieur de Joinville servoit de grand Panetier: Monsieur d'Elbeuf d'Escanson, & Monsieur le comte d'Arcourt d'Escuyer tranchant.

La Royne Mere au coste droict du Roy, servie par Messieurs le Duc de Bellegarde, d'Vzais & Luxebourg.

La Royne sur le coste droict de la Royne Mere servie par Messieurs le Duc d'Aluin, Brissac, & de Chaune.

La Royne d'Angleterre a coste gauche du Roy, servie par Messieurs les Marechaux de Vitry, comme grand Panetier; Monsieur le Marechal d'Auloterre Eschanson; & Monsieur de Bassompierre Escuyer trenchant.

Monsieur le Duc de Cheureuse sous lay Reyne d'Anglitterre seruy par le Sieur de R.

Les Ambassadeurs extraordinaires d'Anglitterre pres dudit Sieur de Cheureuse.

Monseigneur frere de sa Majeste estoit assis aupres de la Royne, & toutes les Princesses a la table, qui fut seruy avec quantite de services autant magnifiques splendides & Royaux.

Declaration du Roy, portant defenses a tous ses subjets de faire aucun traficq ny commerce au Royaume d'Espagne.

Publiee en Parlement le douziesme, May 1625.

LOVIS par la grace de Dieu, Roy de France & de Navarre, A tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Sur les plaintes qui nous ont este faictes de la part de plusieurs de nos subjets traffiquans en Espagne, d'une Ordonnance decernee le deuxiesme de ce mois, par nostre-tres-cher & tres-ame bon frere & beaufrere le Roy Catholique, a ses officiers, pour faisir & arrester en ses ports & haures les navires, effects & marchandises des François nos subjets, sous pretexte de represailles de quelque somme d'argent que nostre tres-cher & bien-ame Cousin le Duc de Guyse, Gouverneur & nostre Lieutenant general en Province, a faict arrester dans des barques es environs de nostre ville de Marseille, comme appartenans a des marchands Geneuois, aussi qu'ils alloient dans les ports des-habitez de nostredit pais de Provence, au prejudice de nos Ordonnances, & des Arrests de nostre Cour de Parlement d'Aix: Pretendant ledit Roy, que partie dudit argent appartient a ses subjets (chose qui n'a point este verifce) en partie aux Geneuois. Et d'autant qu'il importe pour le bien de nos subjets, d'empescher qu'ils ne puissent recevoir plus grande perte & dommage de la faisie & detention de leurs navires & biens. qui est ordonnee en Espagne: a quoy il ne peut estre plus convenablement pournu, que par une interdiction generale du commerce au lieu ou les marchands nos subjets ne sont plus en liberte: SCAVOIR faisons, Qu'ayant mis cet affaire en deliberation en nostre Conseil, ou estoient lay Royne nostre tres-honoree Dame & Mere, aucuns Princes de nostre Sang, autres Princes & Officiers de nostre Couronne, Seigneurs & notables personnages de nostredit Conseil: DE L'ADVIS d'iceluy, & de nostre certaine science, pleine puissance & auctorite Royale, Nous avons faict & faisons par ce presentes signees de nostre

nostre main, tres-expresses inhibitions & defenses a tous nos subjets de quelque qualite & condition qu'ils soient, de faire aucun trafficq ny commerce au Royaume d'Espagne, de Bleds, Vins, toyles, cordages : & generalement d'y mener, conduire, transporter ny achepter aucunes marchandises de quelque qualite que ce soit, sur peine aux contrevans de confiscation de leurs marchandises, vaisseaux & effects, & d'estre punis & chastiez selon la rigueur de nos Ordonnances, & se jusques a ce que la main levee des effects saisis en Espagne sur nos subjets, aye este pleinement donnee, & que par nos Lettres patentes Nous en ayons autrement ordonne. SI DONNONS en mandement a nos amez. & feaux les gens tenans nos Cours de Parlements, Que ces presentes ils facent lire, publier & enregistrer, & le contenu en icelles, garder & executer exactement chacun endroit soy, & a nos Procureurs generaux ou leurs Substituts, de faire pour l'execution d'icelles, toutes poursuites & diligences requises & necessaires. Mandons aussi aux Gouverneurs & nos Lieutenants generaux en nos Provinces, Capitaines & Gouverneurs particuliers de nos Villes & places, mesmes celles qui sont sur nos frontieres, Baillifs, Seneschaux, Prevosts de nos tres chers Cousins le Conestable & Mareschaux de France ou leurs Lieutenans, & a tous autres nos Justiciers & Officiers & subjets, de tenir la main a l'execution de ces presentes : CAR tel est nostre plaisir. En tesmoin de quoy, Nous avons faict mettre nostree seal a cefdites presentes.

Donne a Paris le vingt troisieme jour d'Auril, l'an de grace mil six cens vingt-cinq. Et de nostre regne le quinziesme, Signe *LOUIS*. Et sur le reply, Par le Roy, *DE LOMENIE*.

Et scellees du grand sceau de cire jaune sur double queue. Et sur ledit reply est escrit.

L EUES, publiees & registres es Registree d'icelle : Ouy, & ce requerant le Procureur General du Roy, pour estre executees, gardees & observees selon leur forme & teneur, & copies collationnees d'icelles envoyees aux Bailliages & Seneschaussees de ce ressort, pour y estre pareillement leues, publiees, registrees & executees a la diligence des Substituts dudit Procureur General ausquels enionet d'y tenir la main, & d'en certifier la Cour avoir ce faict au mois. A Paris en Parlement le douziesme jour de May mil six cens vingt-cinq.

Sifine,

DU TILLET.

Mr.

Mr. St. J O H N S Speech, or Argument in Parliament; shewing, whether a Man may be a Judge, and a Witnesse in the same C A U S E.

By way of P R E F A C E, I shall return a distinction between a doubtful and a scrupulous C O N S C I E N C E.

Printed in the Yeare, 1641.

TH E former assents to neither of the two opinions wherewith it is distracted, and by this means suspends the action. The latter inclines to one of the two opinions, and goeth on to the performance of the Action, but neither so cheerfully and roundly as it ought to do, but with some reluctance in regard of that consideration it still retaineth of the contrary opinion. As a man that hath a little stone or some gravell got into his shoes (which is a scruple in the proper and gramatical sence) makes a shift to get home to his house, though not without some pain and molestation: these scruples if we cannot cast them out, by reason and better information, *Casuists* advise us to forget them, if it be possible, or however to passe them over, and fall to the Action, notwithstanding their jogging and interruption of us, in the chearfull performance of the same, *Amesius de Cons. lib. 1. cap. 6.* regularly and in ordinarie proceeding, one and the same man, in one and the same cause may be excepted against for being both Judge and Witnesse. For *Deut. xvii. 16.* (which I take to be the ground whereon the Resolution of this question is to be erected) the Judges in the gate, and the two witnesses are not the same, but severall and distinct persons.

And *Testatus* his opinion, that under the Old Testament, one and the same man in one and the same Cause, might be a Judge and a Witnesse. As the two Elders were against *Susannab*, vi. and 34. verse, is as Apochryphall as the Book itself from whence it is quoted. For they are not the Judges or Elders, but the Assemblie which pronounce the sentence, so the 41st verse. And we live under the New Testament where it is not permitted that a man shall be a Judge and a Witnesse against me, saith the same *Testatus*, in *Exod. xxiii.* Where he quotes for his opinion, *Greg. 9.* in his Decretals, *Lib. 5. de verborum, signific. cap. forus.* And of this opinion the Civill Lawyers give these reasons.

1. First, because this were for one man to usurp two functions, which ought to be severall and distinct, as that of a Judge, and that of a Witnesse, *Jelinus, & Auferius in Hut. Æmilius* his tractate, *de testibus*, pag. 208.

2. Because

2. Because by this means the same Agent might act and operate upon itself, by becoming both the Judge imposing, and the Witnesse receiving the oath, to deliver the whole truth, which is not convenient, saith *Albericus de Rosate, Tract. Doctor Vol. 1, pag. 260.* And *Pawfrancus ab Arrad, Tract. Doc. Vob. 4. pag. 157.*

3. Because this were for a man to judge as God, say the Schoolmen, that is, out of his own private knowledge. Whereas, saith *Cajetan*, Man ought not to be Judge as God, but as God would have him to judge: that is, *secundum allegata & probata*, and by a publike not a private knowledge. The Act of judging is a publike Act, and must arise from publike Causes, a publike person, a publike power, a publike knowledge (from others and not from himself) and a publike will: and this cannot be when a man judgeth upon that, which he onely knoweth himself as a private person, *Cajetan in 22. De. iv. 67. Act. ii.* And it is the conclusion of all the Doctors, that a Judge *non potest testificare coram se*, can give himself no convincing evidence. *Alber. de Rosate in Tract. Doctor Vob. 1. pag. 260.* *Testatus* gives a reason hereof, because no man can do as God doth, that is, infuse into the Prisoner at the Barre, *Cogitationem memorem omnium factorum*, a glimpse or thought that shall cause all the Actions of his whole life to appear before him, when he beholds the Judge in the face, nor unto the hearers probations, cogitations, a clear and naked evidence of all the proofes in the Cause. This God onely can do of himself, other Judges cannot without the help of witnesses. *Tract. in Matth. cap. xxv. quest. 334.*

4. That old observation of the Canonists, and of St *Augustine*, would fail, if a man could be a Judge and a Witnesse: that a false Witnesse is injurious to all these three, to God, to the Judge, to the Party, which would fail, if the Judge himself might be a Witnesse.

Lastly, as they exclude him that hath been a Councillor in the Cause, because he is like to make good his own Plea, so do they conceive the Witnesse to be excluded with much reason, lest he should be too much wedded to his former disposition.

These are the Reasons why regularly and in ordinarie Proceedings a Witnesse may be excepted against from being in the same Cause.

But I do not find in any Lawyer or Casuists, that a man is bound in Conscience, to except against himself, for being a Judge in that cause, wherein he had been produced as a Witnesse; and I find rather the contrary opinion in good Authors. And that if both Parties be content, and take no exception to it, a Witnesse may be a Judge in the same Cause. It is the opinion of that great *Jurisconsultum Felinus*, but quoted by *Hutor Æmilius, Tract. de Testibus, page 213.*

And this without all question to be made thereof, if he have *Contestes*, that is, some Witnesses more besides himself, that concur in the Evidence; *Hut. Æmilius de testib. pag. 200.*

Provided always, that when he comes to give Judgement, he must never ground his sentence upon any private knowledge of his owne, but upon what is alleadged and proved before him, by the Testimonies and Depositions of other Witnesse, that is, as the Schoolmen speake it, he must not sentence out of his private, but out of his publike knowledge, acquired generally from the Municipall Lawes of that Country wherein he lives; and more particularly from matters of Record, Writings and Depositions of Witnesse. *Aquni. 22. de quest. 67. act. 2.*

For the Jury of the Voisinage, I do under favour conceive them no Judges at all; they are to inquire out and to find a fact; they are not to applie the generall Law unto a particular fact, which properly is to judge and determine it. Whether the Lord Cobham was first produced as a Witnesse, and afterwards summoned as a Peere in the Tryall of the Lord Gray, I know not, nor ever heard of it before this time; but I do believe that upon the Rolls of 50 of *Edw. III.* it will appear, that *John Duke of Lancaster*, was Accuser, Witnesse, and Judge, in the Tryall of *Alice Peirs*, which may alter the Rules of the Law, in Parliamentary Proceedings. 23d of *March*, 1641.

*The KINGS Noble Entertainment at York, with the
Lord Maior of York his worthy Speech to the King.*

As also the manner how the Aldermen, Sheriffes, Citizens, and sundry other Gentlemen congratulated his Majesty to York. Likewise how triumphantly he was entertained with many rich Presents, and how they conducted his Majesty to his Castle.

*Sent from York by Sir Nathanael Rigby to a Merchant of London,
March 18. 1641.*

L O N D O N: Printed for Thomas Williams, 1641.

THE Kings Most Excellent Majestie, being variously discontented, partly at the seditious and preposterous Distraction in this Kingdome, partly at the Rebellious Insurrection in *Ireland*, and the barbarous continuation of the same, none, or very little means of redresse being used, and partly (which I conceive was the principal cause that induced him) at the dangerous imputation of high affaires reflected on his Majestie, was deeply wounded here-upon with griefe and vexation: all which loaded his Princely Minde with such a ponderous burden of sorrow, that he resolved himself to live absented from his Parliament. And in this remote distance from them, receiving divers times Messages from both Houses, highly touching his Majestie; it did rather

rather redouble and ingeminate his former griefe, then lessen or extenuate it. Wherefore being at *Newmarket*, he recreated himselfe oftentimes, and did seem respectively to entertain some mirth and alacrity in his former dejected minde; till afterwards receiving a Declaration from both Houses of Parliament, he was more vexed then before. Whereupon he left *Newmarket*, and went next to *Cambridge*: from thence to *Huntington*, and there continuing a while, he afterwards confirmed his resolution to set forward for *Yorke*. And the Lord Maior receiving intelligence before of his Majesties intent, with the Aldermen, Citizens, and other Gentlemen, he went out to meet, and congratulate his Majesty to *Yorke*; where coming before his sacred person, he with all humility, and ardency of affection, pronounced a Speech unto his Majesty, to the tenor of these words following:

Dread Sovereigne,

WE are now no lesse joyfull to attaine the happy aspect of your Majesty, then before dolefull and dejected, as well sympathizing with your owne griefe, as being deprived of your sacred person: for since your last return from *Scotland*, we acquired so generall a triumph and alacrity at your then secure and prosperous return, that now likewise in commemoration of the same, we present our loyalty and submissive obedience to your Majesty. 'Tis true, you came then from a Parliament, and so you do now likewise; only the difference lies in this, that as you came then with the Olive branch of peace, so now you are burdened with the fears and jealousies of your people: then with the publick assent, now with the dissent: then with the peacefull conclusion of all things, now in the tumultuous distraction of all: then your subjects were joyfull for your presence, now they are traduced with passion for your absence.

Dread Sovereigne, if my too audacious tongue doth trespassse on your Majesty, I humbly beseech your favourable absolution for the same: neither can you impute it as a presumption in me, so much as a carefull solicitation both for your owne security, and the better satisfaction of your subjects: for from the pious shade of your Royall Crowne, we expect to reap nothing but the delectable fruits of Justice and Equity: of Justice, in protecting none from their deserved censure, and condigne punishment for their delinquencie: Of equity, in subscribing and condescending to what your Parliament shall conceive to be just, equall, and expedient for the publicke safety of your Kingdomes. Thus (my Royall Liege) you will linke and tye the affection of your people so fast and so unitely to your Majesties favourable reflection, that nothing shall separate them in maintaining your Prerogative from detraction of any, or your person from any violation. But I thinke to admonish you of this, were to lead the Sunne to go its daily course, the Spheares to revolve themselves annually, or the Moone to keep her monthly change: For you are so well read in the Schoole of Justice, that nothing else (we hope) can distill from your pure mind. Howsoever (most gracious Sovereigne) remember your Parliam-

ment, forget not them that always remember you: concur with them in their sedulous consultations, that so by that meanes your Imperial dignity may be the more advanced, and your Kingdomes sooner eased of their grievances and troubles. Your Palace at *Westminster* waits in expectation of your presence, it longs to enjoy your sacred selfe, it expands its gates, as if it expects your returne each minute: let it not seem desolate, but rather honour it with your presence, that so it may seem a Paradise.

Now (my Liege) grant us your clement patience a while, that we may performe our own particular duties unto you. We are come to present the humble tender of our loyalty and obedience unto you, laying downe our lives, fortunes and estates before you, being piously resolved both to live and dye at your gracious feet. And in presentation of our humility, we are ready to expose our lives (as sacrifices) to your Majesty. Accept then (we beseech you) what the indigence of our Countrey affords, which shall be the only ambition of your obsequious and loyall subjects, to obtaine your Majesties gracious acceptation of their humble obedience.

The Lord Maiors Speech being ended, his Majesty graciously thanked him for the same; then the Aldermen, Sheriffe, Citizens, and a multitude of other Gentlemen submissively congratulated his Majesty in a mutuall vicissitude of humble salutations: the Streets were embrodered with people on both sides, each one triumphing in a joyful acclamation, having the happinesse to behold his Majesty, crying mutually, *GOD bleesse King CHARLES*: in the midst of the City, they presented two golden Flaggons, and two golden Cups, being entertained with great triumph: then they conducted his Majesty to his Castle, where he continueth: but it is supposed that his Majesty suddainly intends to go to *Hull*.

A LETTER sent from the Earle of STRAFFORD, to his Lady in Ireland, a little before his Death, May the 11th, 1641.

YOU shall receive, my deare wife, my last words, in these my last times; my love I send that you may keep it when I am dead, and closed in my coffin, which puts an end to all worldly cares and miseries which I am subject unto, and withall, take my Counsel, which are the words of a dying man, which ought to make a deeper impression, both of you that read my Letter, and also of the hearers, that both you and they may remember it the better, when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows (dear wife) let them go to the Grave with me, and be buried in the dust: And seeing it is not the will of God, that I shall see you any more, bear my distraction and sad disaster patiently, and with an heart like your self.

First,

First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive or my words expresse, for your many travailes and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is no lesse; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not obscure yourselfe many days, but by your travaile seek to helpe the miserable fortune and the right of your poore children; your mourning cannot availe me any thing that am but dust, and I hold it a kind of envy to over grieve for those that are gone to rest in the Lord.

Thirldy, You shall understand that my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*) unto my Son, the writings were drawn at *Midsummer* was twelve month, as divers can witnesse; to what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of triall: such is this worlds friendship, in the time of a mans greatest necessity: most sorry am I that being thus surprized by Death, I can leave you no better estate; God hath prevented all my determinations, that same great and Almighty God that worketh all in all: if you can live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to seek and know him, so shall you find true everlasting comfort; when you have travailed and wearied yourselfe with all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down with sorrow in the end. Teach your Son also to feare and serve God whilst he is young, that the feare of God may grow up in him; then will God be an husband to you, and a father to him, and a husband and a father that never can be taken away from you.

Balo oweth me a thousand pound, and *Arian* a thousand pound; in *Iernsey* I have also much owing me.

Deare wife, I beseech you, for my Soules sake, pay all poore men to whom I am indebted, when I am dead; no doubt you shall be much sought unto, for the world thinkes I am very rich. Have a care to fair pretences of men, for no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to be a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak, God knowes, not to dissuade you from marrying againe, for that will be the best for you, both in respect of God, and of the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine; Death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember my child for his fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued and have pleaded for my life, but God knows that it was for you and yours that I desired it; for know it, my deare wife, your childe is the son of a true man, who, in his own respect, despiseth Death.

I cannot write much, God knowes how hardly I steale time, when all are asleep; and it is also high time to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied; and either lay it in *Aleaune* * or *Antley* by my father and mother. I can say no more, Time and Death calls me away. The everlasting God, powerfull, infinite, inscrutable, God Al-

* A Towne so called near *Wentworth Woodhouse* in *Yorkeshire*. His body was first imbalmed, and then conveyed to the place aforesaid.

mighty, who is goodness itselfe, the true light and life, direct and keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me.

My deare wife, farewell. Lord Almighty bleſſe my ſon: Pray for me; and let my true God whom I ſerve, hold you both in his armes. *Vale, vale, vale.*

The late WILL and TESTAMENT of the
DOCTORS COMMONS.

I *Doctors Commons*, in the Parish of *St. Benedicts Pauls-Wharf, London*, being very aged, and finding by generall Computation, that my Time draws to an End, and being likewise much shaken both in Body and Mind with a *Westminster* Ague, yet of perfect Mind and Memory, to avoid all Suits and Controversies, that hereafter may arise concerning my Estate, or any Part or Parcel thereof, and to the Intent and Purpose, that my contentious Days may be consummated and ended in Peace, Do constitute, ordain, declare and make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, That is to say, *Imprimis*, For my Soul, I bequeath it to *Gunpowder-Makers*, to be made into Gun-powder, which shall be employed only for the *New Canons*. *Item*, I bequeath my Body to the Earth, from whence it came, decently to be buried, but not sumptuously, in the *Convocation-house*, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Pauls, London*, aforesaid, according to the discretion of my Executors hereafter named. *Item*, For my personal Estate (having never been possessed of any Lands) I willingly bequeath my Reverend Judges, Vicar-Generals, Chancellors, Commissaries, Arch-Deacons, Deans, and Chapters, and their Surrogates, and also all high Commissioners, Judges, Delegates, Advocates, and *Legum Doctores quoscunque*, (Og, the great Commissary, *alias* Doctor *Roan*, only excepted) to the high Court of Parliament, there to be cherished according to their Merits and Deservings. *Item*, I bequeath all my Registers, Deputy-Registers, Proctors, Examiners, and public Notaries, to the Court of *Common-Pleas*, at *Westminster*, to be admitted Attornies, (if no Prohibition be granted to the contrary.) *Item*, I will and bequeath all my fifty Pound Clerks, to their Friends in the Country, or to the Justices of the Peace and *Quorum*. *Item*, I will and bequeath all my Journeyman Clerks, Hackney, and Sub-hackney Clerks, to *Chancery-Lane*, and *Britannick S. Hugh Prestar*, to the Star-Chamber. *Item*, I will and bequeath all my Pursuivants, Apparators, Promoters, &c. to Under-Sheriffs; but in case they have no need of them, then I bequeath them to their ghostly Father, unto whom they have most relation. *Item*, I will and bequeath all my Writings and Records, as followeth: My Bonds to large-measuring Taylors; my Bills, Transmissions and the like, to retailing Tobacconists; my incontinent Articles to *Bloomsbury, Long-Acre*, and other like places of good-fellowship; my Libels
of

of Defamation, to the penitential Scolds, there to be ordered according to their Discretions; all my Commissions of Appeal to the Parties-appellant, for they have the most right unto them, in regard they have *paid* for them. *Item*, I will and bequeath all my large Books of Acts, to them of the *Fortune-Play-House*, for I hold it a Deed of Charity, in regard they want good Actions; my Decrees to the Courts of *Chancery*, in case they want any; my Sentences to those Orators that imitate *Tullie's*, *Quam te Marce fili*, &c for they are something: And lastly, I will and bequeath my *Cannons*, charged with *et cæteras* to the *Tower*, to defend *him that made them*; and all the rest of my Writings, Rescripts, Manuscripts, and superfluous Papers whatsoever to Cooks, Bakers, Grocers, and Chandlers. *Item*, I make the *Scotchmen* my Executors, (who, I doubt not) but with all Diligence will seek the Execution of this my last Will and Testament, and desire they will see these my Legacies, paid and performed immediately after my Decease. In Witness whereof, I the said *Doctors Commons* have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 26th of *June*, in the Year of our Lord, 1641.

*Signed, sealed, published, and declared in
the Presence of*

W. C.
R. P.
B. K.

*A DECLARATION, shewing the Necessity of the
Earle of STRAFFORD's Suffering.*

Printed in the Year 1641.

S I R,

TO give you my advice why it is likely and most probable, I will give my reason; as causes produce effects, elevation and near approach of the Sun argueth Spring; greenness and flowers, declare Summer; throwes are antecedents of nativity; clouds portend raine, and laying the cloath a preparation for dinner: He the Earle of *Strafford's* escape of punishment, must of necessity raise a lamentable storme in our calme, as invading our liberties, shipwracking property of goods, causing punishment upon his Impeachers, so that the triennial Parliament will be of no such force as is expected; for besides it will encourage others to do the like insolencies, oppressions, extortions, outrages and tyrannies; it will undoe our State: consider we therefore his Physiognomy, posture of person, proud carriage, and insolent behaviour, it may easily foretell the future, as falling leaves winter; for his palled colour sheweth revenge; his sower face, cruelty; his stooping and looking to the earth, avarice; his gate, pride; and his demeanor, insolency; for revenge is odious in greatnesse; cruelty abominable in governours; avarice hatefull to
God.

God and man, as appears by his sole ingrossing commodities in *Ireland*, and therefore he will be *homo hominibus lupus*, proud in Magistracy, insolent in supreme place, which will breed contempt, contempt impatience, impatience fury, fury rebellion, and rebellion ruine of King and people, for he hath been so invested by the Devil in all Deeds, as he can be changed no more then the Leopard from spots, or the Negro from blackness, and who shall undertake to alter him, laboureth in vaine.

The Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Poole*, and his confederates, caused the breaking of the Parliament, when the Parliament had made the Duke of *Gloucester* and other Commissioners to reform abuses, which were a mighty pressure then, but those Monsters made all those faithfull Ministers of State, conspirators against King *Richard* the second and his prerogative, though these caterpillars were delinquents, and laboured the demolition and overthrow of the whole Estate; wherefore it hath been a rule, that an ill instrument hath always been made incapable of government, and can be of no use for the *postea*; such always have brought an *ad quod damnum* to the Prince, and mischief to the Commonwealth; for he is as subtile as *Lewis* the eleventh, libidinous as *Tiberius*, cruell as *Nero*, covetous as rich *Cressus*, as terrible as *Phalaris*, and mischievous as *Sejanus*, and at the same end may he arrive. I will never believe but he aimes at Monarchy whose actions spin threads of Empire not easy to be numbred, and therefore is worthy of no compassion of King or Parliament: for this cause there is no more worthy subject of ruine then the acquests of his manifold deeds; now the Deer which escapes the toil is more mannish, the mad Bull wounded and let loose doth more mischief: so if the Earle shall get out of the net he will be more savage then before, like as the Duke of *Ireland* persecuted the Patriots of the Commonwealth: for revenge in cold blood is more dangerous than in passion, like the Mastive worried returns with others to kill.

Consider therefore his wicked facts, in the frontispiece of which, his setting enmity between the two Nations *England* and *Scotland*, brothers and subjects to one Sovereigne; his exercising regall authority in *Ireland*, in impoverishing that Kingdome; fining, imprisoning, causing divers to die, putting out hundreds from their estates by force and armes, starving others for want of flax and materials, imposing new oathes against Law, and finally breaking up the last Parliament: All which are high treason, and are so adjudged in the case of the Duke of *Ireland* and his confederates, in the 6th of *Richard* the second.

Certainly by these barbarous actions he hath caused the Subjects of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to murmur against the Diadem; for the highest treason of all is to cause the Throne to be despised, the Power neglected, and his subjects to rebell; which in all ages hath been held (by Civill and Common Law) a most abominable *Damnum Majestatis*, worse then hurt of Majesty; for if *Otho Grandsefer*, for making division between the Palatine of *Rhene* and his mother, lost his tongue and eyes, much more, causing Subjects to rebell (members of the same heads) ought to be losse of life: The Kings regal power

power hath been obstructed and intercepted, eclipsing the shining Throne; it could not command their affections, purses, nor cause them to fight against the *Scots*, whom they thought honest and good Subjects: and not to insist upon one fact, hath not he caused men to be shot to death and executed? So *Alvaro de Lun*, for such pride, in causing a Gentleman of *Spain* to have his necke broke out of a window, because he spake ill of him, was executed, though a great favourite, and upon this reason that it procured the hatred of the people against the King.

It is no answer to alledge that he did it by a councill of war, for it hath no power in peaceable times where the quarrell is for the Subjects right and religion, which the Prince cannot nor ought divorce them from; yea some of them have been sacrificed to appease the people, though haply not guilty of death; as *Commodus* the Emperor caused *Cleandor* to die to appease the multitude, which Emperor was much commended by the Historians of that time: for that wicked instruments of State have no bridle but feare of punishment, for which cause the inventors of *Gabels* impositions and such like have been rewarded with death; hath not he impoverished the Subjects of *Ireland* and the County of *Yorke*? it is most certain he hath; his ambitious mind hath caused him to oppress *Ireland*, as *Sejanus* the *Roman* Monarchie, who received his demerits, a shamefull death; his avarice in a Subject hath undone the Merchants of *Ireland*, and oppression of Subjects by Subjects deserveth death: and to say the truth, this man is greater than his Ancestors, lesse then his thoughts; which like a whirlwind hath carried him to so abominable courses as hath been brought to passe, man cannot receive, nor fortune give more; if she had not made him a King it was because she esteemed it a lesse thing to make him a head of an Empire, then give the head of Monarchie to the prey of one; health, wit, riches, greatnesse and honour, are gifts impoverish the foundresse, if after the gift her avarice did not retake them.

There was only the Duke of *Ireland* had so absolute a power in *Ireland*, as he. The first laboured to be absolute Duke of *Ireland*, and so will this if he be not cut off in his career: for as others then, so the Papists now, (who are the greater part of *Ireland*) would if it were in their power make him a King: wherefore it appears necessary, that he should have condigne punishment, for wickednesse unpunished diminisheth not, but increaseth force; the phyicke which this Parliament should administer to the sick state of the Commonwealth, is seasonable, for nothing is more dangerous in the beginning of feavers then not to let bloud, and it is mortall in gangrenes not to cut off a member; the House of Commons hath voted him a traytor, the grand jury of the Kingdome, as hath been said in other Parliaments; and shall he go unpunished? (God forbid!) likewise he hath had a most honourable triall before the three Estates, with divers testimonies upon the severall Articles, convinced with proofs; therefore the Lords by the Earl Marshall ought as in other Parliaments to give sentence, for it appears by the 25th of *Edw. III. Cap. 2.* that the Parliament only hath power to expresse and declare what is

treason, and to sentence it in cases not specified by the aforesaid Statute, the words are these:

That if any other case supposed treason not above specified, shall happen before the Judges, they shall tarry till the Parliament come, before they give sentence, that the cause be declared before the King and Parliament, whether it ought to be adjudged treason or felony; and this Statute is perpetuall, no probationer; though in the Statute of 33. *Henry VIII. Cap. 10.* the Judges have power to attain by a Jury, in cases expressed aforesaid, by which the attainted forfeits all his lands to the King, who shall be in actuall and reall possession of the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, uses, goods, chattells, as if the attainder had been by authority of Parliament; and so it is reported by *Cooke and Dyer*; and in a Parliament in *Henry* the sixth's time, all the Judges of *England* were of the same opinion, when *Thorpe*, Speaker of the House of Commons, in an adjournment of six weeks, was imprisoned; and at the recess of the said Parliament, upon complaint of the Commons, the fact being censured in the House of Commons and transmitted up to the Lords, the Lords asked the opinion of the Judges, the Judges answered they had no power to judge of any Act of the House of Commons, but were subject to them, and what the House of Commons should set down was Law; by which it appears plainly they have power to declare the facts of the Lord *Strafford* treason, which I humbly submit to the high Court of Parliament.

And whereas it is observed that all Papists speak well of him and his actions, it is very likely in recompence thereof he would bring in Popery *vi & armis*, having power under his Majesty to raise armes, and all for a Bulwarke to support his greatnesse, like to that of *France*.

Now the cause of God is in our hands, which if you omit, you shall never have the like opportunity to do God and the King good service.

Wherefore my prayer to God shall be, to open his Majesties eyes, to see the danger he and all we are in.

Gloria Deo, Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

In ANSWER to the Earl of STRAFFORD's Oration,
April 13. 1741.

Printed in the Year 1641.

With your Lordships favour,

IF the subversion of the fundamentalls of Faith be Heresie, why not as well the subversion of the fundamentall Lawes, Treason? Shall it be Treason to destroy the Kings Minister? and shall that be none that destroyes his

his Protector? For the Law protects the King, as well as the King the Laws: and if Laws did not subduate Princes, Kingdoms would totter as foundationlesse: nay, they are indeed, the very subsistence of Kings.

Let it be supposed, though not granted, that no one particular make it Treason, may not many and successive Acts amount it to that height? One graine of poison is not mortall, but many together are. Exportation of Sheep for once is but a Trespasse, but acted a second time is Felony by Statute. Refusall of the Oath of Supremacy is at first not capitall; but refus'd againe, by Statute is made Treason. And to my weak understanding, my Lords, this clearly shewes the mind of the Law: one ill act of waving the Law, may be but out of rashnesse, out of Ignorance; but a perpetuated practice, shewes a premeditated malice, and murther thus acted by the 10. *Hen. 7. in Ireland*, is Treason.

Be it there be no Statute or Common Law in expresse to make it so, yet necessary inferences, if they be not certainties, are next them; and if the deputed Judge or Governour hath power in the businesse of the Subject, to make the sway arbitrary, where Law is positive, I know not but he may do the same in the businesse of the Sovereigne; so it may come to pull the Sovereignty from the Prince, and place it on his substitute, and whether this be Treason or no, I leave to your Lordships consideration.

It is true, *de non apparentibus, & non existentibus, eadem est Ratio*, but, my Lords, to make this Treason, is not unapparent: a partiall eye will not find it, but he that lookes, *Intuitu serio*, may see even the Triple Gerion of Treason in it, for it cannot be but there is *Laesa Respub. Lex, Majestas*, the Commonwealth is oppressed, the Laws are suppressed, the Prince is scandal'd in act, and subjected by consequence to his Denious determinations: and therefore I shall without admiration tell you where this fire hath layen those hundred of years he speaketh of, even (my Lords) in the honest behaviour of other Ministers of State, who have not been injurious against the Laws, and there still had it been buried, if his own nefarious actions had not un-embred it, and fuel'd it anew.

Nor can your Sentence be before promulgation, since even your renowned Progenitors have already declared it Treason; though not by a particular Statute in termes: yet by a demonstrative practice, which if his Lordship would not have been willingly blind, had been Buoy enough to keep him from that Anchor of us all, which now must either hurt itself, or else split him, the Parliament whose Courses left upon Record cannot be taken for under-water works; so that a very easy honesty and common morallity (without Revelation) might have served as the red Crosse and the Bill, to have warn'd him from this plague of Legicide.

I shall beg as hard as his Lordship, that you have regard to your selves, for if upon him (by whose Authority, Peers shall be sentenced to be shot, Nobles curb'd and coop'd up, Laws subverted, Freehold disposed of out of the Courts, Grants under the Royal Seale extrajudicially disanul'd, and what may be profit of, monopoliz'd) you set not some everlasting Character, to

deter the like frontlesse attempts; I know not but the next comer may subjugate your dearest freedoms, and as remedlesse you may then complaine, as those who now do suffer, and have not yet found a redresse.

My Lords, under favour, your providence may be short, if it reach but to burning of Books: a fire of dead leaves will be too weake a fuell for a warning Beacon; a living Author made exemplary will afford a Taller flame, and if there were no other Law, that of Retaliation could not but be just; an Arbitrary sentence, were but plowing with his own Heyfer; who striving to seclude the Laws, would infer a kind of legall Tyranny, from a breast that is a Libertine. And therefore your Lordships, I perswade my selfe, will think it mightily fit, to cast this *Jonas* overboard, who hath occasioned all these storms, indangered all the sacred Ship of Government, and by flying the plain speaking Law, has dar'd by his Imperious Vote, to outgoe even all the bold attempts of Ancestry.

It is some comfort to us, that in two hundred and forty years, we have had no use of these venerable (though by him reviled for musty) Records. The Commonwealth has had the fewer enemies. And if they worke now but a merited operation, I hope it may be five hundred yeares ere any of so bold a brow, shall desperately again adventure to awake them.

And if his Lordship be not made a Precedent for punishment, I know not but he may prove a Precedent for example, to animate others of a Vafrous and presuming braine, to take up the same way from a pleasurable bosome, to doome both Nobles, and the Commons, into a State of deep calamity. And so your lordships lenity to him, may by indulgence wound a future multitude. His many crimes which you have heard fully proved, will immortalize your Peerage for a noble Justice. The learned Orator has antiently told us, that *Non potest cuiquam male de Repub. merenti, justa esse causa.* And though it be severe, it cannot be unrighteous, for *Hoc spectant Leges, Hoc volunt; incolumen esse Civium Conjunctionem, quam qui dirimunt, eos morte, exilio, vinculis, damno, coercent.*

Thus every man will know what channell to steer in, what rocks to avoid, what he is not to do, what he is not to say, for fear of meeting such pains.

Thus men of honest wisdome, will be cautious of keeping in the plain road of the Law, and never hazard (by crossing through untroden Thickets) either Honour, Issue, or Fortune, to a losse. What his Majesty may graciously intend to the pledge of his Sainct, will rest in his most Royall heart: Though I hope the want of a Midwife did not make her one, nor his marriage within a month after her decease, did ere make him account her so.

And now (my Lords) we shall humbly expect your Honourable Judgements, beseeching you will be nobly pleased to defend those Laws which have ever defended you, to have respect to your own future liberty, and the safety of these flourishing Kingdoms: Then whatever your sentence be,

*Te Deum laudamus Cantemus Jehovæ, clangamus te Deum confitemur.
Rupibus, salutis nostræ.*

A Træ

A True Description, or rather a Parallel between Cardinall WOLSEY, Archbishop of York, and WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Printed in the Year 1641.

THERE be two Primates, or Archbishops throughout *England* and *Wales*, *Canterbury* and *York*, both Metropolitans, *York* of *England*, *Canterbury* of all *England*, for so their Titles run. To the Primate of *Canterbury* be subordinate thirteen Bishops in *England*, and four in *Wales*. But the Primate of *York* has at this time but two Suffragans in *England*; namely, the Bishops of *Carlisle* and *Durham*: though he had in King *Lucius* days (who was the first Christian King of this our Nation) all the Prelacy of *Scotland* within his jurisdiction: *Canterbury* commanding all from this side the River *Trent* to the furthest limits of *Wales*; and *York* commanding all from beyond the *Trent*, to the utmost bounds of *Scotland*, and hitherto, their prime Archiepiscopall Prerogatives may (not improperly) be paralleled.

In the time of *Henry* the first were potent famous Prelates, *Anselme* of *Canterbury*, who durst contest against the King, and *Girald* of *York*, who denied to give place or any precedence at all to *Anselme*. *Thomas Becket*, who was first Chancellour, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the reign of *Henry* the second, bore himself so insolently against the King his Sovereigne, that it cost him his life, being slain in the Church as he was going to the Altar. But above all, the pride, tyrannie, and oppression of the Bishop of *Ely*, in the reigne of *Richard* the first, wants example; who was at once Chancellor of *England*, and Regent of the Land, and held in his hand at once the two Archbishopricks of *York* and *Canterbury*; who never rid abroad without a thousand horse for his guard to attend him, whom we may well parallel with the now great Cardinall of *France*: and need he had of such a traine to keep himself from being pulled to pieces by the oppressed Prelates and People, equally extorting from the Clergie and Laetie; yet he in the end, disguising himself in the shape of an old Woman, thinking to passe the Sea at *Dover*, where he awayted on the Strand, a Pinace being hired for that purpose, he was discovered by a Sailor, and brought back to abide a most severe sentence. *Stephen Lanethon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the time of King *John*, would not absolve the Land, being for six years together indicted by the Pope, till the King had paid unto him and the rest of the Bishops eighteen thousand Marks in gold; and thus I could continue the pride of the Prelacie, and their great Tyrannie through all the Kings Reigns: But I now fall upon the pro-

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mist Parallel betwixt *Thomas Wolfey*, Archbishop of *York*, and Cardinall, and *William Laud*, Doctor in Divinity, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

They were both the sons of mean and mechanick Men, *Wolfey* of a Butcher, *Laud* of a Clothworker. The one born in *Ipswich*, (threescore miles) the other in *Reading*, thirty miles distant from the City of *London*; both of them very toward, forward, and pregnant grammar Schollars, and of singular apprehensions, as suddenly rising to the first forme in the School. From thence, being young, they were removed to the University of *Oxford*, *Wolfey* admitted into *Maudlin* College, *Laud* into *St. Johns*, and as they were of different times, so they were of different statures, yet either of them well shap'd according to their proportions: *Wolfey* was of a competent tallnesse, *Laud* of a lesse size, but might be called a pretty man, as the other a proper man: both of ingenious and acute aspects, as may appear by this mans face, the others picture. In their particular Colleges they were alike proficient, both as active of body as brain; serious at their private studies, and equally frequent in the Schools; eloquent Orators, either to write, speak, or dictate; daintie Disputants; well verst in Philosophy, both Morall, Physicall, and Metaphysicall, as also in the Mathematicks, and neither of them strangers to the Muses, both taking their degrees according to their time; and through the whole Academie, Sir *Wolfey* was called the *Boy-Bachelour*, and Sir *Laud* the *Little-Bachelour*.

The main study that either of them fixt upon was Theologie: for though they were conversant in all the other Arts and Sciences, yet that they solely profest, and by that came their future preferment. *Wolfey* being Bachelour, was made School-master of *Maudlin* School in *Oxford*; but *Laud* came in time to be Master of *St. Johns* College in *Oxford*, therein transcending the other; as also in his degrees of Master of Art, Bachelour of Divinitie, and Doctor of Divinity, when the other being suddenly called from the Rectorship of his School, to be resident upon a Country Benefice, he took no more Academi-call Degrees, than the first of Bachelour, and taking a strange affront by one Sir *Amias Paulet*, a Knight in the Country, who set him in the Stocks, he endured likewise divers other disasters; but that disgrace he made the Knight pay dearly for, after he came to be invested in his dignity. Briefely, they came both to stand in the Princes eye: but ere I proceed any further, let me give the courteous Reader this modest Caveat, that he is to expect from me only, a Parallel of their Acts and Fortune, but no Legend of their lives; it therefore briefly thus followeth:

Both these from Academicks coming to turn Courtiers; *Wolfey*, by his diligent waiting, came to insinuate himself into the breasts of the Privy Counsellors. His first employment was in an Embassie to the Emperour, which was done by such fortunate, and almost incredible expedition, that by that only he grew into first grace with King *Henry* the seventh, father to King *Henry* the eighth. *Laud*, by the mediation and means wrought by friends, grew first into favour with King *James*, of sacred memory, father to our now royall Sovereigne King *Charles*. They were both at first the Kings Chaplains;

lains; *Wolsey's* first preferment was to be Dean of *Lincoln*, of which he was after Bishop. *Laud's* first ecclesiasticall dignity was to be Dean of *St. Davids*, of which he was after Bishop also. And both these Prelaticall Courtiers came also to be Privy Counsellors. *Wolsey*, in the beginning of *Henry* the eighth's Reign, was made Bishop of *Tourney* in *France*, soon after Bishop of *Lincoln*, and before his full consecration (by the death of the Incumbent) was ended, translated to the Archbishoprick of *York*, and all within the compasse of a year. *Laud*, though not so suddenly, yet very speedily, was from *St. Davids* removed to *London*, and from *London* to *Canterbury*, and this in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*. Thus you see they were both Archbishops, and as *Laud* was never Cardinall, so *Wolsey* was never *Canterbury*.

But in some things the Cardinall much exceeded *Canterbury*, as in holding all these Bishopricks at once, when the other was never possesst but of one at one time. The Cardinall also held the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, of *Worcester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with a fourth, and two Abbot-ships in *Commendum*: He had besides an Hat sent him from *Rome*, and made himself Cardinall, (that being before but *York*) he might over-top *Canterbury*. But our *William*, howsoever he might have the will, yet never attained to that power; and howsoever he could not compasse a Hat from *Rome*, yet made the means to have a consecrated Mitre sent from *Rome*, which was so narrowly watch'd, that it came not to his wearing. Moreover, the Cardinall extorted the Chancellorship from *Canterbury*; but we find not that *Canterbury* ever either trencht upon the jurisdiction, or took any thing away from the Archbishoprick of *York*.

Wolsey likewise far out-went him in his numerous Train, and the noblenesse thereof, being waited on not only by the prime Gentry, but even of Earls, and Earls sons, who were listd in his family, and attended him at his Table, as also in his hospitalitie, his open house being made free for all comers, with the rare and extraordinary state of his Palace, in which there were daily uprising and down-lying a thousand persons, who were his domestick servants. Moreover, in his many entertainments of the King with Masks, and mighty sumptuous banquets, his sumptuous buildings, the Prince-like state he carried in his forraigne Embassages, into *France*, to the Emperor, &c. in which he spent more Coin in the service of his King, for the honour of his Country, and to uphold the credit of his Cardinals Cap, than would (for the time) have paid an Army Royal. But I answer in behalfe our *Canterbury*, that he had never that means or employment, by which he might make so vain-glorious a show of his Pontificalitie, or Archiepiscopall Dignitie: For unbounded minds may be restrained within narrow limits, and therefore the Parallel may something hold this too.

They were also in their judicial Courts equally tyrannous; the one in the Chancerie, the other in the High Commission: both of them at the Council-board, and in the Star-chamber alike Draconically supercilious. Flood drawn from Dr. *Bonner's* head by the fall of his Crosse presaged the Cardinals downfall.

downfall. Blood drawn from the Ears of *Burton*, *Prin*, and *Bastwick*, was a prediction of *Canterbury's* ruin; the first accidentall, the last premeditate and of purpose. The Cardinall would have expelled all the *Lutherans* and *Protestants* out of the Realme, this our *Canterbury* would have exil'd both our *Dutch* and *French* Church out of the Kingdom. The Cardinall took main delight in his foole *Patch*, and *Canterbury* took much delight in his partie-coloured Cats. The Cardinall used for his agents *Bonner* and others, *Canterbury* for his Ministers, *Duck*, *Lamb*, and others. They both favoured the See of *Rome*, and respected his Holinesse in it. The Cardinall did professe it publickly, the Archbishop did reverence it privately. The Cardinals ambition was to be Pope, the Archbishop strove to be Patriarch, they both bid fairly for it, yet lost their aime; and far easier it is for men to descend, than to ascend.

The Cardinall (as I have said) was very ambitious; the Archbishop was likewise of the same mind, though better moulded, and of a more politick brain, having a close and more reserved judgement in all his observations, and more fluent in his deliverie. The Cardinall was very curious in his attire, and ornament of his body, and took great delight in his traine, and other his servants for their rich apparell; the Archbishop his attire was neat and rich, but not so gaudy as the Cardinals was, yet took as much felicitie in his Gentlemens rich apparell, especially those that waited on his person, as ever the Cardinall did, though other men paid for them: and if all men had their own, and every bird her Feather, some of them would be as bare as those that professe themselves to be of the Sect of the *Adamists*: To speak truth, the Archbishops men were all given to covetousnesse and wantonnesse; that I never heard of was in the Cardinals men.

As the Cardinal was sumptuous in his buildings, as that of *Whitehall*, *Hampton-Court*, &c. as also in laying the foundation of two famous Colleges, the one at *Ipswich*, where he was born, the other at *Oxford* where he had his breeding: so *Christ-Church* which he left unfinished, *Canterbury* hath since repaired; and wherein he hath come short of him in building, though he hath bestowed much on *St. John's* College, yet he hath out-gone him in his bountie of brave voluminous Books, being fourscore in number, late sent to the *Bodleian* or University Library: Further, as the Cardinall was Chancellor of *England*, so *Canterbury* was Chancellour of *Oxford*: And as the Cardinall by plucking down of some small Abbies, to prepare stone for his great Structures, opened a gap for the King, by which he took the advantage utterly to raze and demolish the rest; so *Canterbury*, by giving way for one Bishop to have a temporall Triall, and to be convicted, not by the Clergy, but the Laity, so he left the same path open both for himself, and the rest of the Episcopacy; of which, there before scarce remained a precedent.

I have paralleled them in their dignities: I will conclude with a word or two concerning their down-falls. The Cardinall fell into the displeasure of his King, *Canterbury* into an extreme hatred of the Commons: both were arrested of high Treason, the Cardinall by Proesse, *Canterbury* by Parliament. The
Cardinall

Cardinall at *Keywood* Castle near *York*, *Canterbury* at *Westminster* near *London*; both their falls were speedy and sudden. The Cardinall sate as this day in the High Court of Chancery, and within two days after was confined to his house; *Canterbury* as this day sate at the Counsell-board, and in the Upper-House of Parliament, and the same day committed to the Black Rod, and from thence to the *Tower*: The Cardinall dyed at *Leicester*, some say of a Flux; *Canterbury* remains still in the *Tower*, only sick of a fever. *Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas.*

The GREEKE Postscripts of the Epistles of Timothy and Titus, cleared in Parliament.

By Sir SIMONDS D'EWEES.

Printed in the Year 1641.

THE authority of that most ancient Parchment MS. copy of the Bible remaining in his Majesties Library at *St. James's*, being all written in great Capitall Greeke Letters, was vouched and asserted by *Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, in a speech delivered by him on *Friday, June 11. 1641*, in the morning, upon the debate of the Bill touching Bishops, &c. by which it infallibly appeareth, that the stiling of *Timothy* the first Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Titus* the first Bishop of *Crete*, are but the bold and spurious additions of some Eastern Bishop or Monk, to the Postscripts of those Epistles of *St. Paul*, at least five hundred yeares after Christ. The Postscripts of the said Epistles in that ancient Manuscript, agreeing in the main with the *Siriac* Testament, are only thus: THE FIRST TO TIMOTHY WRITTEN FROM LAODICEA. THE SECOND TO TIMOTHY WRITTEN FROM LAODICEA. TO TITUS WRITTEN FROM NICOPOLIS. This rare MS. was sent to his Majesty that now is, by *Cyrillus* then Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in which the first letter A. stands for *αἰών*, and the second letter B. for *ἀντίπα*.

298 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

The Letters were transcribed almost identically out of the said most ancient MS.

The spurious addition of latter times are set down in red or miniated Letters.

Ibid. fol. 146. a.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Α. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑΣ.

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτη ἐγγραφὴ ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας. *"Ἦπερ ὅτι μνηστῆρας Φρυγίας ἡ Πα-
νταπνῆς.*

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

Ibid. fol. 147. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Β. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑΣ.

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρα ἡ Εφεσίων ἐκ-
κλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα
ἐγγραφὴ ἀπὸ Ρώμης ὅτε ἐκ δευτέρου παρέστη
Παῦλ· τῷ Καίσαρι Νέρωνι.

*Testamentum Siriacum concordat in
omnibus excepta loci appellatione.
Nam Romæ habet.*

Ibid. fol. 148. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΝΙΚΟ-ΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Πρὸς Τίτον ἡ Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον
ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα ἐγγραφὴ ἀπὸ Νικο-
πόλεως ἡ Μακεδονίας.

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

*King CHARLES his Defence against some trayterous
Observations upon King JAMES his Judgment of a
KING, and of a TYRANT.*

*With a necessary Preamble against Evill Counsellors of Princes.
1642.*

ECCLESIASTES viii. 4.

*Where the word of a King is, there is power : and who may say unto him, what
doest thou ?*

THAT Sentence, which *Lampridius* reciteth out of *Marius Maximus*, is most true, that the Commonwealth is better and safer where an evil Prince doth govern, then where the Princes familiar friends are evill.

For

For one evill man may be corrected by many that are good ; but never many evill men by one, how good soever, can by any reason be convinced and reformed, nay rather, wicked Counsellors make a wicked King, as we read of *Abaziah*, 2 *Chron.* xxii. 3, 4, 5. But O happy Kingdome and Commonwealth, whose Prince being very good, doth admit into his familiarity, none but those who are very like himsele ! Looke into the 101st *Psalme*, wherein the *CEconomie*, or ordering of things appertaining to King *David's* household, and so the whole Government of the Kingdome, is excellently described.

Saul was wicked, yet using the Counsell of *Samuel*, he did many things, which otherwise he had not done ; contrariwise no Prince is so good that may not be seduced, having evill Counsellors.

So long as *Joaz* King of *Judab* had with him *Jeboiada* the Priest, a man indued with singular piety and solid erudition, all things well succeeded both unto him and his whole Kingdome : but when (*Jeboiada* being dead) the King was destitute of men fearing God, and expert in his Laws, all things tended unto ruine.

Princes therefore ought to spare no expences to acquire and gaine unto themselves new *Jeboiadaes*. And surely there is no greater instrument or means of a happy Kingdome, then good Counsellors : to be environed with a Ring or Company of ancient, pious, and prudent Counsellors, is a great ornament to a Prince, and not only an ornament, but it gives to his actions a happy successe, strikes a Terroure into the hearts of his enemies, and induceth his Subjects to yeeld him the more willing and faithful obedience ; where, on the contrary part, there is no greater Plague to a Prince than evill Counsellors, who are not only a blemish, and great dishonour unto him, but cause his actions and enterprizes to have ill event, adds courage to his adversaries, and excites his Subjects, not only to the neglect of their due obedience, but to disobedience of his Injunctions and Commands ; evil Counsellors (as we read, 2 *Sam.* x. 3.) purchase hatred to their Prince, where good might happen.

This Kingdom that so many years hath flourished in a most tranquil and peaceable estate, like the Land promised to flow with milk and hony, (by woful experience to the untimely losse of so many thousand precious lives) hath found, how our gracious Sovereigne Lord King *Charles* hath been, and still is seduced by evill Counsellors, moving and animating his Majesty to those actions, which have heaped on his sacred Person, not only the hate of many of his loving Subjects, but their bitter exclamations, condemning him as one unworthy to reign over them, and as a King that hath forfeited his Crown by acts of Tyranny ; amongst which sort of clamorous people, or rather barking dogs, one subtle *Machiavillian* (who would seem by some few words to be a *Scot*, but by most of his language, as by common fame, appeareth *Englisb* bred, and who, I am well assured, is either *Brownist*, *Anabaptist*, or *Separatist*) this rascall, or (to use the common invented appellation) this Round-head (being possesse with an evil spirit, far worse then that which brought the Iron-monger to his publique Ignominy, and meriting ten times worse Infliction) hath published in print a sheet of paper, intituled, *King James his Judgment*

of a King and of a Tyrant. Wherein he labours to prove King *Charles* (by part of a Speech which his Royal Majesty of famous memory once uttered) to be a Tyrant, and that the people are no longer his subjects to obey him in his Government, because he hath ceased to govern them according to his Lawes, and inclineth to Papistrie, &c.

Now albeit I am one least able to answer this so shameless, unjust and trayterous Impeachment, I (being no Papist but a true Protestant) will adventure (not confiding in my own ability) but in God's assistance (in whom only, and not in any mortall man or worldly means, we are to confide) to vindicate the right, title and honour of my most dread Sovereigne Lord King *Charles*, with such Reasons and Arguments, as shall not only disanimate that rayling Villain to make any reply, but dam up the mouths of many, if not most others of his trayterous brood and faction.

First therefore I hold it necessary to define a Tyrant. A Tyrant is he that hath none other aime but his own private profit, without caring for that of his subjects, and for his greatness, revenge, or avarice, violates all divine and humane Laws. So as he lives in continual distrust of his subjects, and in-treats them with all rigour and severitie against Justice.

Now whether his Majesty be such a Person, I leave to the judgement of impartial understanding men.

Secondly, His Majesty hath not ceased to govern according to his Lawes. For his Lawes he hath been always forward to maintain, and whatsoever Act unlawful, or to the subject distastful hath been commanded to be done in his Majesties name before this present Parliament, he himself only did it not, but his most honourable Privy Counsell, or other eminent Officers, by whose eyes and eares his Majesty (as all other Princes use to do) saw and heard those things which conduced to his benefit, without any intention of oppression on his Majesties part to the Commonwealth, or otherwise his Highness by some eminent persons about him was thereunto perswaded. And since this Parliament began, his Majesty hath done all things during his abode at *Whitehall*, which both the honourable Houses of Parliament first approving have presented to his Royall Hand; as that Act for suppressing of Monopolies, which he had been induced to grant, being presented by others who much abused and deluded his Majesty thereby for their own private profit. Also the severall Acts for the reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland* to their due obedience, and for raising of Money to that purpose, besides divers others extant; which do evidently expresse his Majesties proclivitie and forwardnesse not only to govern according to his Lawes, but to maintain the true Protestant Religion, by subverting and extirping the Rebellious Papists in *Ireland*; only since his departure from *Whitehall*, to avoid the danger of Schismatical tumults, his Majesty did set up his Standard to raise an Army for his own safeguard, (as he hath at large declared) and not against his Parliament. His Commission of *Array* being maintained to be lawful by learned Counsell about him: Whereon the other side, the Parliament have raised Forces to defend both the King and Kingdome, and either to confound or to captivate and bring to a fair tryall his

his Majesties evil Counsellors and malignant parties ; where I am of opinion, that if his Majesty could safely quit himself of those Malignant Parties and his Cavaliers, he would soon and gladly return to his Parliament, and that he wisheth he had never been absent.

In the mean time it cannot be said he governs like a Tyrant, for he governs not at all, but his Parliament, who no sooner command, but are in all things obeyed, and whose intentions I am confident are sincere and just, and consequently not to be questioned.

To conclude this point, give me leave, I pray you, to recite a short Story, which is this : *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedemonians*, seeing two of his dearest friends at variance brought them into the Temple of *Minerva* (the *Lacedemonians* holding it a most heinous offence not to perform whatsoever was there promised) and demanded, whether they would have any Judge or Umpire between them? To which they answered, that they wished *Archidamus*. Whereupon he caused either of them to swear, that they would do what he should command ; they having so sworn : Now quoth *Archidamus*, I command you not to depart from hence, until among your selves you be faithfully reconciled, and so left them, who were forced to be soon reconciled accordingly. This prudent Prince found by what means he might neither offend both of them by refusing the Arbitrement, nor alienate the love of the one from him, if he had given sentence for the other ; and I could wish, if wishing might prevail, that the differences between our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty and his High Court of Parliament might be in as faire a manner by some Protestant Prince fully determined.

For my part I cannot rightly declare (neither would I, nor durst I presume if I could) which side hath greatest cause to complaine, lest in such case, I should be like one that inhabites the middle roomes of a house, who fears either to be washed with water spilt above him, or to be annoyed with smoke from the Rooms below ; yet I dare say and swear for the reasons before alledged, King *Charles* is no Tyrant, neither doth the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, in any one of their Declarations, term him a Tyrant. Neverthelesse this reviling Traytor, like one presuming or boasting himself to be of greater understanding than any of his Superiors, would not only prove his Majesty to be a Tyrant, but that his subjects owe him no more duty ; yea more, That all his solemn Protestations, Declarations, and calling God and the world to witnesse, should be examined, what truth is in them, by comparing them with his ordinary and daily practises, and that even from the first entrance of his Reign ever since he wrote that Letter of his to the Pope, lately published in *English*, with the Pope's Letter to him.

Now for Answer hereunto, In the first place, I am confident that his Majesty did never write any such Letter, nor received any such Answer as this most calumnious Traytor doth recite ; but if any such Letter and Answer be printed or divulged in manuscript, they are merely invented by him or some such other, like the Royall Letter named to have been sent by the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and the King of *England's* Answer to the same,

fame, which were all compact (for the most part) of Inkhorne fustian or affected words, beneath a Kings Dialect or manner of writing.

Secondly, suppose it were granted that King *Charles* wrote such a Letter to the Pope, and that his Majestie at that time in the beginning of his Reigne, in his unexperienced youth being newly out of his minority and married with the daughter of *France*, did incline unto the *Romish* Religion as one seduced by some of the Popes Faction; *Pape*. Is it therefore consequent, or must it be for a truth concluded that he is still of the same condition or inclination? Have we not had sufficient experience for the space of many years to the contrarie, That his highnes never attempted once to alter the true Protestant Religion, only giving way through the Counsell of one or more popish Prelates, for the removing of our Communion Table to stand in manner of an Altar, which in my understanding, was a way to increase Popery or Superstitious adoration in this Kingdome, and therefore by the *Scottish* Nation so detested and abhorred, howbeit under favour may I relate what an *English* Papist once to me uttered? It is more fit (quoth he) that your Communion Table should stand like an Altar, which is more decent and religious, being adorned with those things which the Scripture doth allow, then as formerly in the Reignes of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and for many years of King *Charles* his Reigne it hath stood, being on those Dominicall dayes, when the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper is not appointed to be ministred, a common Receptacle (in most of your Churches) not only of boys and Servants hats, but oftentimes of themselves, who unreverently make it their Bench or seate to ease their leither limbs, during your Lecture time, or as about the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reigne, Stage-players were permitted to act their Enterludes in Country Churches on the Lords day immediately after Divine Service, turning Gods Temple into the Devells Chappell, according to Christs saying, *Matth. xxi. 13. It is written, my house shall be called the house of Prayer, but yee have made it a Den of Theeves*. Or as that Lighter which being trimly painted furnished and adorn'd with Sayles and Maits Tackling and Streamers to entertaine and attend on the River of *Thames*, the new Lord Major in his passage to take Oath at *Westminster*, being then a goodly Gally-foist, is the next day, if not that night, depriv'd and stript of all her Ornaments and converted to a dung-boat or some other inferior use. To which profane comparisons I answerd, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper was instituted in a large upper Roome of a house, called the Guest Chamber, where Christ with his Disciples did eat the Passover, the Tables at which they sate being at other times (both before and after) used by those that came thither as Guests, to eate and drinke for the susteyning of nature, and some perhaps to feast in a gluttonous way; neither is the Sacrament confin'd onely to the board whereon the Bread and Wine are placed in the Church, or to the materiall Church it selfe, but allowed to be administred (as commonly it is) to sicke persons in their private chambers, it being not necessary to salvation, though comely in shew (as the Surplice is) to cover the Table with any Cloth, which is not suffered to remain there either in Church or Chamber when the Communion

on is accomplished. At which words the Papist in a fume departed, leaving me alone, who had much more matter to alleadge in confutation of his erroneous Invective, which in this place I will forbear to inferre, lest this digression may seeme a plaine Aberration from my principall intention, and the matter in hand; Thus therefore I returne into the way, affirming that the Kings Majesties dayly practises have been from time to time answerable to his Protestations from any thing that I could ever learn or hear to the contrary from impartiall understanding Protestants, or by any Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. As for those Quæries of things done since King *Charles* began his Reigne, I do accompt them altogether so scandalous and devellishely invented that they are not worthy to be answered, but the writer and publisher of them ten times more worthy to dye a cruell death then *Shimej* that cursed and threw stones at King *David*, 2 *Sam.* xvi. 5. to 14. Who though he escaped punishment in the days of that Kingly Prophet had his due reward under *Solomon* the Son.

There is almost no evil so great, for which nature hath not prepared a remedy, at least an avoydance. But calumny or slander doth not onely bite privately, but killeth before it can be perceived, the porcupine darts out his prickles when he is provoked, but the slanderer casts his darts or evill words against every one without any cause; so this unparralleld reviler without any cause, but onely out of his inveterate malice, being an evident enemy to the true, Protestant Religion (which our gracious king professeth and hath so solemnly professed and proclaimed to maintaine) hath assaulted his Majestie, attempting thereby to kill him in his honour and royal estate in maliciously, advisedly and directly publishing in print, that our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* is a Tyrant, which offence is declared by the Statute of 13. *Eliz.* to be high Treason.

But put the case our King were a Tyrant, and guilty of all whatsoever this Traytor doth lay to his charge; *Comines* lib. 10. Comment makes this Quære, When Princes doe in any thing offend; who shall call the same in question, and when the same is questioned, who shall complaine thereof to the Judge? Who shall take upon him the person of such a Judge? Who shall appoint their punishment? He answereth; *Surely the complaints and tears of men in miserie* whom they have cruelly tormented, also the waylings of widowes and Orphanes, whom they have inhumanely bereft of their husbands and fathers: In a word, the lamentations of those, whom they have afflicted and stripped of all their fortunes, shall be instead of an accusation, when they shall come before the high tribunall of God, who being offended with the greatness of their iniquities, doth not alwaies grant them a longer impunitie, but sometimes doth scourge them with present punishments, and that so evidently and cleerely that it cannot be doubted, but he is a most upright avenger of iniquitie.

The Magistrate (saith an ancient Counsellor of State) much more (I say) every meaner subject ought to obey the will of his Prince, although it were unjust, and not to bandy himselfe against his Prince, what error soever he commits, for this were a rebellion in the State to bandy the feet against the head: it were much better to yeeld under the Soveraigne Majestie with obedience.

dience, then in refusing his Commandements to give an example of Rebellion in the subjects.

Of evill Princes we ought to say nothing; for to speake ill of them it is very dangerous, as well as a heynous crime, it is not therefore safe to write against those that can right themselves upon us, *in tales nominatim scribere qui possunt proscribere*, as saith *Assinius Pollio*, jeasting upon *Augustus Cæsar*. And *Solomon* saith, *Prov. xx. 2. The fear of a King is as the roaring of a Lion, who so provoketh him to anger sinneth against his own soule.* Againe, *Prov. xvi. 14. The wrath of a King is as messengers of death, but a wise man will pacifie it.* *Erasmus of Rotterdam* in one of his *Colloquies*, Intituled, *Convivium religiosum*, sheweth, that where other men may by faire Admonitions, Lawes, Rebukes or Menaces, be bent into goodnesse, restreyned and reformed, a Kings minde being resisted groweth more austere or more inflexible, and that Princes therefore, when they be earnestly enclined to any action must be thereunto left: not in respect they would alwaies effect what is best, but for that almighty God sometimes useth and disposeth of them and their follies as his Instruments to amend or punish others. As he forbad his people to withstand *Nebuchadnezzar*, through whose crueltie he had determined to make them see and forsake their wickednesse. So *Job xxxiv 30.* saith, *He makes the Hypocrite to reigne for the sinnes of the people.* And further sheweth that the wrath of a King is, compairing it to the Sea, whose streames are not to be diverted or resisted, and that a King is not to be curb'd or censured by any humane Lawes, but left unto the King of Kings, and if he do amisse or go astray in any thing, we ought to say with *Paul*, The Lord hath taken him to himselfe, to his Lord therefore he doth sink or swim. So *Solom. Prov. xxi. 1.* saith, *The Kings heart is in the hands of the Lord, who can turne the same which way soever it pleaseth him.* As is more at large exprest in that part of the *Colloquie* whereunto I refer the Reader, or (if he be no Latine Scholler) unto a Sheet Intituled, *The Definition of a King, &c.* which conteynes a perfect Translation thereof.

I will now conclude with three parts of Scripture pertinent to this my purpose, *1 Pet. ii. 13 14. Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him; for the punishment of evill doers and for the praise of them that doe well.* *Prov. xiv. 32. The wicked is driven away in his wickedness: but the righteous hath hope in his death,* *1 Cor. 6. 10. Revilers shall not inherite the Kingdome of Heaven.*

Cum Angelis beate vivit Rex JACOBUS.
Cum Anglis prospere vivat Rex CAROLUS.

A Worthby SPEECH spoken in Parliament, by Mr. P Y M, concerning evil Counsellors about his MAJESTY.

Also manifesting the particular advantages that would redound to this Kingdome, if the said evil Counsellors were removed from about his MAJESTY.

S A M. x. 3.

Evil Counsellors purchase hatred to the Prince, where good might happen.

L O N D O N: Printed by T. F. for I. H. Novemb. 17. 1642.

FIRST, That the dangers that come to a State by ill Counsels, that they are the most pernicious dangers that can come to a State, it is usefull to compare Politique bodies with the naturall; the naturall Body is indangered divers wayes either by outward violence, and that may be fore-seene and prevented, or by lesse appearing maladies which grow upon the Body by the distemper of the ayre, immoderate exercise, dyet, &c. and when the causes of the Disease are cleare the Remedy is easily applyed, but diseases which proceed from the inward parts of the Liver, the Heart, or the Braine; it is a hard thing to apply cure to such diseases: ill Counsels they are of that nature, &c. For the mischiefs that come by evill Counsels corrupt the vitall parts, and overthrow the administration of publicke Government &c. Secondly, that there have been lately and are still ill Counsels here in this Kingdome, and about the King; that there hath been lately you will not doubt, when the maine course of Government hath been so employed, as Popery thereby hath been so maintained, the Lawes subverted, and no distinction between Justice and Injustice, and that there is still reason to doubt, is apparent by courses taken to advance mischievous designs, but that His Majesties wisdom and goodnesse kept out of the Court, so the principall and most mischievous designs have been practised by such as have neer access unto His Majesty. Thirdly, that the ill Counsels of this time are in their owne natures more mischievous and more dangerous then the ill Counsels of former times, former Counsels have been to please the King, and Prince, to raise up Prerogative, if it had gone no further, it had brought many miseries, but not to ruin and destruction; but the ill Counsels of this time were to alter Religion and Law, therefore more mischievous in their own nature, then the ill Counsels of former times. Fourthly, that these ill Counsels proceeded from a spirit and inclination to Popery, and have had a dependance on Popery; the Religion of the Papist, is a Religion incompatible to any other Religion, destructive to all others, and doth not indure any thing that doth oppose it; whosoever doth withstand their Religion if they have Power, they bring them to Ruine; there are other Religions, but not so destructive as Popery is, for the Principles of Popery are destructive to all States

States, and Persons that oppose it; with the progresse of this mischievous Counsel, they provided Councillors that they may execute their own designs, and to turne all Counsels to their own ends : And you finde, that now in *Ireland*, that those designs that have been upon all the three Kingdomes doe end in a Warre for the maintenance of Popery in *Ireland*. Fifthly, that unlesse these ill Counsells be changed, as long as they continue, it is impossible that any assistance, ayd, or advice that the Parliament can take to reform, will be effectually for the publicke; those that are the instruments of State they put things into action, in good Order, but if acted by evill men, while these Counsels are on foot we can expect no good.

Sixthly, That this is the most proper time to desire of his Majesty the alteration and change of Evill Councillors, because the Common-wealth is brought into distempers by them, and so exhausted, that we can endure no longer. The next reason why we cannot admit of them, is to shew our Love and Fidelity to the King, in great contributions and adventures : when God doth imploy his servants, he doth give them some promise to rouze up their spirits, this is the time wherein the Subjects are to save the Kingdome, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and therefore expect from his Majesty in a more large and bountifull manner then at other times, as we have weaknesse made at home, so we ought to discerne the actions abroad, where great provision is and a carelesnesse and improvidence herein, when our Neighbours are so provided, and have so great Fleets at Sea, will open a sudden ruin and destruction, before we can be prepared, and therefore now is the fittest time to move the King.

And lastly, that this alteration of Counsels, will bring great advantage to the King in his own Designs, in all our Actions, our prayers unto God should be, that his Name might be glorified, so our Petitions to his Majesty, should usher on our profit and advantage to him.

1. A discouragement to the Rebels, a great part of their confidence is in the evill Councillors at home, as by examination appeareth.

The second advantage, it is great incouragement to the Kings good Subjects at home who hazard their lives, and give aid and contribution to have things governed for the publique good, it will make men affraid to preferre servants to the King, that are evill Councillors, when they shall come to an examination of a Triennial Parliament, for many times servants are preferred to Princes, for advantage to Forraigne States; next, this will put an answer into the Kings mouth, against all importunates, that he is to preferre none but such as will be approved on by Parliament; those that are honourable and most ingenious, are aptest to be troubled in this kind, and not to deny; therefore the King may answer, he hath promised his Parliament, this will answer them all.

Next advantage, it makes us fitter to enter into union with forraine Nations, and forraine States, and to be made partakers of the strength and assistance of it will fortifie us against the designs of forraigne Princes, there hath beene cunning counsels at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, to reduce us to Popery, if good counsels at home, we shall be the better prepared to preserve peace and union, and better respect from abroad : lastly, it will make us fit for any noble design abroad.

The KINGS Majesties Charge sent to all the Judges of England, to be published in their respective Circuits, by His Majesties speciall Command.

LONDON: Printed for Laurence Blaiklock, July 26. 1642.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, We greet you well. We call to mind that in former times the constant custome was, by the mouth of the Lord-Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star-chamber, in the end of *Trinity-Term*, to put the Judges of Assize (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in mind of such things as were then thought necessary for the present, for the good government of the Kingdome. This course in Our judgement We do well approve of, That although We want the Opportunity, which We and Our Predecessors then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges, for the good of Our People, yet We do still retain the same care for the safety and prosperity of Our good Subjects: And much more, by how much the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily fallen, have given us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein, besides the general care of Our Justice, committed to Us by God, and by Us delegated to Our Judges by Our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your Brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following:

First, That you take care, by all the best means you can, to suppress Popery in all those Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Laws made against them in due execution: And that you take like care to give a stop to the over-hasty growth of Anabaptisme, and other Schismes, as far as by the good Laws of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equall hand, and those specially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and movers of others to any Acts of disobedience to us, and our government; And that in your Charge, and otherwise, as you shall have fit opportunity, you assure our good Subjects in our name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witnesse, that by his gracious assistance we are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, as we found it at our accessse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, our dear Father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and die.

R r 2

Secondly,

Secondly, You shall let Our People of the Counties know, That, according to Our Kingly duty and Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Laws of this Our Kingdom ; and by, and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatsoever the malevolent Spirits of any ill-affected to Our Person or Government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just Privileges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessors have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crowne, and the honour thereof : But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either, or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not only without, but against Our Royall Consent and Command. And We require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legall way, that you take care to preserve Our just right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of the Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principal part under Us, that you take care for suppressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawful Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land ; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands We shall look for such an account herein, within your Circuit, as becometh the quality of the place wherein you serve Us.

Fourthly, Because the distempers of the present times, unhappily stirred up and fomented by some, under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable to stir up loose and ungoverned people, under hope of impunity, as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, We straitly charge and command you to take the best order you can in those Counties, That Rogues, Vagabonds, and other disorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and punished according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of our Kingdome may be secured, and the wicked and licentious may be suppressed : and We charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are sent by our Commissions, that Watches and Wards be straitly kept in all Parishes and Places convenient, whereby the Laws made against such disorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly and lastly, You shall let Our people of those Counties know from Us, and by Our Command, that if they shall professe unto Us, or unto you in Our stead, any thing wherein they hold themselves grieved, in an humble and fitting way, and shall desire a just Reformation or Reliefe, We shall give a gracious eare unto them, and with all convenience return them such an answer, as shall give them cause to thank Us for our Justice and Favour : And when you shall have published Our clear intentions to Our people in these things, lest at the first hearing they should not so fully apprehend Our sense therein, you shall deliver a copy of these Our letters to the Foreman of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one shall desire copies of these Our letters

letters for their better information ; and to the end that Our services in your Circuit may not suffer through the absence of Our learned Counsel, Our Will and Command is, that you assign in every place of your Sessions some of the ablest Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Counsel for Us, to assist in such Pleas of the Crown, that may be most necessary for Our service in the execution and punishment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all these things We shall expect that good account from you, as We shall from the rest of your Brethren Our Judges, to whom We have also written to the like purpose, of whose fidelity and good affections We are confident as becometh Us to look for from you, and for you to render to Us, wherein you have so great a trust committed.

Given at Our Court at York, July 4, 1642.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Judge or
Judges of Assize for Our Counties of Kent,
Surrey, Suffex, Hartford and Essex.

*A Catalogue of the Names of the Lords that Subscribed to
Levie Horse to assist His MAJESTY in defence of His
Royall Person, the two Houses of Parliament, and the
Protestant Religion.*

YORK, the 22d of June, 1642.

LONDON: Printed for Richard Lownds, Anno Domini 1642.

WHEREAS it may be collected by severall Declarations printed in the name of both Houses of Parliament ; That the Kings sacred Person, the Houses of Parliament, the Protestant Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and Privileges of Parliament are all in danger.

We whose names are under-written do voluntarily offer, and severally engage ourselves, according to the following Subscriptions, to assist his Majesty in defence of his Royall Person, the two Houses of Parliament, the Protestant Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and Privileges of Parliament ; when his Majesty shall have given Commission under the Great Seal, for levying of Forces for those purposes, against all Power, Levies and Forces whatsoever, or to be raised upon any pretence whatsoever.

To

310 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To pay Horses for three Months, thirty days to the Month, at two Shillings and Six-pence *per diem*, still advancing a Months pay, the first payment to begin so soon as the King shall call for it, after the Commissions shall be issued under the Great Seale. In this Number are not to be reckoned the Horses of the Subscribers, or those that shall attend them.

	<i>Horse.</i>		<i>Horse.</i>
The Prince	200	Earl of Newport	50
The Duke of York	120	Lord Mowbray	50
		Lord Willoughby	30
Lord Keeper	40	Lord Gray of Ruthin	10
Duke of Richmond	100	Lord Lovelace	40
Lord Marquess Hartford	60	Lord Paget	30
Lord Great Chamberlain	30	Lord Faulconbridge to come	
Earl of Cumberland	50	Lord Rich	30
Earl of Huntington	20	Lord Pawlet	40
Earl of Bath	50	Lord Newark	30
Earl of Southampton	60	Lord Mountague	30
Earl of Dorset	60	Lord Coventrey	100
Earl of Northampton	40	Lord Savill	50
Earl of Devonshire	60	Lord Mobun	20
Earl of Dover	25	Lord Dunsmore	40
Earl of Cambridge	60	Lord Seymour	20
Earl of Bristol	60	Lord Capell	100
Earl of Westmorland	20		
Earl of Barkshire, and Lord } Andover	30	Lord Faulkland	20
Earl of Monmouth	30	Master Comptroller	20
Earl Rivers	30	Master Secretary Nicholas	20
Earl of Carnarvan	20	Lord Chief Justice Banks	20

The Lord Thanet is not here, but one hath undertaken for 100 for him.

Sum Total 1695

A True

A True and Exact Relation of the Manner of His MAJESTIES setting up his Standard at Nottingham, on Monday the 22d of August, 1642.

First, The form of the Standard, and who were present at the advancing of it.

Secondly, The danger of setting up of former Standards, and the damage which ensued thereon.

Thirdly, A relation of all the Standards that ever were set up by any King.

Fourthly, The names of those Knights who are appointed to be the Kings Standard-bearers: With the forces that are appointed to guard it.

Fifthly, The manner of the Kings coming first to *Coventry*.

Sixthly, The Cavaliers resolution and dangerous threats which they have uttered, if the King concludes a peace without them, or hearkens unto his Great Councell the Parliament: Moreover, how they have shared and divided *London* amongst themselves already.

L O N D O N: Printed for F. Coles, 1642.

IT is an ancient question, whether Industry or Fortune have most credit, for it is out of all doubt, that both have; and it is clearly false, that one alone doth all, and the other nothing; and commonly they that settle themselves unto the one, contemn the other, but the difficulty is how to join them together, and to attend and wait upon them both. Therefore saith *Martial* very well, *Measure thy burthen, and so thou shalt beare it very well*: not doing as many men do, who have their eyes only upon such as are wealthy, admiring and reputed them only happy and blessed and none else: we all ought to know that Prosperity is the very life of Peace, and Love the very bond which ties the heart of King and People together, and for want of these two, all things are contrary and opposite one to the other: The life of a Prince is two-fold, either of Peace or War; if it be of Peace, then happy are such a people that are in such a case; if War, then none inore unhappy, especially when it is within its own Kingdome or Bowels: Therefore a Prince must be sure that his War be just, for Justice must march before Valour, as Deliberation before Execution.

These reasons in a Prince for making a war with his own people must be of no force, yea, they are to be abhorred; *Viz. First, That right consisteth in force;*

force; Secondly, *That issue or event decideth it*; Thirdly, *That the stronger carrieth it away*: But a Prince must look into the cause, into the ground and foundation, and not into the issue or effect: War hath its Laws and Ordinances as well as Peace: God favours just wars, and giveth the victory to whom it pleaseth him, and therefore we must first make ourselves capable of this favour from heaven, by the equity of the cause or enterprize. War must not be begun and undertaken for all causes, upon every occasion, so saith *Pliny*, *Non ex omni occasione querere triumphum*, not to seek victory for every occasion: And above all, a Prince must take heed that *Ambition*, *Avarice*, *Choler*, *Night-crows*, evil Counsellors, possesse him not, and carry him beyond reason, which are always, if I dare speak truth, the only and ordinary means and motives to war, to incense a Prince to go to war with his own people for a little, nay too far and too much a stretched prerogative; and this is commonly one of the causes of a National War, in maintaining and buffing into the eare of a Prince the Rights and Prerogatives of Princes over their people.

Another chief and ancient cause of war, is the greedy desire of rule and of riches; they esteem the greatest glory in the greatest command, and the wicked rage and desire of gain breaketh leagues, and stirs up wrath: All these considered and put together, make the justest War that may be detestable, saith *St. Augustine*: And therefore a Prince ought not to suffer himself to be carried away by those incendiaries and fire-brands of War, who for some particular passion, or some old grudge to a Kingdome, are ready to kindle and inflame their Prince: But a wise Sovereign will keep himself in peace, neither provoking nor fearing war, neither disquieting either his own state or anothers, especially his own Subjects, standing betwixt hope and fear, nor coming to those extremities of perishing himself, or making others to perish; for, saith *Livius*, the fortune of one houres war, may overthrow all honour both gotten and hoped for: And there is no war undertaken by any worthy City, but either for faithfulness, or for safety of their King and Country, and the liberty of the Subject.

It is true, in all ages some differences or other have been between King and People: the first that our Chronicles make mention of, was in the time of *William Rufus*, who set up his Standard and went against the *Welshmen* in the year 1090, with a great Army of horse and foot, at which time he lost diverse of his foot and horse. The second King that our Histories make mention of was in King *John's* time, in the year 1210, who went into *Wales* against *Lewlin* his son-in-law, who had married his bastard daughter; at which battell he subdued all the Nobles and Princes without controule. The third Ensigne or Standard which is made mention of, was in the year 1332, and in the fourth year of his Reign, where there was a great battell fought between the *English* and *Scots* at *Halidown-bill* near *Barwick*, where divers of the *Scots* were slain, and divers taken prisoners. The fourth Standard that ever was erected in this Kingdome was in the 9th year of *Richard II.* and in the year 1485, who having set it up, proclaimed a Proclamation for all his Subjects to ayde him

him against the *Scots*, who went very lovingly and freely with him, because it was then held a forraign enemy to our State; who marched into *Scotland*, and the enemy not appearing, burnt only some Towns, and so returned.

The first Standard which was ever raised in the bowels of this Kingdom was in the 3d year of King *Richard* the third, and in the year 1483, at a place called *Redmore*, near the Town of *Bosworth*, where he pitched his tents in the open fields, called all his souldiers together, and declaring the cause of his taking up of armes, and the setting up of his Standard which was against *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, telling them that he was only come to spoile their lands and houses, and ravish their wives and children, and to dispossesse him, who was their lawful King; and to this purpose he made a large speech to his souldiers against the said Earl of *Richmond*, encouraging them to stand to him now or else never; then King *Richard* having set up his Standard which was formerly sent him out of the *Tower of London*, and brought to him by Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, who was then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, whom he appointed to be his chief Standard-bearer, together with Sir *Thomas Boucbier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, in whom the King had a good affiance and trust: The Standard being set up in great State, and well guarded, the whole Countrey being much displeased because the King would make their Countrey the seate of War, brake out and declared by certain papers which were scattered and thrown about the Army, which they had heard of by ancient records, that if any King doth proclaim War, and set up his Standard within his own Kingdome, and against his own People and Nation, not having any just occasion, but only a rash humour and desire of revenge; and not having no affront given him by foreigne Princes, nor his Land invaded by any foreign forces; upon the setting up any such Flag or Standard, first, that the Law itself ceases to be of any force; secondly, that all prisoners whatsoever that lay in custody upon any suite of Law, or execution, contempt, or any other decree, were presently freed, and the doors of the prison set open, and that no Jaylor whatsoever to detain either him or them; thirdly, that such a King ought to be dispossessed, and his Crown bestowed on another; fourthly, neither he nor his posterity should have any right or succession to the Crown and Dignity. This coming to the Kings view, he made flight of it, and went on his way regarding nothing, depending upon his own strength, and the forces he had: But see what the divine power can do, he at the battle lost his own life, was deprived of his Crown and Dignity, and none of his Posterity or Kindred enjoyed the Kingdome; and this was a just reward for such a Tyrant as he was; I pray God no good Christian King may follow him as a man, but imitate him as a King, for he was called a bad man, but a good King for the Laws he then made.

Now it is the generall prayers and cry of this whole Kingdome that our gracious Sovereign would not be led by any evil Counsellors whereby this glorious and famous Kingdome may become ruinated and wallow in its owne blood, and especially such a pious Prince as his Majesty is, would not give way to those malignant Parties, whose end and study is only for blood, and

that our peacefull *England* may not be made an *Aceldema* or field of blood, and so future times report that his Majesty was guilty of spilling so much of his own Subjects blood, but as it is the Bishops and others of the Clergies wars, so not to protect them but leave them and such like delinquents to the censure of the Law.

Monday being the 22. of *August* in the morning, his Majesty left his forces before *Coventry* and with some Lords and others in company rode to *Leicester*, where he dined that day at the Abby-house, the Countesse of *Devonshires*-House, however so many printed intelligences doe falsely, though with much confidence aver (much like their other relations) that the King was with his Army in the field, at the time of the battel betweene them, and the Lord *Brookes* forces, which was not untill the day following. Presently after dinner the King again took Horse, and with his company rode to *Nottingham*, where was great Preparation for the setting up of the Standard, that day as was formerly appointed. Not long after the Kings coming to Towne the Standard was taken out of the Castle, and carried into the field a little on the back side of the Castle-wall. The likenesse of the Standard it is much of the fashion of the City streamers used at the Lord Majors show, having about 20 supporters, and is to be carried after the same way; on the top of it hangs a bloody Flag, the Kings Armes quartered, with a hand pointing to the Crowne which stands above with this Motto: *Give Caesar his due*. The name of those Knights Baronets who were appointed to beare up the Standard, viz. the chiefe was Sir *Thomas Brookes*, Sir *Arthur Hopton*, Sir *Francis Wortley*, and Sir *Robert Dadington*.

Likewise there were three troops of Horse appointed to wait upon the Standard, and to beare the same backwards and forwards, with about sixe hundred foot Souldiers. It was conducted to the field in great state, his Majesty, the Prince, Prince *Robert*, (whom his Majesty hath lately made Knight of the Garter) going along with divers other Lords and Gentlemen of his Majesties traine, beside great company of Horse and Foot, in all to the number of about two thousand, who came more to see the manner of the thing, than any waies to offer assistance to his Majesty, as did afterwards evidently appeare, for that upon taking downe of the Standard there were not above thirty of the trained bands that offered to come in to his Majesty, which because their number was so inconsiderable, his Majesty refused to accept of.

So soone as the Standard was set up, and his Majesty and the other Lords placed about it, a Herald at Armes made ready to proclaime a Proclamation, declaring the ground and cause of his Majesties setting up of his Standard, namely, to suppress the pretended Rebellion of the Earle of *Essex* in raysing forces against him, to which he required the ayde and assistance of all his loving subjects. But before the Trumpeters could sound to make Proclamation, his Majesty called to view the said Proclamation; which being given him, he privately read the same over to himselfe, and seeming to dislike of some passages therein, called for Penne and Inke, and with his own hand, crossed out

out and altered the same in diverse places, (a thing well worthy the noting) and then gave it the Herald who proclaymed the same to the people, though with some difficulty after his Majesties corrections; after the reading whereof, the whole multitude threw up their hats, with other such like expressions, *God save the King*. Not long after the reading of the said Proclamation, it being towards night, the Standard was taken downe, and again carried into the Castle, with the like state as it was brought into the field. And the next day it was againe set up, and his Majesty came along with it, and made proclamation, as the day before, and the like also was done on *Wednesday*, his Majesty being present. But since that hath been set up with the lesse ceremony, there being not a hundred persons as they yet heard of, that have offered themselves to his Majesty since the first setting up of his Standard.

Since which time his gracious Majesty hath pleased to send some Propositions to both Houses of Parliament; and hath imployed the Earle of *Dorset*, the Earle of *Southampton* and Sir *Iohn Culpeper*, and Sir *William Uvedall* to deliver his Majesties minde to the honourable House of Parliament for a faire Treaty and accommodation of Peace, and that all differences and mistakes might be ended, and all hostile manner of warre to cease in our Land, and that it might be sent over to *Ireland*. Upon which report the Cavaliers which are about the Country are desperate to hear that his Majesty will hearken to an accommodation of peace or to apply or comply with his Parliament; telling his Majesty that it is dishonourable to stoop to his Subjects, and if his Majesty doth, they will either hang themselves, or kill and murder themselves, and do vow private revenge to this Kingdom, and if they do now misse of their hopes and enterprizes, for they say they are sure to overcome us whom they called Round-heads, and call our Souldiers nothing else but a company of *Shrove-Tuesday* boyes, and idle-headed prentises, who run away from their Masters under pretence of having opportunity to get liberty from their hard service and cruelty. It is truly reported that the Cavaliers are all desperately bent against the City of *London*, and the inhabitants; they have already within themselves shared and divided it; some have allotted to themselves *Gracious-street*, others *Lumbard-street*, then others have shared *Cheapside*, and *Pauls-Church-Yard*, others do determine to seize upon the rich Aldermens houses and Persons, others to whom they owe or are indebted to by bond or bill, or booke, doe resolve when they come into the City to seize those persons first, to whom they are indebted, and to cut their throats, and then to seize upon rich Usurers or others, and to cut their throats, for that money, so say they, we shall be both at once out of debt and have money to boot: these are the resolutions of the Cavaliers who do but looke for such an advantage, so full of cruelty and malice they are, which God in his infinite and blessed mercy protect both our King and Kingdome from; and that their owne swords may returne into their own bosomes that wish and long for such a day.

A Proclamation presented to both Houses from his Majestie, declaring that His Majesty will set up his Standard on *Monday* next at *Nottingham*, being

ing the 22d of *August*, where his Majestie intends to draw up his main forces, and to make it one of the places or seats of war, and there to reside for a time, commanding all his Subjects that will ayd and assist him, to come thither, ordaining the Earle of *Cumberland* Generall for rayfing of Forces in the Northern parts, and proclayming all traytors that refuse to obey the Commission of Array.

W Hereupon both houses have drawn up a Declaration against his Majesties proclamation for setting up his Standard, commanding that none proclaim the same in any part of the Kingdom: and that such as shall suffer any losse and damage by the same in any part of the Kingdom by the Cavaliers, or their adherents, shall have full reparation and satisfaction allowed them out of their land.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T S.

Concerning the impeachment of the Queene's Majestie of high Treason, by the prevayling partie of the Lords and Commons which remain at Westminster, May 23. 1643.

2. S A M. xvi. 21.

And Achitopel said unto Absalom, goe in unto thy Father's Concubines, &c. and all Israel shall beare that thou art abhorred of thy Father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong.

T H E purpose to impeach the Queen of Treason was no new devise occasionally taken up by chance, but a design which had been plotted and concluded on before her coming into *England*. For no sooner had they heard that she was in readinesse to depart from *Holland*, and that some ships of hers were already landed under the conduct of *Van Trump* Admiral for the States General of the united Provinces, but to prevent her landing, or destroy her person, it was ordered by the Committee for the Safetie, that if the Queene or any of her ships put into *Newcastle*, their foure ships which lay hovering on that course of purpose, should either hinder them from coming in, or else give them battell. But then upon a Supposition she might come too strong, either to be intercepted or kept from landing, it was proved at the same time also that a strict inquisition should be made into all her actions while she was in *Holland* (concerning which they had before devised and published many foolish Pamphlets) and that according to such information as should come from them, an impeachment of High Treason should be drawn against her at her coming over; which proposition was laid by at the present time, not so much out of any due

due respects to the King or Queen, but because, as one of them affirmed, the times were yet unripe, and themselves not ready for so great a business.

Afterwards having taken *Reading*, and finding that their Armie under Sir *William Waller* had run over the West, and fallen into some parts of *Hereford* and *Glocestershires*, the Proposition was resumed, and the project followed; which they thought fit to venture first in generall terms, and not to specify the particular which they aimed at most. For upon *Thursday May 18.* Mr. *Pym* brought up a Vote from the Lower House, that all Papists whatsoever which had assisted the King in the present warre against his Parliament with Money, Men, Armes or Horses, should be impeached of High Treason. At which the Earle of *Holland* stumbling in regard there might be some intention to include the Queene under the Generalitie of that expression, the Earles of *Essex*, *Bullingbroke*, *Manchester*, the Lord *Say*, *Rockfort* & *Wharton*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* being of Counsell in the Plot, severally declared themselves, affirming that they sawe no reason why she should be excepted, in regard she had been such an active instrument in furnishing the King with all things necessary to pursue the warre: the Earle of *Essex* not sparing openly to say she was the cause of all our miseries, and therefore most especially to be proceeded with all. But in conclusion, to please the more moderate Lords, it was ordered that the word *Whatsoever* should be left out of the Vote; and a verbal Declaration made that they intended not to include the Queene in the Vote at all. Which declaration how it edified in the House of Commons, will appear fully by a letter sent from a Member of that House to a friend of his; and is this that followeth.

A COPIE of a Letter from a Gentleman in the House of Commons concerning the proceedings of that House against the Queen's Majestie.

S I R,

YO U have heard formerly from some other hand what dangers the Queen hath suffered when she was at Sea, and what she suffered at her landing: And now shall receive from mine, a true report of greater dangers threatened to her, then those she scaped at Sea, or upon the Shore; which is briefly this.

This day being *Tuesday May 23*, hath produced the design of the Lord Generals coming hither, introduced at it were by an Accident, on occasion of one of the *Marleburgh* Prisoners that hath escaped and was examined this morning at the Barr, relating such extream severitie and *Turkish* usage (as his words were) of the Prisoners with you, that many perished for want of water and other necessaries; which was sent up to the Lords to be examined upon oath, and to be published. On which occasion Mr *Salleway* Knight for *Worcestershire*, moved that this crueltie proceeding all from Papists and Popish Counsels, they might forthwith proceed to the impeachment of all the Papists, even of the greatest which he did not feare to name, the QUEENE: who (as the boy of *Athens*)

Athens) ruled the King, and the Jesuites ruled her, and she was the fountaine of all these troubles. *Darley* seconded forthwith to impeach her. *Strode* moved to treat with her as a friend to reconcile all differences, or to impeach her to disable her from doing them injury. *Pym*, that all the danger and mischief which hath befallen this State hath proceeded from her, all from beyond Sea, both before and since the Parliament; and that there is no want of evidence against her: witnesse her known sending in of forreine aids of arms, munition, money, men, and coming over, and being in the head of an Army against the King and Parliament; and they ought not to fear to impeach her, for fear had undone all their business, and it was now time to lay it aside, and she to be forthwith impeached of Treason. *Rows* and *Sir Nevitt Pool* added her pawning the Jewels of the Crown; *Sir Arthur Haselrig* her countenancing and protecting of Traytors; *Sir Peter Wentworth* agreed to have her forthwith impeached, being high time to lay the Axe to the roote, as she was, of all their calamities. *Mr. Wheeler* moved they might proceed more advisedly in so great a business; their over-hasty impeachment of diverse, as the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Justice *Berkeley*, and others, before they had fully considered of the facts and offences, had much disadvantaged the affairs, and disreputed the honour of the House, for which he was in danger of being questioned, but passed over. *Sir Robert Harlow* and *Mr. Pym* again moved to impeach her forthwith, and to desire that a Proclamation might be also forthwith made for her appearance. *Sir Henry Ludlow* moved a learned doubt, viz. if they meant to proceed by Bill, he thought they would hardly get the Royall Assent; if they impeached her in the way of Ordinance, they should be Parties and Judges. *Sir Gilbert Gerrard* for present impeachment: and *Mr. Martin*, that they should not fear the dignitie of her Person, for he knew no person so high (he excepted none) but was subject to the Law; and would not have her impeached by the name of Queene, but of HENRIETTA MARIA, wife to the King. *Mr. Maynard* moved that it might not be proceeded in, being inconvenient now when there was an overture of peace, and dangerous from abroad in regard of her great alliance. *Mr. Waller* seconded it most rationally, and that now it was most unseasonable, a rejection of all means of peace, and a sentence to fight it out to the last man; whereas we were bleeding already to fainting, fitter to be stanchd then more let out: and it would be so far from subduing the Papiſts, that whereas they were now under Law, if the sword should decide the question, the sword would be the Law; and this day, being yesterday, appointed to consider of the waies of peace, this was a strange if not an ill one to it, and a going from it to war. *Mr. Pym*, it is the fittest time now to do it, and will be a proper part of our Answer to yesterday's message, to shew the cause of all our obstructions to peace, and declare our hearts plainly, and so it may be for her and our good, and the most effectual way to peace. *Mr. John Potts* moved it might not be now, because it would make *France* our Enemy, and bitter any message we shall send to the King. *Mr. Whitlock* would not have it now, because it takes away all the hopes of peace, and leaves all to be ended by the sword; would
bring

bring in foreign force and all her alliance to destroy our peace; and no vote of ours can secure our Religion or Peace, but the sword, if this proceed, must do it. Mr *Martyn*, she hath been the cause of all our Idolatrie, and now we shall make her an Idoll to us. Mr *Jephson* would not have it now, for it would be understood a deniall of peace: *Strode*, no peace rather than a massacre, which will follow if we secure not ourselves, which no faith nor promise of theirs will do, they holding it lawfull to break faith with us Hereticks. Mr *Bagshaw*, her Majesties actions are no levying of war against the King, within the Statute of 25 *Edw. III.* Sir *John Holland* seconded him, adding, it would put all to the triall of the sword, and so hazard or lose all, for what that got, must and would be maintained by it. *Long*, Sir *William Armine*, and Mr *Glynn* for present impeachment, thereby to weaken their Enemies. And so voted, that the Queene had levied war against the Parliament and Kingdom (not naming the King but as included in these two words) and 2dly, that *Henrietta Maria* Queene of *England* shall be impeached forthwith by the House of High Treason: and accordingly, about one o'clock, Mr *Pym* carried up the impeachment to the Lords Bar, (who were intreated about twelve o'clock to sit till they came) there being not above a hundred in the House whilst the business was in agitation, and voted without division of the House.

Tuesday, May 23. 1643.

SIR, You may see by this, &c.

In the pursuit of this impeachment which Mr *Pym* delivered (as it was observed) with great paleness of face and trembling of bodie, which seemed to argue an affrighted conscience, it was advertised by letters of the last of *May*, that some of the Lords had called upon the Lower House to send up their Articles against the Queene; and that it was replied by Serjeant *Wild*, that they were not ready for it yet. By other letters on the 7th of *June*, that on the landing of an Ambassador from *France*, the Lord *Say* began to wax cold in the business, and seemed desirous to wash his hands of the impeachment, protesting in the open House (which was strangely impudent) that he had ever been against it. By others of the 14th of *July*, that amongst other motives laid before the *Londoners*, to draw them on to the raising of new forces to continue the war, the first was, that it would bring on the business of the Great Seale; the second, that it would further and promote the impeachment of the Queene; which was the last time that this business hath been touched upon (for ought we know) their affairs beginning to decline, and the times being more unripe for the prosecution, then they were at the first making of the Proposition. When their affaires are in better condition, and the times more seasonable, we shall hear more of them.

A S Y N O P.

*A SYNOPSIS, or Contract View of the Life of
JOHN ARMAND, Cardinal of Richlieu, great Favo-
rite and Minister of State to LEWIS the 13th, King
of France. To be engraven on his Tombe.*

First written in Latin, and now verbatim rendered English.

*Quis leget hæc? —————
Vel duo, vel nemo.*

P E R S I U S.

Printed in the Year, 1643.

THE first thing requested of thee (O Passenger) is, that thou wouldest
blesse Almighty God, that in *France* thou maist now read these lines se-
curely.

Next, wonder, that He whom the Earth was too angust for when he was
alive, should be imprisoned in so small a space of ground, now he is dead.

When he had commoved Earth, he aspired to rule even Heaven itself; as
appeares by his arrogating to himself this *Symbolum*, or Motto, *MENS
SIDERA VOLVIT.*

And that thou maist understand what kind of Intelligence this was, know
that he was of a sagacious Industry, but unquiet; an Enemy both of the
Publike, and of his Private Tranquillity.

In a great Wit, by many revered, not a few that knew him, found a great
mixture of Madnesse.

He had a mind that was made worse by every thing, bettered by nothing.

He stood thus long; not so much through favour, as his power with a
mightie King: and was happy in the event of things, rather than in a pru-
dent manage of them.

Only, he was unhappy in the disfavour of Almighty God: For having
continually conflicted with noisome diseases, he was ignorant of the seat of
happines, which yet, to the rendring both himself and others unhappy, he
fought after.

Nor did he ever seem happy even in his own eyes, as not honest in the eyes
of those who called him happy.

He was vexed with two great tormentors of life, Choler, and Melancholly.
In the flames of the former, and the fumes of the latter he continually
suffered.

So

So that venome which he spit out to the perdition of others, he could not keep in without hurt to himself.

He outwent most men in Covetousness, all men in Ambition: A waster of the Royall Exchequer, but a niggard of his own Purse: Cruell if offended, but more cruell where he offended others.

By the conferrings of the Queen Mother he was made rich, by her plottings preferred, and by her power made more potent. Yet her did he deprive of the King's favour, of her liberty, of her estate, of *France*, and at last of her life, she being an exile at *Colleine*. And lest he should spare her when she was dead, he null'd her last will, and caused her Corps to lie five months (at the end of which, himself followed her) in her chamber unburied.

The honour of Monsieur the King's Brother he violated, and endeavoured to supplant even his Person.

He not only withdrew the affections of * Son from Mother, and of * Brother from Brother, but of * Husband from Wife.

Mariliack he caused to be beheaded by the greatest wrong: *Montmorancy* by the greatest right: *Cinckmart* partly by right, partly by wrong: *M. de Thow*, whether by right or wrong no man knows.

Some Noblemen he condemned to perpetual imprisonment, more to banishment: but those he drave from Court were innumerable.

He prosecuted many, lest they should hinder his designs. Nor did milder *France* ever behold so frequent Punishments.

Building upon the power of a great King (whom with a great deal of art and study he deceived) and suppeditated with the wealth of a most fruitfull Kingdom, he spent an infinite number of Arrows in aiming to hit the main Marke which he had missed.

A continual working and agitation of mind, backt with many mad attempts, together with a rigid severity, and an all-trying boldness, produced a few fortunate Issues. But he had soon been supplanted, if among foreign Enemies he had found some more wary, or among *Frenchmen* (scarce any of whom but were averse to him, had met but with one Adversary.

It well besteaded him, that hardly any body knew him, or believed those that did.

He was so fortunate, that those of the Nobility, as well as of the Army, whom he had irritated, did yet for his honour, shed their own and others blood, whilst himself mingled his with the Kings.

He had perished in the same design in which *Sejanus* had once perished, had he not taken out of the way (O grief to think on!) the Royal Count of *Soisson*.

Germany, *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, but especially *France*, will hardly be able in a whole Age to efface the bad impressions of so hurtful an Authority.

Taking pleasure in the miseries both of the Citizens and Suburbers, that he might fleece these, he lanc'd the very entralls of those.

* King of *France*.

Nor did he any whit indulge to the sacred health of the King, but disturbed that, whilst with anxieties and various Passions of the mind he wore out his own.

The Divine Justice first ulcerated his arm which he had stretched out against heaven. Next it took from him the use of his right Hand, which he had subscribed to unnecessary wars. His arm, eight months before his death, rotted, by reason of which his hand withered.

And yet (which is a sad thing) he that so plainly felt God an avenger, would not plainly enough acknowledge him.

This appears in that he more hotly exercised his fury upon his private Enemies.

In that, Death approaching, rather out of a politick Prudence, than a Christian Piety, he commended his Favourites to the King, more than his Soul to God.

In that, a few days before the Catastrophe of his Tragick Life, he caused a Play of his own devising (which he called *Europa Triumphata*) to be acted in the most Royal Pomp that could be (though himself could not behold it)

In that, being a Cardinal, he afflicted the Church; being a Priest, he shed Blood; being a Christian, he forgave no injuries; and being a Man, he yet would not remember himself to be mortal, even when the worms crawling out of his many Ulcers did admonish him to how frail and noisome a mortality he was obnoxious.

When by all ways (the most impious not unassaid) he had for the space of eighteen years prosecuted his private ends to the undoing of the Publick, he at length arrived to the ordinary end of Men, by a death to appearance peaceable, but more lingring then that of many, whom he had sent before him.

He died at *Paris*, where he had been born fifty-seven years and three months before.

Forfaking *France* and his own house, he seemed to endeavour the combustion of them both; of that, by an extorted Declaration against the King's Brother; of this, by a will framed to a * woman's fancy.

For the rest, nor did the Kingdom of *France* (being opulent) ever deal with any so bountifully; nor (being of a Genius impatient) did it ever bear with any so continuedly; nor (affecting quietment) did it ever part with any so gladly.

I assert these things openly which thou, (O Passenger) didst privily suspect, and in wisdom keptst to thy self.

If thou encounterest any one who still doubts, entreat him not to give credit to abused men, nor to corrupted flatterers; but rather to Me who speak nothing but truth, and that out of a conscientious sincerity.

And I would have all men persuaded, that the least justice is more acceptable to God, than the greatest power: that a name is to be esteemed, not for being far and wide diffused, but for being good; that to trouble and unsettle

* The Duchesse of *Eguillon*.

many things, is not to do much, but being unsettled, to compose them, more ; to keep them from being unsettled, most of all.

Prosperous wickednesses are by the multitude accounted for virtues : but do thou (on the contrary) think nothing more wretched, then such thriving impieties.

This egregious *Artisan* of cheats (*Richlieu*) deceived many for a while, and himself haply to eternity.

Who (alas !) shall reduce to order that infinity of things which he hath confused ? Who deemed of Peace, because it suited not with his turbulent brain, that it was disagreeable even to his fortune. From whence sprang those many evils which for these last fifteen years have so oppressed the Christian World.

Pray, that God would not eternally avenge it upon the Author ; who needed much mercy and many of God's compassions, amid his many and great crimes.

Do thou (O Christian !) seriously perpend, what a Nothing that is, which is subject to a momentary vanish : * *None of those whom thou seest clad in Purple, is therefore happy, no more than they whose part in a Comedy allows them a Robe and Scepter ; who having buskind and on tip-toes strutted it before the staring Spectators, as soon as they come to their Exit, are un-pantoffled, and return to their own stature.*

Furthermore, see how small an Ash-heap he now is, who once was so great a Fire ; how fetid a stream he now sends forth, who lately darted a splendor so coruscant, that every ones eyes was thereby dazzled.

I wish he prove not a Fire-brand to himself in another world, who was so to *Europe* in this.

Poor *Europe* now hopes for Peace, the fuel of her Wars being extinct.

I should entreat thee (O Passenger) to pray for Peace to this so mortal an enemy even of his own peace : but that I fear thou wouldst but trouble him, in wishing a thing to him he so greatly hated. Yet pray notwithstanding, in that thou art commanded to *love thy enemies*. If the Peace thou prayest for, reach not Him, it will return unto thy self. Such was the Commandment of our † Saviour ; in whom I wish thee Peace whilst thou livest, that thou mayst sweetly rest in him when thou dyest. In the mean time, *Farewell.*

* Seneca.

† Luke x.

*GRADUS SIMEONIS: Or, the First Fruits of
PHILIP, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, &c.
Sometimes Knight of the Garter: And now Knight of
Berkshire.*

*Presented in a learned SPEECH, upon the Day of his Ascending
down into the Lower House of Commons.*

In the first Year of the LORDS Freedome.

MASTER Speaker, and worthy Fellow-Members, I am now advanc'd into the Lower House; and am glad I can say unto you (as sometimes did another Worthie of this House) **BEHOLD YOUR KNIGHT.** I am not ashamed to be a Knight; my Father was a Knight before me: and why may not a man be a Knight *after* he is a Lord, as well as *before*? I am the first Knight that ever you made; Who should make Knights but you that have the Sword? I am a Knight of your making, and I hope I am a Knight of Gods making. I was born a Knight, and now I am chosen a Knight; why should we be not twice Knights, as well as twice Children? The Presbyterian Parliament made me a Knight Errant; I was then a Knight of All Shires. I think they were the great Levellers; for they brought me down to be a Spaniel or Pack-horse: they could find no use for me but to Fetch and Carry. I had *Hobson's Choice*, either be a *Hobson* or nothing. I was then a plain ordinary Post, but I thank God you have made me a Knight o'th' Post.

Mr. Speaker, I have been Knight o'th' *Bath*, and Knight o'th' Garter, and all manner of Knights; I have been dubb'd so often, that I am now fain to wear a Periwig. You may dub me what you will but a Lord *Capel*; I would be any thing but a Saint or a Martyr.

Mr. Speaker, I am not very good at Speeches; but I had rather make twenty i'th' Lower House, then one upon the Scaffold.

Mr. Speaker, Reformation goes backward, and Crabs go backward, all things go backward, and why should not I go backward? Now is the time o'th' year (you know) for Lobsters. I had rather have gone forward, but we must all go that way the Devill drives. I would still be growing, though it be downwards; why should not old Lords as well as old men be Cows-tails? I was always a Dunce you know; I used to learn my Lessons over again i'th' Horn-book; and why may I not do it so i'th' Heraulds-book? For a Lord to turn Knight is only to wear his coat the wrong side out. It's a hard world now; Lords may be forced to turn their cloathes. Had I not been a Knight,
I must

I must have been nothing. I was (I knew) at a losse in my Lordship, and I learnt of my hounds to hunt counter, and cast about. Would you not have me (Mr. Speaker) have as much wit as a hound? None took me for a Lord, but only some silly people like my selfe.

I am sure on't, I have nothiug to shew for't but a Star; a Horse, for ought I knew, was as noble a beast as my self; a Star is but a Star, whether it be worn in ones forehead, or upon ones shoulders. If there was an Earle of *Pembroke*, 'twas my Cloak was guilty, not I. I ne're was so much a Gentleman but only while I swore. Since I left my Oathes, God confound me I am no more noble than any Colonel i'th' Army. All my Titles of Honour were but nick-names to me; my long Bill only made me a Woodcock, and now I have a short one, 'twill perhaps make me but an Owle. My name was so long, I had much ado to remember it. What profit do Titles bring in? 'tis a far deal better I hope to be Knight of a *Shire*, then a Knight of a *Garter*; and a *Rope* with *Gregory* at it would become me as well (I think) as a *Blew Ribbon* with a *George*.

Mr. Speaker, I have been sick o'th' *Nobility* ere since my Lord of *Holland* wore a night-cap. Pray God a man may be a *Knight* in quiet. I can as well ride with two Horses, as six. Ile go on foot, or any thing, rather then be carted with one.

God dam me, Mr. Speaker, I was curst (I think) to be made an *Earl*. The Devil did it to have me *beheaded*; and I had rather be *banged*, if I must die; that's a dogs death (Mr. Speaker) and you know I love Dogs. I would I had been a *Brewer*, or a *Cobler*, or any thing but a Lord.

Mr. Speaker, pray move it that *Michael Oldsworth* may be Earl of *Pembroke*, I have been Lord long enough a conscience. *Michael* is a man of understanding; *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* may be *Welsh* for ought I know. He has made me a *Knight*; and, what can I do lesse than make him a *Lord*? He made me a *Presbyterian*, and he made me a *Visitor*: and now he has made me as good a Member as himself. He makes my Speeches; and I think I have as good Speeches made for me, as any Lord i'th Kingdom. He can make me an *Independent*, or a *Leveller*, or any thing as occasion serves. God dam me, he is the best maker that ere I had.

Mr. Speaker, I was once i'th' *Tower*, you know, and must have gone to *Tower-hill* but for him; and what a mad Earl should I have made with my head off? Some say, I am none of the wisest now it's on; I have been alive this seven years, and you know many a wiser man than I hath gon to pot: They talke of the *Bishop*, and *Deputy*, but and if they were wise, I thank God I am a fool.

All Religion is good (Mr. Speaker) and why should not all kinds of Religions be good too? We cannot have too much Religion; and how can we have too many? I loved the *Common-Prayer*, the *Letanie* served me for swearing. I love *Presbyterie* too; you know that brought the *Covenant*; and we had no swearing a long while before. I love the *Independent* too; why should we not have a pack of Religions, as well as a pack of Dogs? I hope both Presbyter

byter and Independent will concur and agree; a man may be *both*, I think, as well as *either* of them. I can be any thing, and I can be nothing, in a *Parliamentary way*. Though I am a poor Christian, I thank God I am a contented one. I can be a Lord when I can; and I can be a Knight when I otherwise chuse: I am not such a Fool, but that in these times I can be a *Changeling* too. *Michael Oldsworth* will instruct me, and I am not such fool neither, but to do as I am bid. If there should be a *King* again, I shall, perhaps, be begg'd for a *Fool*, but till then I am not such a fool as to be a *Beggar*. I'll be a *Leveller* so I may keep my own Estate; we shall not be *Levellers* I hope (Mr. Speaker) among ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, I think I can Vote as well as any man: though I am a goose I can cackle. *Michael Oldsworth* and I shall carry it whate'er it be; when he *opens* I shall *gape* I warrant; and I hope we are enough to set the rest a *yawning*. I hate division; when I am hunting I love a full cry, I am no stragler; I shall never leave you till you turn me away. I had not left the House of Lords, had it not left being a House of Lords. 'Twas all a poor *COBWEB* could do, to hang till the House was blown up. Had I *hung* any longer, I might have been *hang'd* for ought I know. But I can be a *Cobweb*, Mr. Speaker, i'th' *Lower House* as well as in the *Upper*. A *Cobweb* may be any where but in *Westminster-hall*.

The *Upper House* has been *Visited* as well as *Oxford*; there are more *Earls* of *Pembroke* (it seems) beside my self. *FAUX* had like to have blown it up, but hang him *Traytor*, he would not have done it in a *Parliamentary way*. IN A *PARLIAMENTARY WAY*, I say: I'll speak no *Treason*, Mr. Speaker, that's as bad as flinging *Standashes*. I could never see *Faux* his head, God forgive me, but mine akes presently. I do what I can to keep it on; and yet I am afraid one time or other 'twill be loose i'th' hilt. 'Tis a scurvy one, but 'tis better then none. Should I want my *Head*, how should I do to wear a *Periwig*? Let 'em take my *Arms*, so they leave my *Head* safe. Let 'em take *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, so they leave *Philip* and *Herbert*; and let 'em take them too, so they leave *Me*. I do not stand upon names: My good name was gone long ago; and yet I thank God I am alive, and keep *Hounds* still. One may be a *Parliament man* I hope, without a name; and a *Knight* without a name.

I shall do excellent well in a *Representative*. I know I can sit as like an *Image* (though I say't, Master Speaker) as the best i'th' House. I shall sit still, till you make a new *Oath*: A fresh *Oath*, Mr. Speaker, in my judgement would do very well; but I would have it contrary to all, for only *Variety* is pleasing to all men.

And now, Mr. Speaker, that I am speaking of *Oaths*; I remember when I was sent by your Order to undoe the University of *Oxford*, according to the Duty of my Place, which I hold there as *Chancellor*; I met with some troublesome *Scholars* which talked to me of *Conscience*: They could not swear, and forswear themselves (forsooth) because of *Conscience*. Their *Conscience*, they said, would not suffer them

Mr.

Mr. Speaker, My first Motion therefore to this Honourable House, is, That it may be put to a Vote, whether or no there be any such thing as *Conscience*: Or, if there be, that then an Act may be made by this House, that no man may be allowed to keep a good Conscience but the wicked Cavaliers.

For alas! Mr. Speaker this Conscience is good for nothing but to make a man a Beggar. Would I have been troubled with it, I had been as poore as any o'th' Kings Lords are now. 'Tis easier keeping two or three packs of Dogs, then one good Conscience, and yet *Oat-meale* is very dear now God knows.

Mr. Speaker, I hope 'tis not unlawfull to keep Dogs; Keeping Dogs, Mr. Speaker, is no swearing. I love Dogs, and I love the Parliament; I may love Dogs, and yet not love Kings; I must love Dogs now, Mr. Speaker, for else why was I chosen Knight of *Barkshire*?

Prince CHARLES His Gracious Resolution concerning the present Affaires of this Kingdome, presented to His sacred Majesty by Doctor Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, in a Speech delivered in the Princes behalfe, for a sudden Accommodation of Peace between his Majesty, and his High Court of Parliament.

First printed at OXFORD by *Leonard Lichfield*, and now reprinted at LONDON for *John Rivers*.

MA Y it please your sacred Majesty, I am by the commands of that lively Image of your Royall virtues, your gracious Sonne, our hopeful Prince *Charles*, first to make an humble tender of his duty to your Majesty, and then to remonstrate to your supreme wisdom the Sense his Highnesse hath in these so tender yeers of the calamitous and intolerable afflictions that march as it were *magnis Catervis*, through your Majesties Dominions, and the resolutions his gracious desire hath fixt on (with your Majesties favourable allowance) for their sudden cure and remedy: your Highnesse was pleased in his infancy to commit the Prince, the darling and little eye of this Kingdome, to my tuition, and without arrogating any thing to my owne paines (in that *absit jactantia verbis*) I must assure your Majesty in his very disposition then appeared the true character of Royaltie, written by the hand of nature in the faire Table of his mind; and though *velle & nolle* was not then in his reach, it being not capable in so young years of the use of reason; yet that strong propension was in his soule to good, that he appeared in all his actions as if he had been moulded for the Sovereignty and Empire of the world. And those

those childish and gentle vertues once meeting (as now by his age they have done) with the guidance of reason and discretion, how incomparable and admirable they will grow, to the joy of the whole kingdome, and comfort of your Majesty, may be conjectured by this, that he does with so much tenderness and grief resent the distractions and dissensions, teeming in every place of your Majesties dominions, and with much earnestnesse, beseech your goodnesse to accept from me his intentions and resolutions concerning the composing these differences, which certainly have not been infused into the Prince his Highnesse, by any counsels or perswasions of mine, or any other that attend his gracious person, but are meerly the issues of his own *Minerva*, the conceptions of his excellent and encreasing fancy. He is not ignorant (as sayes his Highnesse, and so injoynd me to informe your Majesty) that the injuries and disobediences which have been attempted against your Royal dignity, by divers of your subjects, ought not to be put up without punishing the offenders: but his Highnesse humbly beseeches you to make more use of your mercy then justice; and surely in that (under your Royal pardon) the judicious infant hath delivered that which heaven commands, and commends to Rulers of the Earth; namely, to shew mercy, I will shew mercy to the merciful; but your sacred goodnesse is so well skilled in all the works of mercy, that it does appeare a needles labour in his Highnesse to incite your disposition to that which is already as inseperable to your Royall nature, as is your reason. The particular, if it please your Majesty, in which His Grace implores (for his sake) your compassion, is, that you would graciously be pleased to let no further prosecution of justice, or punishment, be used against the persons of Captaine *Lilborne*, and other of the Parliaments Commanders, now prisoners here, and by the severe Letter of the Law condemned to death, his Highnesse beleeving, and not without reason (the Parliament having declared as much) that whatsoever punishment shall be inflicted on them, the same will be extended to the persons of such noble Gentlemen as in your Majesties service by the uncertaine chance of war have been made their Captives. And surely my opinion in that is concurrent with that of the Princes: besides, there can be no greater ornament to Imperiall Majesty, then to remit the offences of their Subjects, especially when it is apparent they were not intentionall nor malicious offences, as my charity induces me to beleve these Captaines never entertained the meanest thought of disloyalty to your sacred person or dignity, but came into the field as it were in the Company, and by the examples of their neighbours; nor should a publicke crime be attributed to a few private men, such as these are, who having the authority of Parliament for their putting on Armes, believe in their misled Consciences, it was warrant sufficient for them to doe their endeavours in these unhappy Civill warres: For the general State of the Kingdome dissected into severall factions and distractions, the Prince hath oftentimes ever with teares bewailed to me and others the miseries which oppressively are diffused throughout your Majesties (his Royall Fathers) dominions; of which, though his yet budding reason cannot comprehend the absolute causes; yet he gives a shrewd

shrewd guesse at them, far above the expectation of his tender yeeres : he hath informed me out of his owne Genius, Royall Sir, that he conceives businesse have beene transacted between your sacred Selfe and your high Court of Parliament, with too much acrimony and violence, for as much as his small reading had informed his understanding, he had gathered, that the *English* Parliaments were the best and most necessary Counsellors of the *English* Kings, and then againe complained he was fearfull your Majesty had beene misinformed against your Parliament by some, who for their owne pernicious ends, affected the fomentation, and continuance of the dissentations, so prettily reasoning the causes and effects of these distractions, that in truth with much joy I heard his Highnesse, resembling him to that young hopefull Monarch of this Nation, *Edward* the sixth, who was indued with an inspired wisdom above his yeeres ; concluding with my selfe, that if that Kingdome were to be held unhappy that had a child to their King, how fortunate and blessed were ours that had a Prince, who, though in yeeres a child, was a man in the purity and solidnesse of his discretion another *Solomon* ; that (when heaven takes your Majesty from us) might sit upon the throne of his father *David*, and governe his people *Israel* with wisdom and equity : and surely we may believe, that heaven, as it hath conferred an eminent Dignitie upon Princes, transcending that of other inferiour persons, it hath likewise furnished and adorned them with more select and superlative understanding and indowments of the mind then are in other men.

But to his Highnesse resolution, with which he desired me to acquaint your sacred Majesty, he doth first resolve, that if God should please to take your Majesty from him and us (which in his mercy we all hope he will not) during the time of these afflictions and distractions, that he a childe should then come to a Scepter so incumbred, a Kingdome so perplexed and rent in pieces with civill troubles, that it were impossible for him ever to quench the wildfire of these distraction, which out of the confidence of his weaknesse, and the inabilities of his youth, would increase past his extinguishment, and so diminish the Royalty of this Crowne ; that he should be impossibiled for ever attaining to the full Imperiall State and absolute Monarchall dignity of his famous ancestors, a torture I know to the greatnesse of his spirit far more intolerable than death it selfe. Next, may it please your Majesty, he resolves, that if these bloody and inhumane wars run thus through the body of this Kingdome, that as their subsequents must necessarily follow, devastations, ruines of Cities and Townes by fire and sworde, murders of men, women and children by the cruelty and barbarousnesse of the souldiers, the utter extirpation of Gods true Religion and Worship, sects and schismes usurping the face of truth, and bewitching the minds of ignorant minded people : All which misfortunes he imagines are reflexive on his gracious selfe, as he is your sonne and (if God doe not for our sinnes take him away from us) must succeed your Grace in the Royalties of this and your other Dominions ; the townes or Cities that shall or have been ruined in these wars, his Highnesse accounts as part of his patrimony rioted from his inheritance ; the subjects your Majesty loses, he concludes

concludes might have lived to have been his, and believes that their decreasing is a diminution to his power and the abilities of this Kingdome. Finally, he takes to heart so all the evils which now overspread the face of this our earth, that they almost include his gentle and sweet disposition to an unwelcome melancholy: that it may prove prejudicial to his health and our hopes. And truly, so please your Majesty, if when your wisdom shall fully take it into your gracious consideration, nothing can be more destructive to the obedience which the Subjects of *England* (should the Prince ever arrive to be King) ought to pay his Highnesse, then the remembrance of these warres hapning in your raigne: the people who alwayes believe of time past according to the traditions they have from their fathers, being apt to credit that those bloody mischiefes were only occasioned by your Majesty, and so your memory will be nothing gratefull to posterity; and where they doe not affect the memory of the father, hardly can that various beast the multitude, ever be induced to love and reverence the sonne. Besides, should the wars continue, what insufferable daily miseries must this wretched Kingdome expect, when all places shall only be as it were, constant Scenes were Tragedies are daily acted; and for that Phenix, true Religion, which hath long beautified this Nation, if she expire by the malignity of these wars, we must not expect a new one will miraculously arise out of the parents ashes; a new one there may, but not a true one, it will rather be a Harpy then a Phenix, some strange compound of sundry schismes, polluting the beauty of the Church of God, or perhaps every man will be of his owne Religion, or else be of none at all.

And what a strange and uncouth metamorphosis this will be, your Majesty may judge, and so depress the Serpent while it is in the Egge, lest if brought forth, it grow up a Dragon formidable for its poysonous venome to all your Dominions. In the Princes name therefore, most dread Sovereigne, and by his appointment, and for his sweet sake the staffe and prop of your age, and the growing hope of this Kingdome, I am to beseech your Majesty to thinke on some way for a speedy Accommodation betwixt your Self and the honourable your High Court of Parliament. The Princely hopefull sonne intreats it, your Nobles hope and expect it, and briefly, as the maine support of your Royal dignity and the prosperity of all your Kingdome your people that bleed with these wounds, and groane under that burthen of war, implore it from your goodnesse; for all their sakes, in especiall for your Princely sonnes, for whom I am now imployed an inelegant Orator, great King performe it. And so begging your Royall pardon if the zeale I have to the cause of your Majesties service, have made me transcend my Commission, I beseech him in whose hands are all the corners of the earth, and the hearts of Princes, to give no lesse then *Methusala's* date to your raigne over us, in peace, prosperity and plenty.

MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS.

JUDICIALIS CENSURA; } Febris Judicialis.

Vel,

CURIALIS CURIA. } Sententia Navalis.

TRAGI-COMOEDIA LUTETIÆ,

Summo cum applausu publice acta.

Editio Secunda; accuratissimè revisa, castigata, & Præludi perquam
faceto decorata.

*Mensem terribili mandatur Typis,
Quo Stygii Judices appulere ripis.*

SCENA SMYRNA.

PERSONÆ.

1. *Eutbymius.* }
2. *Theocritus.* } Duo familiares amici.
3. *Heraclitus.* }
4. *Democritus.* } Duo Philosophi.
5. *Ægon.* }
6. *Althæa.* } Coloni rurales.
7. *Coriolani* flebile spectrum, amputato capite designatum.
8. *Claudius.*
9. *Cratippus.*
10. *Corticeus.*
11. *Vigetti* defuncti debile spectrum.
12. *Trivius.*
13. *Curvus Acilius.*
14. *Ioachini* defuncti formidabile spectrum.
15. *Hortensii* defuncti amabile spectrum.
16. *Antrivii* defuncti amicabile spectrum.
17. *Damocles.*
18. *Gliciscus Horologus.* }
19. *Chrysomitris.* } Pænales Judices.
20. *Brundusius.* }

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21. Pri

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|------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 21. <i>Primachus.</i> | } | Arbitres Consistorii. |
| 22. <i>Cambrensis.</i> | | |
| 23. <i>Manilius.</i> | | |
| 24. <i>Perdiccas.</i> | | |
| 25. <i>Euchrysius,</i> | | Clericus Curiae. |
| 26. <i>Roderigo.</i> | | Janitor. |
| 27. <i>Arietus.</i> | } | Smyrnenfes Cives. |
| 28. <i>Priscilla.</i> | | |
| | | Chorus plebeius. |
| | | Chorus consularis. |

AD LECTOREM.

Si alias alii sub hoc titulo Editiones publicis typis mandaverint ; mihi credite, de Sepe subolent ; ista Editio unicè genuina & germana ; omnis alia fordida est & surreptitia.

PRÆLUDIUM.

Intrat *Satyrus Palinurum* sequens.

Sat. **H**eus *Palinure*, perpusille, Theatricule, paucis te volo !

Pal. Perpaucis *Satyre* ; ne me detineas : moras ægrè patiar : imposita est enim nobis Provincia narrandi Prologum.

Sat. Prologum, mi parvule ! Quid puero cum Prologo ? Festina lentè ; Esto maturè cautus. Legas, modò intelligas hunc Libellum, quem prope *Regalem Bancum* transf-*Thamisium* hoc die sparsum invenimus, priusquam Prologum te agas.

Palinurus chartam legit.

JUDICES qui emunt locos,
Malos imitantur Coquos ;
Digitos si minùs lambant,
Circuitus quando ambiunt :
Principi si non affari
Concupiscunt terræ, mari :
Conscientiis vel gravi
Putant, eò ire *Navi* :
SCRIPTA timeant QUIETIS,
Calleat artes nisi *Sinon*,
Rector nunquam fiet *Sion*.

Astrea furens.

Pal. Quò ista ad nostrum navigium ?

Sat. Quà maximè ad navigii vestri naufragium, Alia à vobis agenda esset
Scæna, si justa poenas lucret *Judicis* sententia.

Pal.

Pal. Ista nos parum tangunt; universus mundus exercet Histrionem: quidni Histrionis purpuratum Judicem?

Sat. Flagellaberis verò si surgant.

Pal. Magis vereor ne flagellentur ipsi quando resurgent.—Sed ne mihi ulterius moram facias; ultimum Tubæ ediderunt sonitum, & Auditores expectant Prologum.

Sat. Prospice, profice, perfice. Nos interea in hoc Peristyllo Laureolis perpulchrè obfeto, liberè dispatiando, horulam impendere statuimus. “Gratior enim nobis apparuit Ambulachri arena, quàm Theatri area; Theatrum ambulachri, quàm Simulachrum Theatri: Theatri ambulachrum, quàm ambulachri Theatrum.

PROLOGUS.

SALVETE omnes lepidi Judicum Testes;

Purpurati Testes, aures arrigite,

Quot lites Judicum constant sub Judice;

Hic unum cernitis exulem finibus,

Hic alium variis agitatum fluctibus;

Atra sub virga alium tremementem,

Gregorii nodo alium pendentem.

Cardine verso volvuntur omnia,

Huc nostra spectat lacrymosa Scæna:

Sin Patriæ Patres contueri probos

Gaudeat, Consules proferemus pios,

Integræ mentis, Astrææ stemmatis,

Inclytæ stirpis, speciosi Ordinis.

Hi sunt qui leges publicas statuunt,

Bonos qui nutriunt, malos qui puniunt.

Isti sunt nostræ Ephori Smyrnæ,

Terræ si filii, vindices famæ.

Sedete! Iocis miscentur lacrymæ,

Lacrymis joci, Salibus facetiæ,

Ingenii nobilis castæ delitiæ.

Hæmonii claræ portus divitiæ.

Sedete! placidus sit vobis nuncius,

Iste Mercurius noster Britannicus.

ACTUS PRIMUS.

Euthymius.
Theocritus.

Euthym. Quid tam præpropèro pede cursum dirigis, mi *Theocrite*?

Theoc. An nescis quid in eo optimo morum ac literarum Gymnasio, instructissimo ac integerrimo eo *Primum, Procerum, Communium, & Infimatum* Consistorio, hoc die agitur.

Euthym. Privata negotia nos publicis planè alienos fecerunt; narra obsecro.

Theoc. Scito, mi *Euthymie*, quod hodie de *Iudice* sub *Judice* lis est. Conscripti illi patres, quorum *purpuram* semel coluimus, *febri* laborant *judiciali*, pro eorum *sententia*, in gravamen *Subditi*, gratiam *Augusti*, perperam prolatâ.

Euthym. Eheu! In quo statu confiti sumus; quando *Iudices* coram *Iudicibus* rationem reddituri sunt de eorum actionibus in terris!

Theoc. Crede mi *Euthymie*, reddituri sunt rationem, nec evasuri laqueum, ni *candidatis* eis ac *cordatis* Consistorii *Ephoris* apprimè satisfaciunt; de facili satisfacere poterint: Eos enim laciymarum ac litium languentis hujus insulæ plerique dicunt originem fuisse.

Euthym. Citò pereant laqueo, si injuriam attulerint *Iudiciali* loco; multò melius est, quòd pereat *unus* quàm *unitas*, luxurians *palmes*, quàm *foecunda* *vitis*. Quædam est crudelis indulgentia cujus mollitiæ, imò mole, omnis ægro-tans laborat *Respublica*. Hoc ego ipse semper asserui, nec minus expertum habuit *florens* nostra *insula*, malis parcere, est nocere bonis. Quinam autem isti?

Intrant Heraclitus & Democritus.

Theoc. Si eorum dispositiones enucleatè tibi narrarem, varios gestus ab uno affectu orientes ostenderem. Duo sunt Philosophi iridentes & illacrymantes rebus in orbe gestis. Ille *Heraclitus* compatiens *Scenam* agit; satur est lacrymis, homines errantes non citius suspicit, quàm eorum erroribus ingemiscit; humanum enim est humanis rebus ingemiscere. Iste autem *Democritus* mundum subfannat, mundum sequentium deridet stultitiam; hoc *Eulogium* in superliminare domus suæ inscribens:

“ Miserum me video, & rideo;

“ Infelicem te video, nec invideo.

Multi autem exteriùs gaudent, qui interiùs gemunt; ab ore rident & plaudunt, qui in corde dolent & plangunt. Ista de eorum colloquiis mutuò habitis illicò calleas.

Herac. O mi *Democrite*, quid rides?

Democ. Quia tu fles; quid enim in hoc spatio *Orbis* *Theatro* minimâ lacrymulâ dignum invenias? ubi *Servi* facti sunt *Domini*, *Domini* *Servi*; *Domini*

Domini capite amputato Servus exurgit : & in fellam Domini ascendit. Conjuges virorum exequias deflet, lacrymas fingunt, in eorum sepulchra defilire offerunt; priusquam tamen unus vermiculus subintravit amiculum ferale quo involvuntur aut funebres illi flores aruerunt quibus instruuntur : novos adire thoros, nuptiales accendere tædas apprimè didicerunt. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Ista oculis meis lacrymas eliciunt : quæ plura mi *Democrite* ?

Democ. Quæ plura interrogas ? *Diogenis* tibi compara lucernam, & ludibrii spectacula undique invenies. Ista in conspectu Principis admodum clarus, fruitur deliciis, eburneis distenditur lectulis, honoribus, uti oneribus, premitur, non quærit quod minus acquirat, nihil ab eo petitur, quo non potiatur, omnes conditionem ejus spectantes, admirantur, & felicissimum quod terra se extendere poterit, profitentur : unica interim nubecula omnes hosce eментitos radiolos uno die, minutissimo imò horulæ minuto dispulit. Princeps secessit, magni hujus Herois somnians gloria recessit : & iste Atlas, qui tantas moles, montes honorum dicerem, Herculeis suis portavit humeris, cum ignominia discessit ; Hah, hah, hah. Iste tamen Heros non citius periit, irrevocabile sustinendo fatum, quàm ab iis superstitem esse optatur, à quibus quamdiu vixit & floruit, acerbissimis inimicitiis afficiebatur. Viventem quem oderunt, morientem deflerunt, & piis lacrymis redivivum optarunt : sed Heroidum Capita citius adimenda sunt quàm redimenda. In hoc tempore multò tutius insipientem fuisse quàm sapientem; Sapientis enim cerebrum securi fit pabulum, insipientis securum. Visne plura ?

Herac. Perge, mi *Democrite*, istæ non gratiores tibi sunt facetiæ, quàm nobis nostræ erunt lachrymæ.

Democ. Plora ineptule, plora & quò ineptiùs plores, vide, quomodo parentes plerumque parciùs vivunt, quò filios prodigos citius reddant. Imo quomodo Naturæ debitorem se facit parens, quò licentiùs luxuriat proles. Progredere, progredere in hanc florentissimam Civitatem, circumspice, fenestras apertiores contuearis, & cerussatas facies prospicientes, fucò ad focum invitantes, omnia vænalia *Novæ Troiæ* invenies ; perlepidas damulas, basiolo crumenæ vincula solvantes : exit parens, intret pellex. Hah, hah, hah. Alios reperies Officia dimittentes, ni amitterent. Alios, *proprios* relinquentes *nidos*, ni unà cum pullis perirent. Alios *opibus rapinæ* affluentes, miserè exhaustos. Alios *alienis plumis* ornatos, etiam suis exutos. Hic Calones & Caupones à Sportâ aut Sutrinâ exurgentes, ac si *Regii* essent *professores*, pulsantes pulpita, nova depromentes dogmata audies, & doctissimi à plebeis tenentur Theologi. Cerdones Sacerdotes fiunt ; in Cœmiteriis sepeleri horrent, in publicis verò iis, quò defuncti licet, viatore instruant, si errent. Ne manus lavare possim, quin *Smeeticam* eam *Brunfieldii* effigiem in pelvi suspicio. Nec in Cellariam descendere valeo, quin *Abelli* Statuam vividam comperio. Imo ne corrigiam solvere potero, quin *Coriaceam* eam *pattentam* in memoriam revoco, & rideo. Homines enim nunc se verè *inversas arbores* ostendunt, convexos proferendo furcuols, inanes fructus. Et quò in uno contexam omnia, Stultorum plena sunt omnia ; omnia *Democriti* oculis ridicula.

Herac. Infimæ est conditionis de aliorum lætari incommodis.

Democ.

Democ. Rectissimè; hinc est quod me totum in cachinnum verto, quia omnia proprio laborant incommodo.

Herac. Talia interim in sua redeunt incommoda.

Democ. Et æquissimè, mi *Heraclite*; quis enim, si compos mentis fuerit, terrestrem domum non deferet, quò ad Cælestem dominum redeat? Ista autem dementes, *Elysios campos* in terris constituunt; futura parvi pendent, quò præsentia possideant. Diruunt, ædificant, vestes tineis, structuras ventis præparant. Hamum honoris non citius pendentem aspiciunt, quàm avidè arripiunt; quo faucibus hærente, meritò pereunt. Nec juvenilibus ista unicè efferbuerunt annis; licet enim, ut ille testatur *Siculus*, *Juveni senescere sit prodigium, Seni juvenescere ridiculum*: Incanescentes tamen hujus Insulæ senes, sepulchro appropinquantes, & eorum canitie si non sapientiam, certè auctoritatem & reverentiam exhibentes, maximis delibutos esse vitiis conspiceres, ita ut de iis verissime dici potest: æquè insenescent in crine ac crimine.

Herac. Mira canis.

Democ. Sed vera canimus de canis hisce canibus. Crines citius quàm mores mutabit lupo. Nec primos colores facilè amittet lana; nec infusos prius saponem testa.

Herac. Maxima autem spes tenet *Heraclitum*, quod nullos reperies senes in totâ hac Insulâ tam miserè, perditè imò delirantes, terrenis opibus *Elysios* amitterent campos.

Democ. Perge, & profice, mi lacrymabilis *Heraclite*, in dementiâ tuâ. Nonne multi sunt, obsecro *Bourboniæ* illius opinionis, qui multo citius partem in *Paradiso* quam in *Pariso* dimitterent? Hoc ipso die ista testantur *Iudices*, venerandî isti & Conscripti Patres, qui sub calculo judicii summo vitæ discrimine hodiè positi sunt.

Herac. Eheu! *Iudices*.

Democ. Imò *Iudices*. Eò igitur conveniamus ambo: Quamplurima enim ibi audiemus, tuis affinia lacrymis, nostris accommodatiora gaudiis.

Herac. Perlibentè eò pergam; ubi si *Iudicium* in *Absynthium* mutatum audivero, absynthiatos eos patres falsugineis deflevero rivulis, imò totum me in *Niobem* mutavero.

Democ. Age, ineptule, age. Hah, hah, hah. Totus orbis, universa febris; quot incolæ, tot *Monopolæ*. Hah, hah, hah. *Exeunt.*

Theoc. Sequamur, mi *Euthymie*;—locus est & pluribus umbris.

Entbym. Valde vereor, mi *Theocrite*, ista non concessa erit libertas eis qui alieni sunt Domus consortio; membra hujus celebrioris Consistorii non sumus, ergo minus admittendi.

Theoc. Parum te hoc moveat; nemo est qui gravi & composito aspectu, placido vultu, venusto habitu pollet, quin admittetur. Quinam vero isti?

Intrat Rurales, Ægon & Althæa.

Euthym. Rustici sunt, ut mihi apparent; simpliciore eorum colloquio arrectiorem præbeamus aurem in eorum enim palliis nil *Palladis* suspicio. Circa varias præsentis Status vicissitudines varia agent, eaque perlepidè, & eò lepidè magnis quò incultè.

Ægon.

Ægon. Nova, plurima nova tibi impartiri possum, mi *Althæa*.

Althæa. Quænam ille, mi Amicule?

Ægon. Narrabo tibi secretum, mi Melleola. *Triennale Parliamentum* habebimus omni anno.

Althæa. Quid istud *Triennale*? An spectat ad pascendas greges? colligendos hœdos? pascuales tuendas limites? depellendas gregibus lues? narra, quæso.

Ægon. O mi corculum, sufficiat nobis, quod *Triennale* hoc *beneficium* habebimus; quantum ad me attinet, verè fateor me penitus ignorare, an illud *Triennale* mas sit an fœmina. Novi autem quod de eo rumore in rure sparso, totam noctem in publicas pyras extruendo, sociales Cyathos propinando transivimus.

Althæa. Apage! Illud vocabulum me gravitèr urit, conjux iste meus, aliquando *Academicus*, nunc *Armentarius*, promisit se omni *Triennio* benevolentiam suam mihi solviturum. Et placidè gratias egi, interim nescivi, quomodo illud tertio unicè anno solvendum esset,

Ægon. Senio confectus est, quid de eo expectes? Age verò, & appropinquemus Consistorii portam, hoc enim die multa, eaque magna circa nostros agenda sunt *Judices*.

Althæa. An passuri sunt suspendium?

Ægon. Nescio certe; maximum verò iis imminet periculum; *Fibulas*, ut aiunt, *posteriora* faciunt.

Althæa. Quò illuc properemus? Talia Colonis parum competunt negotia: nec eis nostra quadrant ingenia.

Ægon. Eamus tamen; si nil audimus, quiddam fingamus; quo rura petentes audientium auriculis majorem stuporem adferamus. *Exeunt Rurales.*

Theoc. Nec minor nos audiendi petat fitis; quando omnes eò confluunt, ne texamus moram; adjungamus verò nos ipsos eorum consortiis. Communi malo, communi auscultandum est fastidio.

Eutbym. Progredere, penso huic proposito facilè acquievimus *Exeunt.*

ACTUS SECUNDUS.

Referato ostio, abdueto Sipario, Euchrifiſus Clericus Curie Codices profert; Judices nominatim accersit; Indictamenta legit; quibus perlectis, PRIMACHUS, CAMBRENSIS, & MANILIUS variis vicibus, varias quæſtiones iis proponunt; quibus vicissim respondent Judices.

Intrat Coriolani Spectrum, abscisso capite designatum.

O Semper astet vestris *Astræa* sedibus,
Obtestatur ILLE qui semel floruit,
Et hisce palmam cœpit Comitiis,
Ast præmaturo funere periit!

Justitiam singulis impertite *Candidi,*

Suffragiis gravibus miscendo lenia;
 Parcendo Judices meliores isti,
 Quàm quos punire semper urget ira.

“ Non solum Oleo sanantur vulnera,
 “ Vulnere crudo fundantur Balsama.

Vivat Rex, vigeat Consul gloria,
 Vincat Britannia; Coriolani vota.

Quem nec exæstuans ira communium,
 Atra nec virga, Securis, Theatrum,
 Fera nec mortis facies exanimem
 Fecerunt, cernite funere vividum;
 Felicem magis, morte quo miserum,
 Heroum superum cœtu conspicuum.

“ Valet omnia quæ spectant Terram,
 “ Mors mihi lucrum, meta sepulchrum.

Exit.

Consul. Chor. Dira sunt ista nostris ostenta sedibus.

At piis culta monitis, quæ unâ tenenda voce, tuenda voto.

Unâ gerenda manu, regenda motu.

— Ista sed umbris reditura suis,

Pergite Officiales.

Eucris. Heus Roderigo, proferantur Captivi.

Roderr. Quinam sunt primò proferendi?

Primach. Proferantur ordinatim, uti argumenta eorum tradiderunt; Ordinis ignorantia perturbat formam justitiæ. Primùm igitur à primis ordiamur: à Junioribus ad Seniores progrediamur Judices: sicut singultim errarunt, singuli in suorum accersiantur defensionem. Multò attentiores & æquiores invenient Judices, quàm se in *Navalem* eam agendo *causam* ostenderunt.

Cler. Janitor, deducatur *Claudius* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Claudie*; indictatus es nomine *Claudii*, quod tu in Termino Hilarii, 1637. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Domino Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic *Claudie*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Claud. Me in officio claudicasse agnosco; parum verò temporis me ibi remansisse norunt omnes: ut rarior igitur fuit culpa in parciùs errando, tenuior sit pœna in patiando.

Cambrens. Hoc verò in defensionem causæ tuæ parum proficit, si diutiùs enim affuisses, præfuissem imò purpuratis eis Subsellis, verisimile est, quod numerosior fuisses in vitiis; una vestrùm fuit culpa, una vos Charontis spectat cymba.

Democ. Quam lepidè claudicat iste *Claudius* in officio? Heus Charon, emercare servos; ardua tibi imposita est provincia, quotidianum tibi est pensum;— in te turba ruunt turbida *Judicium*. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler.

Cler. Secede *Claudie*. Heus *Roderigo*, ad pergulam accersiat *Cratippus*; leva manum *Cratippe*, indictatus es no mine *Cratippi*, quod tu in termino *Hilarii* 1637. contra *Reipub.* pacem, *Subditi* libertatem, *Conscientiæ* testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè, & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Dom. Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate sua solum judicare. Dic, *Cratippe*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Democ. Bovem in ore, vel craterem in gurgite habet ne verbum proferre valet.

Manil. O *Cratippe*, ne diuturnioris silentii finem facias; tace, define, erubescere. Nec te quicquam magis decuit, quàm tacuisse; pia vero erubescencia insueta est prævaricantibus pœna. Te obscœnis lucris semper fuisse deditum audivimus, pereas igitur laqueo, ut inhiasci lucro: corpus extenuans, quo lucrum extendas. Nulla te latuit occasio lucrandi, nulla te igitur pateat ratio pœnas evitandi. Quem enim in hoc Confluvio, in hoc instructissimo Circo habes, qui in defensionem tuam exurgat, aut in aliquo te justitiæ alumnus afferat?

Aut unus, aut nemo. Habuisti unum, sed tibi dissimilem, *Hortensium* nempe, tui consortem, iisdem subselliis piè assistentem, sed conditioni tuæ dissortem; Illius enim opinio in hoc *Navali negotio*, *Curvo Acilio* optimè quadravit. Non *Scripta quietis*, nec fulmina profugi illius *Chrysomitris* respexerunt isti. Famæ odorem titulis honorem præposuerunt; quam famæ gloriam qui negligit, crudelis est. Ille igitur *Hortensius* licet mortem appetiit, talem apud posteros memoriam reliquit, ut monumenta ex marmore, ære, ebore condita multò citius sunt peritura, quàm ejus inter *Britannos* peritura est memoria.

Cratip. Non inficior me reum esse; Vestro tamen candore leniatur censura. Sin minùs, sicut una nostrum fuit sententia, una ad *Anticyras* vehat cymba. Latius extenderem vela, sed à plura loquendo me præpedivit angina.

Democ. Nescio an *Anticyram* ratio illis destinet omnem. Majores nostri domum pusillam, Rempubicam esse judicarunt: Isti vero totam Rempubicam in propriam domum, imò domus scriniolum contraxerunt.

Herac. O deplorata miseri hominis miseria!

Democ. Ne lacrymulam promerentur ista; Libentè eos insanire jubeo. Ecce enim quàm merita *Cratippo* irroganda est pœna! sicut vœnalem linguam habuit, loquendi facultatem tantoperè amisit, ut perægrè veniam delinquenti postulet, Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Accersiat *Corticeus* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Corticee*, indictatus es nomine *Corticei*, quod tu in Termino *Hilarii*, Anno Dom. 1637. contra *Reipub.* pacem, *Subditi* libertatem, *Conscientiæ* testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Dom. Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, Principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic *Corticee*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Cortic. Non reus.

Cler. Deprehensus es reus, liberet Deus.

Camb. Quam plurima tecum sunt agenda? Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ verò parum habes. Nemo paratior fuit in leges dicendo, ducendo imò & instar *cerei nasi*, ad omnem modulum componendo. Quò autem ista natalis festivitas? Genii & ingenii fatalis felicitas? Initianti sine *cortice* natum, difficile; cœpisti evolare cum *Upupa*, pubescente adhuc pennâ, testulâ capiti pendente. In *Circuitu*, præcipuè in *Ducatu Lancastriæ*, (eo tempore optimo illo ac integerrimo viro, Dom. *Farrington* vicecomitatus curam gerente) tyrannidem exercuisti; ubiq; te ostendisti fastuosum, eòq; omnibus magis exosum fecisti. Cætera enim peccata in malis operibus insidiantur ut fiant: superbia vero bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant.

Mille virtutibus affluens propter arrogantiam felicitatem amisit. Cætera vitia Deum fugiunt, sola superbia Deo se opponit. Imò quâ audaciâ, insolentiâ imo, te explosæ hujus *sententiæ Navalis* assertorem ostentasti, acsi ingeniorum tibi unice concessum esset Monopolium? Quò quisque igitur pertinacior fuit in vitiis, eò gravioribus censendus est suppliciis.

Si Schisma pœnam, Hæresis mereatur gehennam.

Cortic. Attestor superos, me & victurum & moriturum in eâ opinione, si tanti tam cordati & conspicui verè Consistorii authoritati nixus non acquiescerem; Tot enim codicillos, Analecta, Statuta, Annales perlegimus, ut si narrandi detur locus, vel argumentandi concedatur aditus, ista opinio nostra optimis munienda esset fulcris.

Camb. Cede locum; locum enim in laqueum commutaturi sumus.

Democ. Mecastor! Quò profuit facundiâ, cum vita laqueo sit finienda?

Cler. Heus Janitor, ubinam *Vigeti*?

Rod. Ne quenquam eo designatum nomine habemus.

Prim. Talem tamen habuimus, qui *Cortice* fratris sui opinioni facilè acquiescens, in nullo unquam ei adhæserit nisi in *Navalem* hanc proferendo *sententiam*. Se ægrotantem semper finxit, si aliquando argumenta proferret. Quando autem in arenam descenderet (argumentis in plateâ feliciter perditis) nemo unquam majore brevitate offenderit. Et in hoc unice sapientem se gessit, quod moriendo sententiam prævenit. De *Vigeti defuncti Spectrum debili* eo igitur verè dicendum est, quod semel *ver-* *gestu trepidans apparet & dis-* *navit*, ab antiquâ domo processit, in quo uno *paret*. laudabilis fuit, quòd patrimonium retinere magis quam augere quæsit.

Democ. Multi moriendo quàm vivendo sapientiores se probant. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler.—In pace secedat ad umbras. Deducatur *Trivius* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Trivie*. Indictatus es nomine *Trivii*, quod tu in termino Paschæ, Anno Dom. 1638, contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Dom. Regi solvendâ; nullâque eò impellente necessitate Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic *Trivie*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Manil. Quid obmutescis? an premeris?

Demos.

Democ. Quamplurimas opulentas compressit viduas, quid ni prematur? Hah, hah, hah.

Triv. In defensionem mei parum in promptu habeo.

Manil. Nec unquam habiturus; tace & audi. Hic ipse est, quo nemo di-tior, nemo legibus imperitior; profertur tandem in publicum, quò se nomini suo faciat Synonymam: licet enim cum Larvis parcius est luctandum, hanc tamen colubrem effigiare, hoc prodigium hominum vivis coloribus delineare statuimus, eaque brevitate, quò minus fastidii audientibus adferamus.

Democ. Astemus, & pictum hoc *Gorgonis* caput contueamur.

Manil. Iste *Trivius*, trivialis verè *Trivius*, fatur viduis, viduus gratiis: habens plus *fidei* in *arca*, quàm *sagaciæ* in *aula*; strenuo & sinuoso magis corpore, quàm ingenuo & ingenioso pectore, se prosperum ac felicem procum faciens ab aliorum thòris majorem medullam elicuit, quàm à pauperculâ eâ professionis suæ praxi unquam acceperit. Multum loquitur, parum sapit, & in voce cerebrum ponens; Oceanum verborum ne guttulâ rationis conditum proferet.

Triv. Ad capillum me descripsisti, optime *Manilie*; Inscium me prorsus Legis fateor, meque (ut cæci solent) fratrum meorum opinionibus nitentem. & eorum judiciis succumbentem, facile acquievisse. Ad hoc igitur clamat ignorantia mea, & ei parcite; miseremini mei, cujus ipse miserebitur Deus, INNOCENTIS scilicet.

Manil. Promptiorem mihi responsionem, quàm tu aliquid in tui defensionem excudisti *Trivie*; Ignorantia excusat à *tanto*, non à *toto*. Optimum tibi propositum habuisti exemplum, *Antrivium* nempe; nunc defunctum, & in pace dormientem; qui testante calamo, sublanguens adhuc in grabato, tali acquiescere noluit opinioni. Tu autem æra non solum in *imagine*, sed in *ærugine* colens, portiunculam substantiæ paci conscientiæ præposuisti. Sicut igitur mulxisti *viduas* te tuis mulgeat *Fiscus regius*.

Democ. Apage! mulgendus est Hircus. Inscitiæ suæ poenas luet iste *Ignoramus*. Quæ multi congefferunt anni, una dies ademerit; tot conjugum fortunas *Fiscus* hausit *regius*. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Nunquam prosperè succedunt res humanæ, ubi negliguntur divinæ.

Cler. Secedat *Trivius*, arctiore detineatur vinculo ne evadat; & clausam retine manum *Roderigo*, ni surreptitiâ merce libertatem acquirat.

Prim. Quantum ad te spectat, vir Spectatissime, *Curve Acilie*, constantia & integritas tua te patrem patriæ, Sidus Curia, generosum germen justitiæ, radio solis descriperunt; perennemq; apud posteros memoriam, nullius temporis exitu, nullâ sequentis ævi oblivione exarandam reliquit. Edentem enim livorem, facile vicisti, & in hac confectâ, peractâ imò ætate tua, in penetralibus viventium erexisti Statuam. Cui nullum superesse poterit gratius Eulogium, quàm MEMORIÆ CURVI ACILII SACRUM.

Democ. O quantum distulit *Trivius* ab isto *Acilio*? Iste ut leges apprimè scivit, ritè dispensavit; ille verò nec dispensavit nec scivit.

Herac.

Herac. In hac supinâ & torpente ætate, sicut gramen in puteolis, vitia ex eorum inertia succrescere solent; unde expertum habuimus, omne malum incurabilius esse in sene quam in juvene.

Democ. Si æquiore tamen indagine horas emeterentur suas, quanto senes sunt morti viciniore, tanto debent esse puriores. Nunc verò talis est corruptela morum, ut hominum nunquam magis terram colunt, quam cum exituri; nunquam minus Cœlum spectant, quam cum eò, si bene vixissent, perrecturi. —Tene latera, ni ex nimio solvantur Rifu. Senescunt juvenes, juvenescunt senes, Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Exeratur *Joachinus*.

Rod. Exivit de proprio carcere, priusquam nostræ traditus fuit custodiae.

Camb. Defunctus est. Et morti multa debuit, *Joachini defuncti Spectrum* licet enim *Delphicum* se *Juridicum* commonstravit; in argumenta sua callidè, vafre & implicitè *formidabili motu fluctuans, apparet & disparet.* texendo: & *Tytidem* se plenè gessit; qui huic & illuc fluctuans, an *Achilli*, vel *Hectori* sese adjungeret, levitèr hæsit, editâ attestans voce, *Quem fugiam scio, quem sequar nescio.* Eò tamen severiore mulctandus erat poenâ, quò ad palpan-dam veritatem major illius fuit solertia.

Democ. Sed eum de manibus vestris eripuerunt manes, & præmaturam mortem opportunè moriendo sustulit.

Cler. Proferatur *Hortensius*.

Rod. Iste nunquam custodiae nostræ traditus fuit.

Manil. Verum dicis, *Roderigo*, tam integer vitæ suæ custos fuit, ut liberum se vivens & moriens gessit; perpetuis igitur elegiis viri tam probi, & sinceri memoria deſlenda est. *Hortensii defuncti spectrum* *Honesti enim Judicis, & Alumni pauperis nomen e-* *amiabili vultu rutilans, ap-* *paret & disparet.* *meritò adeptus est.* In quo magis gloriandum fuit titulo, quam totius orbis imperio.

Invidiam virtute vicit,—& honorem funere nactus.

Herac. Quàm piis arbitriis bonorum signanda sunt Sepulchra!

Democ. Hinc ea originem traxerunt adagia; *Nemo malus qui non stultus; Nemo malus felix; Nemo sapiens peregrinatur; Stultus solus exulat.*

Herac. Verè ille, mi *Democrate*, peregrinatur, qui sese non fruitur.

Manil. Secedat, & exemplum præbeat.

Cler. Evocetur *Antrivius*.

Rod. Diutiùs evocatus fuit.

Cler. Ubinam apparuit?

Rod. Eò quò appulit. E manibus & manicis nostris *Antrivii defuncti Spec-* *trum amabili aspe-* *ctu ambiens, apparet* *& disparet.* longisper fuit emancipatus.

Prim. Quo jure? quo privilegio?

Rod. A mandato cujusdam *Herois*, morosi admodum & imperiosi; in portam enim carceris postquam paulisper præstolatus esset, se intraturum, velostium compagibus inver urum jurabit: tam torvo & terribili erat aspectu, ut metu percussus ei viam dedi; ut verò captivum tradidi, illicò à crine eum furripiens, disparuit.

Cam.

Cam. Inevitabili fato nullus est reluctari. Vir autem ille si ad ista usque supervixisset tempora, tam approbatæ fuisset in hac disceptatione opinionis, ut immunis evasisset, & confectæ ætati suæ tam feliciter transactæ Colophonem attulisset. Dormiat in pace, ut effloruit in luce; & eò pulchrius effloruit in luce, quò minùs efferbuit in lite.

Democ. De mortuis nil nisi bonum; sin corpore minus ægrotasset, in mente forsitan minus convaluisset.

Herac. Verè dicis, mi *Democrite*; Ægritudo enim corpus vulnerat, sed mentem sanat.

Democ. Quàm insani interim sunt isti, qui vegeto præstantes corpore, insaniant mente?

Cler. Janitor, deducatur *Damocles* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Damocles*, indictatus es nomine *Damoclis*, quod tu in termino Trinitatis, 1638. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia*, Dom. Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, Principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic *Damocles*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Dam. Neque me prorsus reum, nec innocentem fateor. Argumenta mea si quis adamussim perlegerit, me opinioni fratrum meorum maximè dissentientem reperiet. Non apertè enim talem Principi deberi Censum asserui; quò igitur moderatior nostra fuit sententia, eò magis lenienda est vestra censura. Nostra quibusdam circumstantiis præcincta, imo præstricta erant argumenta; vestrum sit igitur (Spectatissimi viri) ætati nostræ indulgere, rude diutius donatæ, nunc senio & curis miserè confectæ.

Prim. O *Damocles*, non ita evadas; nec tamen sine piis lacrymis deplorata tua spectanda est conditio: In rebus enim forensibus, optimam adeptus es famam. Bovem in ore nunquam habuisti; Clientuli causam, modò integram & probitatis fulcris innixam, strenuè & studiosè egisti. Imò, (ut nobis relatum fuerit) nil domi habes nisi rerum inopiam, foris æs alienum. Hinc egestatem tuam ipsius æquitatem apertiùs narrâsse asseruimus. Ista forsitan molliant & minuant, nequaquam adimant.

Herac. O paupercule Judex, nonne tua pauperies te immunem restituet?

Democ. Tace ineptule; iste insipiens præ omnibus gravissimas promeritus est pœnas, quando per tot annos, imò annorum series nobiscum floruit, primis subselliis incescit, tot lucrandi occasiones, uti pendulas escas, habuit, tamen instar Coci malè conditi, ne digitos paululùm elambere potuit. Hah, hah, hah.

Camb. Accuratâ satis indagine hanc *Lernæam canalem* exploravimus; nunc ad alias progrediendum est sedes; nec rariores nos in eis specubus inventuros esse colubres magnoperè vereor. Quo *Augæos* verò hosce *Stabulos* melius purgatos relinquamus, & nullus vel impudentiæ vel ignorantæ detur locus; quantum ad *Gliciscum*, *Glirem* potius dicerem; instar *Ciphræ* locum tenentem, parum verò pectoris retinentem, minùs *Astræam* callentem; Horologus yester quia fuit, O prætextati Judices, eum in Horologii custodem destinamus: parum habet

habet pectoris, lenior eò in suppliciis,

Democ. Quam arrectâ *Midæ* auriculâ ista audit.

Cler. Dominationi vestræ complacuit, quod ad alias Ephori classes descendamus?

Prim. Quò minùs? una pœna implicat, quos unus amor in crimine ligat.

Cler. Heus Custos atræ virgæ, efferatur *Chrysomitris*.

Cust. Excessit, erupit, evasit.

Manil. Ubinam gentium?

Cust. In aliam evolavit regionem. Nidum reliquit, ni in eo caperetur priusquam excederet; Et ab eo tempore in quo hinc discessit, inter *Gallos* (ut aiunt) cantare cœpit.

Manil.—O quæ dementia cepit! O quàm vividè indigitat illa *Chrysomitrem* sententia, *Malum consilium consiliario pessimum!*

Cust. Relicto Consulari ordine, militiam exercere dicitur, & nuperrimè proditum est, se ex injuriâ sibi illatâ fortissimi pugilis officium præstitisse: inimicum enim inermem reliquit, seque non minùs *fortem militem* quàm *facundum Rhetorem* narravit.

Camb. Quàm plurimas, easq; pereximias dotes illi contulit natura; quæ si condimentum acceperant ab *humilitate* & *gratia*, clarissimum verè fecissent. Superbienti autem nullum onus honore periculosius. Tam facilè mutant mores ut se etiam propinquis & familiaribus ignotos faciunt. Isti tumores mundi tam infuetâ rabie eorum perstimularunt mentes, ut infelicissima suorum conditio sese suis & aliis invisos reddit. Optimè igitur magistratus magistratu acquiritur; nec ulli digniùs impertiendus est, quàm ei à quo minimè vel tepidè requiritur. Optimè hoc monuit, qui dixit, “Renuenti detur, annuenti denegetur. Diu autem iste *Chrysomitris* in exterâ regione niduletur, priusquam revocetur, satis domi talium Saluatorum habemus: talis ominis aves tenerè nimis lactavimus. E nostris exeant oris, & tardè redeant, ne Matrem à cujus uberibus pendebant, perimant. Quo autem in uno arctius contexamus omnia; nemo se unquam magis ingratum *Chrysomitre* gessit. Principi enim, cui nemo devinctior, ea imputavit quæ ipse fecit. Quando fortis & constans animus mille citius perferret mortes, imò lepto aspectu (instar *Heroici* illius *Spiritus* nuperrimè occumbentis) mortis inexorabilis minas retorqueret, quàm Principi de se tam benè merenti vel levissimam maculam aspergeret. Sed discedat ille cum eloquentiâ suâ; quo nullus unquam *Judex* injustior, nullus *Custos* iniquior nec inopior; nullus *Solicitarius* impurior nec importunior. Intereâ nos ipsi, ne sub eorum calculo recenseamur, qui *Mercurium* in lingua non *pectore* gerunt; non tam accurate quàm, candidè non accordatè; non tam politè, quàm rectè & ritè de re omni nobis propositâ differamus.

Democ. O misera felicitas! splendida servitus! famam, fortunam, vocem, vultum, nidum & nationem ictu oculi perdidit.

Herac. O niveæ honorum pilæ, minimo intempestivæ mentis æstu resolvendæ! Quinam autem ille qui tam turgido & elato more prodit?

Democ. Ipse est, quo nemo in Republicâ meliorem adeptus est opinionem, priusquam

priusquam Magistratum obtinuit; adepto verò, nemo infelicius amisit. Sic —rebus mores cessere secundis. “ Bonus Causidicus, Judex pessimus.

Cler. Accersi *Brundusium* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Brundusie*. Indictatus es nomine *Brundusii*, quod tu in Termino Trinitatis, 1638. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Domino Regi solvendâ, nullâque eò impellente necessitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de necessitate suâ solum judicare. Dic *Brundusie*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Prim. Domine *Prolocutor*, parce paulisper, iste enim *Brundusius* acriore more tractandus est. Hoc confidentèr asseram, quod nemo à Republicâ pejus promeritus fuerit; cum se justitiæ antistitem omnes reputarunt, se juratissimum illius inimicum ostenderit, in talem famæ nævum, conscientiæ labem aspergendo. Vidit, & apertis oculis cecidit: æquum novit, & iniquum egit; meritò igitur periit. Si enim, ut *Trivius* ille, Legum ignarus fuisset, in defensionem suam aliquid proferri poterit: contra expertissimam verò scientiæ suæ normam sententiam dare, ô piaculum!

Brund. Ingenuè fateor; nec minus ingenuum candorem vestrum obtestor, me leniore eo ac molliore susurro *Chrysomitris*, partim blandientis, partim comminantis, *Navalem*, novalem, imò meam tradidisse sententiam. Dixit enim *Chrysomitris* (quo nemo, ut optimè nostis, in artificium benevolentiae colligendo, nec in persuadendo feliciorem artem unquam habuit) me tali sententiæ in gratiam Principis vel acquieturum, vel honorem meum amissurum; imò *Scriptum quietis* ad summam mei ignominiam perpeffurum.

Prim. O deliria senilis avaritiæ! vestrumne fuit *Scripta quietis* quieti mentis præponere? an oportuit vos, quò propinquiores estis Sepulchris, eò terrestribus procliviores esse desideriis? pedem habere Sepulchro appropinquantem, & mentem habere mundo inhiantem? O si pensaretis quàm parum naturæ sufficeret; & de eo parvo, quàm minimum senectuti vestræ competerit: multò levior de terrestribus cura multò altior de cœlestibus sollicitudo vobis incumbet!

Vos enim qui in studio Legis tantoperè claruistis, maximis omnium pœnis afficiendi estis: Speculum habentes justitiæ tam purum, tam integrum, *Curvum* nimirum *Acilium*, virum ætate confectâ sed mente vividâ, conscientiam inviolatâ. Eumque habuistis in *Exemplum*; sed (*curva* licet vestra fuerint vestigia) *Curvum* sequi renuentes, justitiam rectam in obliquam convertistis. Nostis, apprimè nostis, & in eo gravius vobis impendet judicium, aureola ea *Periandri* monita memoratu dignissima: *Nihil pecuniarum gratia agendum, Judicio favor officit*. Perit enim omne judicium, cum res transit in affectum. Nimius amor & nimium odium, omne pervertunt judicium.

Nec *Joachinus* ille nuperrimè defunctus, leviores emeritus est pœnas, naturæ verò debitum solvendo, Parcæ se eis perpetuum fecerunt debitorem. Implicitus enim licet & nodosus in argumentis fuit, *Gregoriano* tamen nodo iste *Oedipus* cum ænigmate suo, si minùs obstiterant fata, sese implicuisset.

Democ. Seni impostorem agere, quid obscœnius? Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Et hoc plerunque evenit, cum senes in terris posuerunt *Elysum*.

Prim. Secedamus paululum, Selecti fratres, quo maturiore adhibito consilio, sententiam in cujusq; noxam accommodatius reddamus.

Consistorii Secedunt Arbitres.

Intrat Arietus & Priscilla, &c. Smyrnenses cives. }

Herac. Quò ista mulierum turba confluunt?

Democ. Ex earum habitu facilè conjicias. Civiles sunt conjuges, delicatulae anates, quæ huc properant, quò fatalem hanc *Judicum* censuram audiant.

Herac. Eheu! an teneræ earum aures ista sine lacrymis audire poterint?

Democ. Credis omnes *Heracleti* mollitie esse compositos? toto cœlo erras? Isti mulierculæ fortioris sunt spiritus. Oculis enim ficcis, saltem fictè humidis conjugibus suis perægrè navigantibus longum vale valent dicere; Imò sepulturæ traditos subtristi ore, hilari verò corde contueri, & priusquam funebres extinguuntur faces, alienos in mentibus fovere ignes.

Herac. Miror verò quod magis hoc ipso die quam aliis huc convenerunt.

Democ. Ignoras causam? audi & acquiesce: aliis erant dies disceptandi, isti verò judicium denunciandi; & nosti foeminas *executionem* magis quàm *Judicium* semper amasse.

Herac. Parum ab iis expectandum est in Judiciis.

Priscilla. Intrabo certè, si enim *Capreolus* ille *Aulicus* in Curia sedeat, certè scio, quod mihi faciliorem aperiet *introitum*, ut egomet ei sæpissimè dedi facillimum.

Arietus. Pish, pish, mi Muscula, mi Melleola, mi Rosamella, quid tibi cum Curia?

Prisc. Et quid nobiscum Curia? Tace *Ariete*, tace *Cornelie*, actum est de amicitia, si mihi *Statio* non paretur in Curia.

Ariet. Medius fidius, nulla tibi cum *Aulico* fiat *Statio* in proprio loco.

Prisc. Fuit verò & fuerit mi *Penule*, si mihi displiceas.

Ariet. Absit, longè absit, mi *Lauricula*, quod talis generi meo aspergatur macula; talis fronti imprimatur nota.

Prisc. Quidni? An te primum eo initiatum ordine autumes?

Ariet. Nullimodò; libenter tamen nollem gerere nocturnum meum pileum juxta novum civicum morem cum patulis auriculis: nec cervica corneis ramentis suffertum somniare.

Prisc. Parum te ista moveant; prævidenda citius sunt fata quàm prævenienda. Si talia tibi destinentur insignia, ne relucteris: contra stimulum enim calcitrare, insipientis est.

Ariet. O indomita juvenæ libertas! Nonne ego sum *Arietaria* stirpe editus; de totius civitatis antiquissimâ *Corneliana* familiâ ortus?

Prisc. Quid inde? nulla tam venerabilis familia, quæ tali fato minùs subdita. Quo tandem istæ profunt nugæ?

—Heus, *Titille*, *Titille*.

Ariet. Quid tibi cum *Titillo*, pruriente eo *Aulico*?

Prisc. Ut facilius mihi aperiatur aditus.

Ariet.

Ariet. Peragrè tibi concedetur. In hisce publicis Comitibus nullus relinquitur locus foeminis.

Prisc. Quid ni foeminis? acsi nos minus *capaces* essemus! Invenient, imò probant, nos satis esse *capaces*. Ascendam certè quò attentius audiam, apertius videam.

Ariet. Quid audias? quid videas? quò, mi *Cunicula*, te tua rapit cupiditas?

Prisc. Videre *Judices* magnoperè cupio; dicunt enim (& fama an mendax sit scire vellem) eos in mentum ne plus habuisse barbæ, quam Simiam caudæ.

Ariet. Satis subtiles sine pilis apparebunt. Istud autem Tonforis officium fubeunt, quo in subfelliis terribiles magis aspectus induant.

Prisc. Imberbes istos juvenes molli lanugine pubescentes suboleo; Imberbes & imbelles verò senes, quorum pili stimulantés sunt setæ, parum sapio. — quinam illi?

Ariet. *Judices* ipsi quos videre tantopere concupisti.

Prisc. Eheu! Quàm frigidi essent sponsi? perpetuum habent stircidium in barbis.

Ariet. Tace, mi *Lepuscula*; quando huc veneris, & in gradus ascenderis, audi quid fiet de iis.

Prisc. Tradantur suspendio, parum me uret; valdè suspicor eos vix esse masculini generis. Irritum sunt genus, perfidum pecus, inimici generationis; facile pereant cum suis judiciis.

Ariet. Coerce linguam, mi *Anatula*, ni observeris.

Prisc. Obstructas habent aures, cœcutientes oculos, nec me audiant, nec videant. *Exeunt.*

ACTUS TERTIUS.

Abducto Siphario sericeo, intrant Arbitres Consulares, Consistorii præsidentes; Pænales Judices; Euchrisius Clericus Curie, Roderigo Janitor, &c.

Cler. **H**Eus Roderigo! proferantur Captivi.

Democ. Quàm universa febre languent corpora! Hah, hah, hah.

Mani. Astate *Judices*, astate; deploratissimæ conditionis *Judices*. Reos vos esse criminis cujus indictati estis non negastis; nec in defensionem causæ vestræ tam excordis & deperditæ, aliquid attentionis nostræ dignum proferre potuistis. Nostis, sat nostis, quod *Judex* in nullo eorum sit judicandus, quod in alio judicare est paratus. In quo, inquam, quàm miserè errastis? Illius enim criminis *Judices* fuistis & *Censores*, cujus vos ipsi extitistis *Authores*. *Judici* mercedem capere, fuit capitale. Sin tanta & tam gravis denuncianda fuerit sententia unius ob noxam, eamq; ad unicum spectantem Subditum; quale eis supplicium irrogandum est, qui totius florentis Insulæ Subditis intulerunt injuriam; Principi Subditum, Subdito Principem suspiciosum faciendo; novas contra conscientiae clariora testimonia, opiniones promulgando; Halcy-

oneos dies pacifici Regis, & morigeri Status insolitis nymbis perturbando; imò omnia pro viribus vestris in flammam & cinerem vertendo? Si tale incendium (ut Incendarios vos verè gessistis) non promereatur suspendium, quid æquius emereatur plane nescio. Lex primùm instituebatur ut sit *salus publica*, à vobis verò sit Reipub. pestis teterrima.

Mide Scænam vos omnes apprimé egistis. Fidei Commissarii in gratiam Principis & Pupuli facti estis; quam nec minis, amicis, prece nec precio estis violaturi: illecti verò spe præmii, vel Panico pavore perculsi, justitiam nudam reliquistis, & conscientias in vos testantes, miserè neglexistis. Sic victi pretio, vel metu fracti, interiore cæcutientes lumine, *Mide* vos ministros verè probando.

Omnes. Miseremini, miseremini, Spectatissimi viri.

Democ. Euge! *Versiculum*, quem toties isti aliis indiderunt Judices, ipsi coacti sunt nunc deprecari. *Misereatur vestrum Deus.*

Manil. Eâdem inensurâ quâ aliis mensi estis, remetietur & vobis.

Herac. Eheu! Ne minima hisce miseris relicta est specula, si compar eis pensetur mensura.

Manil. Arrigite aures & attendite; inter succisivas horas vos sæpissimè re-legisse facile credo, quomodo Germani, feliciore *Drusi* auspicio, *victi* magis quàm *domiti*; eoque defuncto, viribus innixi suis, *Vari Quinçtilii* libidinem ac superbiam haud secus quàm sævitiam odisse cœperunt: & quàm facilè victores evaserunt. Quod brevi transacto certamine, sese ut Barbarierant, efferos & crudeles victores gesserunt. Nec in ea grassante sævitiâ se ulli conditioni magis implacabiles ostenderunt, quam Consularis dignitatis viris, quia eorum facundiâ, vænali, ut putarunt, linguâ depromptâ, Romanos primum eos aggressuros, & lacrymabilis belli incommodis subdituros cogitarunt. *Varus* perditas res eodem quo *Cannensem Paulus*, & fato est, & animo sequutus; nihil illa cæde per paludes, perque sylvas cruentius, nihil insultatione Barbarorum intolerabilius, præcipuè verò in *Causarum patronos*: aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant: unius os sutum, recisa prius linguâ, quam in manu tenens *Barbarus*, *Tandem*, inquit, *vipera sibilare desiste*. Recoluisse etiam, vobis non incommodum erit, eum *Manium Acilium*, inexplebilem illam munerum voraginem, & inter Romanos præcipuum Legatum; quem *Mithridates* summo cum contemptu in Asinum insidere jussit, donec usque ad *Pergamum* venisset, ubi Elixum aurum in os ejus immitti præcepit; eò implicite Romanos censendo acceptioni munerum nimis deditos, linguis inimicitiiis nimis facundis. *Alex. Severus* hostis assentatorum maximus, Aulicum suum *Turinum* demandavit in publico foro fudi configendum, & fumo suffocandum, voce præconis acclamante,

Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit.

Præstat enim (*Antisthenis* verbis uti) ἐς κόρακας quàm ἐς κόλακας incidere; Coracibus prædam facere cadaverum, quàm Adulatoribus viventium. Insigne igitur prudentiæ specimen esset, vobiscum agere, qui talem Reipub. intulistis pestem, & ementitiis judiciis publicam imminuistis pacem; Sicut ille *Philippus* rex Macedo-

Macedonum, cum duobus Subditis suis, iisque pessimæ conditionis, aliquando egit. Alterum enim Macedoniâ fugere, alterum persequi iussit, quo facto, patria noxiis istis Parasitis patriæ fuit liberata. Utrique datur exitus, nulli reditus.

Brund. Est viri boni dicere, cum perdidisse potuerit, pepercisse, quàm cum parcere potuerit, perdidisse.

Manil. Malis qui parcit, bonis nocet. Attendite, quæ vobis denuncianda est sententia. Sicut leges Aranearum telis fecistis simillimas, & florentem hanc Rempub. nymbis & procellis distortæ vestræ opinionis, uti naviculum agitâstis; Nullus in hisce finibus vobis admittitur locus. Pergite igitur, pergite (talis enim est vestra definita sententia) ad fortunatas eas Insulas, *Arenas* appellatus, *Hibernico* tractu sitas. Ibi enim, si venenati estis, diu respirare non poteritis: Sin verò mores, uti crines, propositum vobis fuerit mutare; in iis Insulis aerem habebitis æquissimè temperatum, & corporibus vestris tam salubriter dispositum, ut perægrè moriemini, ni tale vobis fastidium adferat mundus, aut vos mundo, ut multò minus gratum fuerit vivere, quàm mori. Imò tantum temporis ex temperie aeris vobis concessum fuerit, ut residuæ redimant horæ, quicquid antea actæ dissipârunt. Irrevocabilis data est sententia, nulla à vobis neçtenda est mora. Paratur navigium, rudente, clave, antennâ, anchorâ destitutum, (vestri regiminis fatale iudicium) hoc charactere dignoscendum.

CENSURA CONSULIS, CYMBA CHARONTIS.

Judices. In senectute æquè ac hyeme navigare, grave est.

Prim. Nulla in Consortiis pœna gravis.

Democ. Citò abite, serò redite.

Exeunt Judices.

Tollite nunc fasces, fatis ulta supina senectus.

Sedes alma Themis suscipe, Cymba senes.

ACTUS QUARTUS.

Intrat Chorus plebeius.

Cho. pleb. **E** Loquere Domine *Pinner*, pro totâ grege tuâ; tu enim Conventiculi Oraculum es nostri.

Democ. Hah, hah, hah. O grex egregia! egregiè asinaria! Ignavum pecus dicerem.—nunc *Lerna* reclusit fauces. Exite genimina viperarum perfida. Hah, hah, hah.

Chorus pleb. Eloquere, Domine *Pinner*, eloquere.

Pinner. Sciant omnes per præsentés, (Viri & frates charissimi) quod tria à nobis veritatis assertatoribus, cæcitati temporum compatiens, zelo animarum ardentibus, & reformationi Religionis anhelantibus, præcipuè requiruntur.

Democ. Quam placidè nobis arridet phanaticus iste Religionis relegator? Hah, hah, hah.

Pinner. Primò, ut nullus sit in Ecclesia ordo; Secundò, ut omnes ritus, ceremoniæ, vestes sacerdotales, Musica instrumenta aboleantur in Ecclesiâ, Tertiò, ut nulla sit communis orationis formula.

Herac.

Herac. O quàm miserè delirantes isti Ecclesiam facerent acephalam !

Democ. Tace & audi, Apage ! quàm *arrectis auribus* ista *rotunda capita Pinnerum* oratorem suum audiunt, audiendo stupent ?

Pin. Sin verò prudentiæ vestræ æquius videbitur, quod Ecclesia fusciperet gradus *Majoris & Minoris* ; Hosce præpositos volumus esse *Laicos Seniores* ; ad quam quidem dignitatem sortiendam, nullos æquiores, nec ex omni parte paratiores judicamus, quàm venerabiles fratres nostros, Dom *Calcearium, Sportarium, Fibularium* ; (cui licet *Viridarius Demi-castoreus* ille, nuperrimè competitorum opposuit, in efficaciam sermonis facilè vicit, victorq; evasit) Homines reverà mediocritèr doctos, sed mirabiliter inspiratos. Ante omnia autem volumus, quod præcipiatis *Francisco de Sacraquercu*, Apocryphum illud *Episcopi* vocabulum dehinc cum asterisco distinguere, & inter verba obsoleta, in perpetuam rei memoriam, ponere. Quantum verò ad primum articulum querimoniæ nostræ attinet, sicut nullum planè *ordinem* in Ecclesiâ esse volumus, ita omnes (ut secundum petamus articulum) *ritus & ceremonias* perhorruimus ; quia quicquid antiquum, minùs verum credimus. Vestes Sacerdotales æquè in Presbyterioi, ut Sindonias manicas in Episcopò improbavimus ; pallum illud sacrum & superpelliceum, ut *Babylonicæ pellicis supparum*, subuculam muliebrem *Ægyptiacis laciniis, lenociniis* imò decoratum, delibutum dicerem. Scortantes isti Sacerdotes qui in linteis hisce vestimentis nobis poderunt, uti spectra è Coemeteriis prodeuntia apparent. Quantum verò spectat ad *Musica instrumenta*, ut *Babylonica tympana* semper æstimavimus ; imò ne *propria* verè diligere possumus *membra*, quia appellantur *Organa*.

Democ. Isti certè ad Pistrinum potius quàm ad Religionem reformandam censendi sunt.

Pin. Quoad tertium querimoniæ articulum, nullum volumus *communis orationis* formulam, ne Dominicam orationem ; *Spiritus diffidentiam* apertè innuit. Nec *orantes* igitur neque *prædicantes* paratos volumus habere Pastores, ex tempore verò loquentes, quò magis in se probent *efficaciam Spiritus*. *Turneri Symbolum*, & glossam ejus de *Communione Sanctorum* valdè approbamus. Et ut in uno complectamur omnia ; quæ antiqua, licet mille consiliis approbata, rejicimus.

Perd. Audite dementes, tritum sed facetum Rhythmum quem in Brittannicâ Insulâ semel audivimus. In eo Idiomate vobis reddetur, in quo accepimus.

Tack tent to my saw my Sonnes three

Rob. Will. and Dave.

Keep wele your pater and your Ave,

And if you mind your Fathers reed,

Stand close to your auld Crede.

But for my daughter Gillion,

I wad she were wele bolted with a bridle

That leavs her warke to play the Clarke

And lets her whele stand idle.

For it saws not for She-ministers,

Farriers nor furriers,

To descant on the Bible.

Chorus

Chorus consul. Mittamus nugas! querimonias vestras, Viri & Fratres, multo majore attentione, quàm demeritæ sunt audivimus. Quantum ad *Episcopos* refert, nudum & exanguem titulum perægrè reliquimus; justius autem censuimus rescindi *vitia* quam *officia*. Desistite tandem à deliriis vestris; quicquid commode fiat, & Ecclesiæ paci competat, ei maximè providendum est. Sin minùs *trabes*, saltem *festucæ* læsis oculis sunt removendæ. Non habent in se charitatem, qui non diligunt Ecclesiæ unitatem.

Ite domum, vos vestris intendite, nostrum sit communi inservire bnoo Principi, Populo, Patriæ. *Exeunt.*

EPILOGUS.

Statutum est ab Ædilibus, publicis ludis præpositis, quod proximo die (permittente Jove) Quintus Actus super Tiburem, Tiburnum dicerem, a nova societate Abellorum publice agetur.

Vive le Roi.

The Liberties, Usages, and Customes of the City of LONDON, confirmed by especiall Acts of Parliament, with the Time of their Confirmation.

Also, divers ample, and most beneficiall Charters, granted by King HENRY VI, King EDWARD IV, and King HENRY VII, not confirmed by Parliament as the other Charters were. And where to find every particular Grant and Confirmation at large.

Collected by Sir HENRY COLTHROP, Kt. sometime Recorder of London, for his private Use.

And now published for the good and benefit of this Honourable City.

LONDON: Printed by B. Alsop for Nicholas Vavasour, 1642.

All the Liberties, Usages, and Customes hereafter following, are confirmed by an especiall Act of Parliament at Westminster, Anno Septimo Regni Regis, R. 2. albo libro, 43. a.

Abrokers.

THAT the Abrokers of any Merchandize of this City, shall not be, except the same be chosen by Merchants of the Mistry; in which the same Abrokers shall have their exercise of their office, and the same Abrokers also

also to be sworn before the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, *libro albo*, 38. a. 12 H. 3.

Abrokecaters, or Brokers.

Brokers are to be chosen by Merchants of their own Mifteries, and they shall take their Oath before the Mayor of *London*, *lib. albo fol. 57. b. 3. E. 3. per Charter & Parliament.*

Acquittances of Murder.

The Citizens are acquitted as well for any Murder committed within the City, as within the Portfoken, *viz.* they shall not be amerced as they have been in old time, if the Murderer did escape, *fol. 35. albo lib. 11. H. 3.* so that the statutes of *English-shere*, *Anno 14. E. 3. cap. 4.*

Acquittances.

That the Citizens of *London* shall be for ever acquitted of pavage, portage, and murrage, through all the Kings Dominions, *lib. albo fol. 36. b, c. Anno 12. H. 3.*

Aldermen and their Election.

Upon the Feast-day of *St. Gregory*, yearly shall every Alderman be removed from their place, and new in their place shall be chosen, *lib. alb. fol. 42. a, b. 50. E. 3.* Note, that this is changed since by Act of Parliament.

Aldermens Goods.

That Aldermens goods shall be taxed in Aids, Tallages, or other Contributions amongst other mens goods, *lib. albo f. 36, b.*

Allowances of Liberties.

It shall suffice that one Writ in one Kings time shall serve in the Kings Exchequer, and in all other places for the allowance of the Liberties, *lib. alb. f. 4. b, 1. E, 1.* Learn for what cause at every change the City is put to so great charges, as to procure a new Confirmation. I think it be only for the profit of Chancery-men.

Amerciaments.

The Sheriff shall not be amerced for any offence above 20 l. *lib. alb. f. 34. Anno 11. H. 3.*

That the Sheriffs of *London* shall not be charged or amerced for escape of any Fellon, but as other Sheriffs have used on this side *Trent*, *lib. alb. f. 39. b. 1. E. 1.*

None shall be otherwise amerced, but according to Law used in the time of *H. 1. lib. al. f. 35. 11. H. 3.*

Aids and Contributions.

That the Citizens of *London* in all Aids, Grants, and Contributions to the Kings use, shall be taxed and contribute with the Commonalty of *England*, as men of the Counties, and not as men of Cities and Burrows, and that they

they shall be free from all other Tallages, and therefore clearly acquitted, *lib. al. f. 40. 1. E. 1.*

Bakers and Millers.

There is a Statute in *French* granted by the King for the punishment of Bakers and Millers, and tryed by weight, whether the Millers do deceive the Owners of the corn, and that *ob.* to be yielded for every quarter of corn that is ground, *lib. al. f. 42. b. c. 1. E. 1.*

Battaile.

A Citizen shall not be enforced to wage Battaile, nor shall in the pleas of Crown be tryed by any other Order, but only according to the ancient Custome of the City, *lib. al. fol. 35, Anno 11. H. 3.*

Bean-pleader.

None shall be amerced for mispleading, the which the Book calleth miskenning, *li. al. f. 35. 11 H. 3.*

Bridgemasters.

The Bridgemasters shall be chosen by the Commons, there must be but two, and they must be approved sufficient Men of the City, being no Aldermen, *lib. al. fol. 38. 12. Hen. 3.*

Buttlerage.

And of the Wines of the Citizens, no prizes or takings shall be had or made by any of the Kings Ministers of their heirs, or of any other against their will, *that is to wit*, of one Tun before the mast, and of another Tun behind the mast, nor in any other manner, but they shall be thereof acquitted for ever, *br. al. fol. 40. lib. 1. E. 3.*

Certiorary, or Writ of Privilege.

Note, That the King chargeth his Treasurer, and the Barons of the Exchequer, and other his Ministers of the same Court, that from henceforth the Kings Writ shall not be granted to remove the body of any imprisoned in the Goal of *Newgate*, or elsewhere within the liberties of the City of *London*, for debts or damages in any action adjudged to any Citizen to answer to the King, or other in the said Court of Exchequer; for the Kings debt, or for the debt of any of the Ministers of the said Exchequer, except the said Barons do first find the said Action to be feigned or untrue, *lib. alb. fol. 44. Anno 1. R. 2.*

Chamberlain, Town-clerk, and common Sergeant.

That these three Officers are eligible and removable by the Commons, and at the will of the Commons, *lib. albo fol. 38. b. 12. Hen. 3.*

Colouring of Strangers Goods.

That Citizen which coloureth Strangers goods, shall lose his Freedom, *lib. albo fol. 37. b. c. 12. Hen. 3.*

Confirmation.

All the aforesaid Liberties are confirmed by Act of Parliament, and by Charter, *lib. alb. fol. 36. Anno 5. E. 3.*

Corporation of London.

In the 11th year of King Henry III, he granted unto the Citizens of London, the Counties of London and Middlesex in Fee Farm. Note, that the Grant was made unto the Citizens only, and not to the Mayor and Citizens and Commonalty of London, as the usage is at this day; but this maketh no doubt, because the Charter is confirmed by Parliament the 21st of November, in the 5th year of the King, *N. 2. lib. albo 34. a. b. & fol. 45. a.*

Custome paid.

If any sell his Ware before the Custome paid, it shall be forfeited, *lib. albo fol. 36. b. 50. Hen. 3.*

Customes expounded, and new Laws made.

That it shall be lawful for the Mayor, and Aldermen, with the assent of the Commons, to expound obscure Customes, and when need requireth to make new laws, the which shall be consonant to reason, *lib. albo fol. 39. 15. E. 3.*

Debts.

All manner of Debts lent in London shall be sued for in London, *lib. alb. fol. 35. b. 11. Hen. 3.*

Elections.

That the Mayor of London and the Sheriffs shall be chosen and elected in such sort, as they were appointed by the ancient Charter, and in no other-wise.

Escheator.

That no Escheator or other Minister of the King, shall exercise their Offices within the City, but that the Mayor for the time being, shall be Escheator, and he shall yield unto the King his Oath, that he shall duly exercise and make a true accompt for the same Office, *lib. alb. fol. 4. a. 1. E. 1.*

Exposition.

If any difficulty or ambiguity do arise upon any Article, within any of the Kings Charters granted unto this City, so that the same Article may be taken to divers meanings: the King granteth that he, by the advisement of his Council, may make thereof such interpretation as shall be best with equity and reason, *lib. alb. 44. a b. 1. R. 2.*

Fellons goods.

That the Citizens shall have Infangtheff, and Outfangtheff, and the goods of all Fellons that shall be adjudged before them within their liberties there, *lib. alb. fol. 39. b. 1. E. 3.*

Fee Farm.

Where the Counties of *London* and *Middlesex* were let to Farm for 300 *l.* and yet notwithstanding the office of the Exchequer by incroachment, compelled them to pay 400 *l.* Now it is granted by Parliament, that the City shall pay no more but 300 *l.* according to their former Charters, *lib. albo fol. 39. b. 1. E. 1.*

Fee Farm apportioned.

If the King do grant to any other, any thing that belongeth to the Fee Farm, then shall the Fee Farm for so much yearly be apportioned and abated at the Exchequer, *fol. 34. lib. albo 11. Hen. 3.*

Fee Farm of London and Middlesex.

The Fee Farm of *London* and *Middlesex*, that is to say, for 300 *l.* by the year is granted to the Citizens of *London*, by 11. *Hen. 3.* and confirmed by Parliament in the 7th of *R. 2. lib. albo fol. 34. a. b. and fol. 45. a. lib. 4.*

Farm bought, and Farm sold.

The Statute of *Anno 9. E. 3. cap. 1. Rastall Tile Merchants, No. 2.* is, forasmuch as concerneth *London*, expounded and repealed, and the liberties of *Magna Charta*, as touching *London*, are revived, and the intent of the Law-makers, was not to touch *London*, nor yet infringe the Liberties of the great Charter, *lib. alb. 41. a. b.* the aforesaid Statute, *Anno 9. E. 3.* hath been very often objected against the City of *London* in Parliaments, by such as are ignorant of our Charters and Statutes, *vide alibi lib. alb. fol. 43. a. b.* a notable Grant by Parliament for the same matter.

Foren bought, and Foren sold.

No stranger shall Foren buy, and Foren sell within this City, any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding, *lib. alb. fol. 57. b. and per Parliament.*

Foren bought, and Foren sold.

Both by Charter and Parliament it is granted, that from henceforth no Merchant being a stranger to the liberties of this City, shall buy or sell any Merchandize within the liberties of this City, to any like stranger Merchant, upon the pain of Forfeitures of such Merchandizes so bought or sold, *lib. alb. f. 43. a. b. 1. R. 2.*

Forest of Middlesex dissaforested.

King *Henry 3. Anno 11. Regni sui*, did by his Charter dissaforest the Warren of *Stanes*, and the Forest of *Middlesex*, the which was a singular benefit

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both to the Country, and also for the City. Note also in the same place, a man may gather some notable points touching the Forest Law, *lib. alb. fol. 35. b. c.*

Forfeiture or seizure of the liberties of the City.

That the liberty of the City shall not be seized in the King's hands, for any personal trespassse, or judgment personal of any minister of the City, or for any such cause, any Warden called *Custos* shall be by the King deputed to rule the City; but every minister shall answer for his own fault, and shall, according to the quantity and quality of the same fault, receive condigne punishment, *lib. albo fol. 40. b. 1. E. 3.*

Form of Justice.

That the Citizens of *London* in the Eyres before the Justices of the *Tower* shall be measured, guided, and governed by the laws and customes; by the which, they were guided in the Eyres, holden in the times of King *John*, and King *Henry III*, *lib. alb. f. 40. b. 1. E. 3.*

Fore-Stallors.

Fore-stallors and Fore-stalments made by the merchants, for or concerning merchandize or victuals, either by land, or by water, shall be punished by forfeiture, or imprisonment, *lib. alb. 36. b. 50. H. 3.*

Freemen, and making Freemen.

No stranger born shall be made free of this City, but in the Court of Hustings, *lib. alb. fol. 37. b. 12. H. 3.* How free Denizens and *Englishmen* that never were Apprentices shall be made free, and how every one ought to put in for himself sufficient sureties, to be true to the conservation of the City, but this Order is not used at this day; therefore I omit to speak any more of it in this place, and yet is this Form of making Freemen by redemption appointed by Parliament, *lib. alb. fol. 37. b. 12. Hen. 3.*

Hunting.

The Citizens of *London* may have their fugations, viz. their Hunting in all such places, as they had the same in the time of King *Henry I*. *lib. alb. fol. 35. b. 11. Hen. 3.*

Hustings.

That as well Foreigners as others, being either plaintiffs or defendants, may make their Attorneys in the Hustings in *London*, *lib. al f. 36. b. 60. Hen. 3.*

The Hustings shall be holden but once in a week, *lib. al. 35, 11. Hen. 3.*

Inquisitions.

All Inquisitions to be taken before the King's Ministers by men of this City, shall be taken at *St. Martins Le-grand*, and not elsewhere, except the Inquisitions

Inquisitions of the Eyres of the Tower and Goal-delivery of Newgate, *lib. al. 41. a. 1. E. 3.*

All Inquisitions of the customable payments, Customes, Impositions, and Purprestures, within the City shall be inquired of by Citizens, and not by others. See the words of Record more at large, *lib. al. 45. b. c. 7. R. 2.* See the Statute of 28. E. 3. *cap. 10.*

Jarisdiction of Pleas.

No Citizen shall be impleaded out of the walls of the City of London; but for pleas of the land, being without the City, always excepted the Moniers, and the King's Ministers, *lib. al. f. 35. a. 11. H. 3.*

Inquisitions of the Goal of Newgate.

That the Mayor of London for the time being shall in every Commission for the Goal delivery of Newgate be named one of the Justices, *lib. al. f. 39. b. 1. E. 1.*

Justices in London.

The King is restrained by his Charter, confirmed by Parliament, to assign any Justices in London, except the Justices of Eyre at the Tower of London, and Justices of Goal delivery of Newgate, and for errors at St. Martins to be corrected: except any thing do chance within the same city, that do touch the King or his Heirs, *lib. al. 37, a. 12. Hen. 3.*

Kiddles, viz. Weares.

It is granted that all the Weares of the Thames and Medway shall be put down. And he that setteth up any hereafter, shall forfeit x. l. *libro al. folio 35, a.*

That the Citizens shall remove and take away all Keddles stops and Weares in the waters of Thames, and Medway: And that they shall have all such punishments in that behalf to the King, *li. al. fol. 39. b. 1. H. 1.*

Liberties and free Customes.

Free Liberties and free Customes used in the time of King Henry I, are by Charter, and after by Parliament ratified and granted to the city, *lib. al. folio 35. b. c. 11. Henry the third, and 37. Hen. 3.*

Liberties and Franchises.

The King granteth, and doth allow that the Citizens of London, their heirs and successors, shall have their Liberties, and free Customs, and may use and enjoy the same, as they have done in ancient time. And also that they may record the same before the King's Justices, and Ministers, as they have been wont to do, any Statutes or Judgments to the contrary notwithstanding, *lib. al. 40. a. b. 1. E. 1.*

Liberties confirmed.

All manner of Liberties granted by King Henry III, are confirmed by E. 1. *Anno 12. lib. albo fol. 31. a.* *Liberties*

Liberties confirmed.

First, Whereas in the great Charter of the Liberties of *England*, amongst other things it was ordained, that the City of *London* should have all their ancient Liberties and Customes, and that the same Citizens at the time of the making of the same Charter, and in the time of *St. Edmond* the King and Confessor, and *William* the Conqueror, and of other the Progenitors of King *Edward* III, had and used divers liberties and customes, as well by Charters as without Charters of ancient custome. Of which liberties in divers Eyres, and in other Courts of the Realm, the same Citizens have been impeached and fundry of them fore-judged, King *Edw.* I. by Charter, *confirmat. Anno Regni sui primi*, hath granted that the Citizens shall have their liberties according to the Form of the great Charter, and that all impediments and usurpations to them, in that behalf made, shall be revoked and disannulled, *lib. albo fol. 39. a. b. Anno primo H. 1.*

Mayor to be presented.

The Lord Mayor being chosen must be presented unto the Court of Exchequer, and after to the King himself, *lib. albo f. 36. a. 37. Hen. 3.*

Mayor.

That the Mayor of *London*, during his mayoralty shall have no more Offices belonging to the City, but only the Office of the mayoralty, nor hold any plea vicouncil within the chamber of the City, nor any other, but such as by the ancient custom of the city, he as Mayor ought to hold plea of, *Fleetwood* Recorder doth expound these words, *Vicounty Pleas*, to be such pleas as the Sheriffs by the common laws of this Realm, may hold pleas of in his hundred, the which be actions of debt under 40 *l.* and of such like causes, *lib. alb. f. 37. b. 12. H. 3.*

Marshal.

The Marshal shall not within the city, nor the portoken by force, nor otherwise, take up any mans house, *lib. alb. f. 35. a. 11. Henry. 3.*

Markets.

No Market from henceforth shall be granted by the King, to be kept within 7 miles of this City, *lib. alb. f. 41, a. 1. E. 3.*

Marshalsee and Clerk of the Houshold.

The Steward of the *Marshalsee*, and the Clerk of the Market of the Kings House, shall not sit nor execute their Office within the liberties of this City, nor shall draw into plea any Citizen of the city, for any cause arising, or growing within the liberties of the same city, *lib. albo. folio 40, a. 1. E. 1.*

Merchants strangers free Hosts.

It is commanded by *Charter*, and *Parliament*, that all Merchants strangers coming into *England*, shall make sale of their merchandizes within 40 days after

after their arrivall; and that they shall abide and be at the table of free Hosts, of this city of *London*, and of all other Cities and Towns of *England*, without keeping houses of societies by themselves, *lib. albo. fol. 39, b, c. 1. E. 1.*

Mortmain.

That the City and their heirs, and successors may devise their lands as of ancient time they were accustomed, *lib. albo folio 30, b. 1. E. 1.*

Non-user.

Although before this time, any of the ancient liberties have not bin put in ure; yet from henceforth it shall be lawfull to put them in execution, *lib. albo. fol. 39., a. 15. E. 3.*

Officers of the City.

All lands or tenements without the Freedom of the city, whereof any Citizen is or shall be owner, now or hereafter, which are, or shall be Ministers of the city, shall be obliged to the conservation or saving harmlesse, the same city against the King and his Heirs, for matters concerning their offices in like manner, as their tenements within the same city were wont to be, *lib. al. folio. 40, b, c. 1. E. 1.*

Note, by this Article, that all the Ministers of this city, ought to be Freemen.

Oasts.

No stranger shall be an Oast, or keep Oasterie for strangers, *lib. al. fol. 57, a, b. per Charter, 38. E. 3. and per Parliament.*

Oasts and Oasts.

That all that keep common Oastery in the city or Suburbs, although they be not free, yet shall they be at all manner of charges for the maintenance of the city, as ample, as any other that be free Oasts, *lib. al. folio 31, a. b. 12. Henry 3.*

Oath.

The Mayor of *London* shall not be compelled to take any other Oath at the Exchequer, than hath bin used in the time of King *Edward* the third, any Law, Statute, or Ordinance notwithstanding, *lib. al. folio 44. b, c. 7, R. 2.*

Parliament.

All the aforesaid *Articles, Charters, Grants, and Ordinances*, are to this place confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, in manner and form as they be before expressed, *Anno 7. R. 2.*

Pleas in Fairs and Markets.

Because the Citizens of *London* in all good and great Fairs of *England* were wont to have Wardens of themselves to hold pleas, concerning such Citizens as shall have conference to the said Fairs, it is granted by *Charter*, that the same Citizens shall have their Wardens of their Citizens for the holding of

of such pleas as of ancient they have had, excepting pleas of the Land, and of the Crown, *lib. al. 40. 1. E. 1.*

Precepts to the Citizens

By Parliament that is allowed to the *Citizens of London*, not to be subject to the precepts or commandements of the Constable of *England*, Steward, Marshall, Admirall, Clerk of the Market, or of any other Officer or Minister of the King, but onely to the Kings commandements or precepts, which shall be made in the Kings name still, and under the Kings Seals, and Liberty is allowed by *Act of Parliament, soit use Come ad estre devant tempes, lib. albo f. 43, b. 1. R. 2.*

Presenting of the Sheriffes.

Such Sheriffes as the Citizens shall make choise of, shall be presented to the Kings Justices. And the said Sheriffe shall answer to the King, or to his Justices, or his Exchequer, of such things as to his Sheriffedome do appertain, *lib. al. fol. 34. a, b. 11 Henry 3.*

Processe and serving of Processe.

That no Sommons, Attachment, or Execution, by any of the Kings Minsters, by writ or without writ, within the Libertie of the city aforesaid, shall be made but by the only Ministers of the city, *lib. albo. 40, b. 1. E. 1.*

Protections.

The King granteth that all the Protections of him and his Heirs, given to and for the service of the KING, either to go forth, or to abide in any places of the Kings service from henceforth, shall take no place in any plea or debt for any victuals taken or brought from the voyage or service; whereof any mention is made in any such protection, nor any such protection shall be allowed for any pleas or trespasses, or contracts, made and done after the date of such protection, in such cases as the plaintiffe is or shall be a Freeman of this city, *lib. albo. f. 44. Anno primo. R. 2.*

Purveyors.

That no *Purveyor-taker*, Officers, or other Ministers, shall make, or take any prises or takings in the City of *London*, or without, of the goods of any Citizen of the same city, against their wills; except immediately their indelayed payment be made, or else that respect of payment be therefore taken with the good will of the party, *lib. albo 40 b. 1. E. 3.*

Purveyors or Officers of the King.

It is prohibited that no Officer or Purveyor of the King shall merchandize by himself, or by other within the said city or without, of any thing touching or concerning his office, *lib. albo. fol. 43, b. 1. E. 3.* Remember how the Purveyors

vendors of Poultry to keep shops in London, and nothing is said against them.

Restitution.

There is a free restitution granted, as well by *Charter* as by *Parliament* unto the Citizens of *London*, of all and singular their Liberties and Franchises, as ever any of their predecessors enjoyed the same, any *Non-user*, or *Abuser*, or *Statute-judgement*, or *Charter* to the contrary notwithstanding. And that the same Citizens may enjoy the same without impeachment of the King his Justices or Ministers whatsoever, *lib. albo 40. 7. R. 2.*

Right.

That equal Right be done both for lands, and Leases, that be within the City, viz. *infra urbem*, according to the ancient custome of the city, *lib. albo 35. 1 Henry 3.*

Right Owner.

Every Rightfull owner of Lands, Leases, Gages, Pledges, and Debts, shall enjoy the same lawfully, *lib albo 35. a 11. H. 3.*

Sanctuaries.

That the Citizens shall not be otherwise charged, then they have bin accustomed, touching the scapes of such as have taken Sanctuary in the Church, or Churchyards, *lib. alb. f. 39. b.*

St Pauls.

There is 8. l. parcell of the Fee-Farm abated to the City, for the liberty of *St. Pauls* in *London*, *lib. albo f. 36. a 37. H. 3.*

Scot and Lot.

That Freemen within the City, and such and dwell without the City, and occupie Merchandize within the city, shall be subject to Scot and Lot with the Commons of the same city, for and touching, &c, *lib. alb. fol. 38, a. 11. Henrie the third.*

Seals of the King.

There doth appear 11. *Hen. 3.* that in a Charter made for the putting down of Kiddles or Weares, that the King did set his hand to the Charter, and also his Seal, the which I did never hear nor read of in any book before this time, the words are these, *Quod ut firmum & stabile perseveret imperpuum putis pagine inscriptio. Commun. &c. lib. albo fol. 35, a 11. H. 3.*

Seal of the City.

The common Seal of this City shall remain in the custody of two Aldermen and two Commoners, and the same Seal shall not be denied neither to the poor nor to the rich Commoner, when need shall require; provided, that such request shall be upon reasonable causes, and that nothing shall be taken for the setting of the same Seal thereto, *lib. alb. f. 38, a. 12. H. 3.*

Sergeants at the Chamber.

That no Sergeant of the chamber of *Guild-hall*, shall have any fee of the Commonalty of the city, nor shall make any execution but only by the Commons of the city for that purpose to be chosen, *lib. alb. fol. b. 12. H. 7.*

Sergeants at the Mace.

For the augmentation of the name and honour of the city, it is granted that our Sergeants shall and may bear, and carry maces of gold, of silver, with the Kings Arms upon the same, within the city and *Middlesex*, and all other places belonging to the same city; and also when they be sent to the King, his mother or children, *lib. alb. fol. 42. a. 28. E. 3.*

Sheriffes.

The Sheriffes of *London* shall not be destreined to make an Oath at the Exchequer, but only upon the yielding up their accompt, *lib. alb. fol. 40. a. 1. E. 1.*

That none of the Sheriffes shall have but 7 Clerks, and two Sergeants, by reason of his Office.

Sheriffes and their Elections.

It is granted to the Citizens of *London* to make Elections of their Sheriffes, and after to remove them at their pleasures, *Anno 11. Hen. 3. lib. alb. fol. 34. a. b.*

Sheriffe.

That the Sheriffe of *London* shall be amerced in the Kings Court according to the quantity of their offence, like as all other Sheriffes of *England* have bin, *lib. alb. fol. 31. a, lib. 1. 12. Edw. 3.*

Sheriffe.

That the Sheriffe for the time being shall commit the collection of tolls and customes belonging to the Fee Farm, and all publique offices to them belonging and by them to be exercised unto sufficient persons, for whom they will answer, and that such officers as they shall appoint, shall be removed upon their misbehaviour, *lib. alb. fol. 38. Anno 12. Hen. 3.*

Sheriffes.

That the Sheriffes of this city for the time being shall have towards the Farm of the same city, the full forfeiture of victuals, and other things. And also of Merchandizes after the tenor of the Charters to the Citizens granted and made. And that from henceforth the Sheriffes shall not be hindred or molested for the same against the tenor of the same Charters, *lib. alb. fol. 40. 1. E. 1.*

Southwarke.

The town of *Southwark* is granted for a Fee Farm unto the city, to the intent,

intent, to conserve the peace of the same town, and to suppress Fellons in that place. And this is by Act of Parliament and Charter, *lib. alb. 41. a. 1. E. 3.*

Subsidies, Tallages, or Aids.

That those be assessed according to the custome of the city, by men of their wards appointed to be Sessors by the Mayor and Aldermen; or by others to pay any Tallage or Aid to the King, shall not be set higher, but by the Mayor and Commons. *lib. alb. fol. 37. b. 12. Hen. 3.*

Successors in London.

The habend of the Fee Farm of London and Middlesex is to the Citizens and their heirs, do signifie their successors. *lib. alb. fol. 34. a, b. 11. Hen. 3.*

Sureties for the Sheriffes.

The whole Citizens of London must answer to the King, and satisfie both the Fee Farm, and also the amerciaments, if the Sheriffes do make default, *lib. al. f. 34. a, b. 11. Henry 3.*

Suites against Citizens.

None of the liberty of this city shall be impleaded or occasioned at the Kings Exchequer, nor else-where by Bill, except it be for matter which belongs to the King or his Heires. *fol. 41. Anno 1. E. 3.*

At this day all our Citizens do implead one another out of the city, the which is against our liberties, being confirmed by Parliament.

Taxes and Tallages.

That taxes and tallages for the necessity of the City by common consent or Common-counsell, may be assessed and levied as well upon Rents as other things, and as well upon misteries, as by any other means. *lib alb. folio 38. b. 12. H. 3.*

Toll.

The Citizens of London are discharged of Toll and Lastage, and of all other customes as well by Land, as by Seas, within the Kings Dominions, *lib. alb. fol. 35. u, 37. Hen. 3.*

Tower of London.

That the Constable of the Tower for the time being shall not either by land or water take or make any prisages of any victuals, or other things whatsoever, of the people of the same city; nor of any others coming or going towards or from the said city, nor by any manner of means, shall arrest or cause to be arrested any ships, vessels, or boats bringing to the said city any victuals or any other such goods, *lib. alb. fol. 40. a. 1. E. 1.*

The Constable of the Tower of London shall not take any thing for the suffering of Weares in the Thames or Medway, *lib. albo. fol 35. 11. H. 3.*

The Constable of the Tower of London, in the default of the Barons of the Exchequer, being absent from Westminster, and also of the King at such

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time as the Mayor ought to be polluted, must take the Oaths of the Mayor and the Sherifes without the Tower Gates, *lib. albo. f. 36, b. Anno 12. H. 3.*

Warres.

That the Citizens from henceforth shall not be compelled to go or send to the warres out of the city, *lib. alb. f. 40, a. 1. H. 1.*

Weights and Measures.

That the weights and ballances amongst Merchants, by the which any profit doth grow, and the correction of the same doth belong to the Commonalty of this city. And that they shall be in the custody of approved and sufficient men, expert in the same office, being chosen by the Commons.

Whitherman.

If any toll or custome be taken from any Citizen of the Kings Dominions, the Sherifes of London shall at London take pledge or Whitherman, *lib. alb. f. 35. b. 11. Henry the third.*

Wines sold by retaile.

That no Merchant that is not free of this City shall sell any Wines by retail within the same city, *lib. alb. fol. 38. a, 12. Henry the third.*

Wines and Victuals.

By Charter and by Parliament, is granted that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for the time being, shall have the Rule and Government of the Vintners, viz. of all manner of Wines which shall be sold within the same city, and of all manner of Victuals, as well sellers of fish, as of all other dwelling within the same city, and to the same bringing any Victuals there to be sold, *lib. alb. fol. 44. b. 7. R. 2.*

Note, how that the Vintners of this city did exhibit a Bill to the Counsell at Greenwich, *Termino Pasche. An. 18, Eliz. Regni*, affirming, that they were not under the Government of the Mayor and Aldermen; the which I learn to be drawn by one Land, an Attorney of the Guild-Hall.

Hereafter do ensue divers ample and most beneficial Charters, granted by King Hen. VI. E. IV. and King Hen. VII. but these Charters are not confirmed by Parliament as the other Charters were. Note, that the Charters of Hen. VI. and E. IV. are all one, with little alteration.

Beer-brewers.

THE correction of the Beer-brewers, and of the Measurages likewise is granted to the City, *lib. albo. f. 50 b, c. 23. Hen. 6.* Note at this time there was Beer-brewers in England.

Certioraries

Certioraries for Recognisances.

It is granted, that when a Certiorary is sent for any Indictment of Felony, Trespasse, Extortion, or any other offence, or for any Recognisance for the peace broken, that we shall not send the Record it self, but onely the tenors of the same, and that shall suffice, *lib. albo, 49. b. 23. Henry 6.*

Commission of the Peace

The Commission of the Peace is at large set down with all the Articles that are to be inquired, *lib. albo. 47, 23. H 6.*

Confirmation.

King Henry 7, Anno 20. did grant unto the City of London most large and ample ratification of all and singular their Liberties, Franchises, and Customes, and all such like things expressed in any of their Charters whatsoever they were, *lib. albo 58. a.*

Confirmation.

King H 5. by Act of Parliament, and a special Charter, dated the 7 ber. Anno 7. hath also confirmed the Liberties aforesaid, *lib. albo folio. 47, a.*

Confirmation of all and singular.

All and singular the aforesaid Liberties are most amply confirmed by a great Charter, made by King H, 4. in the first year of his Reign; but they are not by him confirmed by *Parliament*, but by *Charter*. And this is the Charter that the Commons of this City do use to call the great *Charter of London*, *lib. alb. fol. 46, a, b. 1. primo H. 4.*

Elections of Officers.

That the Citizens shall have the choice of all Under-Sheriffes, Clerks, Bayliffes of Sheriffes, for whom they will answer for as well in the County of *Middlesex*, as within the City of *London*: in which grant there is a saving or proviso for the Sheriffes of *London* for the right, &c. *lib. alb. 49, b, c. 23. H. 6.*

Exemption for the Aldermen.

It is granted, that the Aldermen of this City shall not be put in Affizes, Juries, Attaints, Recognitions, or Inquisitions, although the King himself be party; nor they shall be without the Liberties of the City, Collectors, or Assessors of tenths and fifteens, *lib. alb. f. 54. a, b.*

Fines and Amerciaments.

All Fines, Amerciaments, Issues forfeited, Redemptions, Forfeitures, Penalties of all Offences inquirable by the Commissions of the Peace, are granted to the Citizens of *London*, *lib. alb. f. 49. a. 23. H. 6.* And in the same place the premises are also granted, if they be forfeited before the Justices in the pleas of the crown, or before any other Justices, or Minister whatsoever, *ibid.*

Forem

Foren bought, and Foren sold.

That the forfeiture of Foren bought, and Foren sold, shall belong to the Mayor and Commons of this City, without any accompt to be therefore yielded, *lib. alb. f. 59. b, c.* This Article is most largely and beneficially set forth in the Book.

Gates and Posterns.

All the Gates and Posterns of this City, and the custody of the same are granted unto the city, *lib. alb. f. 46. fol. 8. 1. H. 4.*

Ganger.

The office of the Ganger-ship is granted to the city of *London*, with all the Fees, profits, and enrolements to the same belonging, *lib. alb. f. 60. b. 20. H. 7.*

Justices of Peace.

That the Mayor for the time being may nominate to the Chancellor of *England*, the names of two Aldermen, the one to be a Justice of Peace in *Surrey*, and the other in *Middlesex*, *lib. alb. f. 60. b. 20. H. 7.*

Justices of the Peace.

That the Mayor and the Recorder, and all the Aldermen that have been Mayors shall be Justices of Peace in *London*; and that the Mayor and the Recorder shall be two of the *Quorum*, *lib. al. 47. b. c. H. 6.*

Mortmain.

The King granteth license to the Commonalty to purchase lands and tenements, to the value of 200 marks by the year, the statute of Mortmain, or any other thing to the contrary notwithstanding, *lib. alb. f. 59. a, b, c. 18. E. 4.*

Non-user and abuser.

Non-user and abuser of the liberties are by the King pardoned, *lib. alb. 50. Anno 25. H. 6.*

Notanda.

All the aforesaid matters expressed in the aforesaid Charter, 23 *H. 6. lib. alb. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, and 52*, are by like Charter granted again by 2. *E. 4. lib. alb. fol. 52, 53, 54, 55.*

Packer.

The Offices and Guift of the same, *viz.* of the Packer and Surveyor, ships of all measures, weights, and of merchandizss, and of the Garblers office, and Wine-drawers, and the collection of all manner of victuals, and all such like Offices do belong to the Lord Mayor and his disposing, *lib. alb. f. 50. a. b. 23. H. 6.*

Recordator.

That the Recorder shall or may *ore-tenus*, that is to say, by open speech, record and certifie the customs, being traversed. And his Certificate shall be as

as strong in the Law as the verdict of twenty-two men, *lib. alb. f. 49. a. 23. H. 6.*

Recognizances.

The forfeiture of Recognizances for the breach of peace or good abearing, is also granted to the City, *lib. al. f. 49. 23. H. 6.*

Seizure of the Liberties.

I find that King *Richard II*, *Anno 16. Regni sui*, did by vertue of a statute, 28. *E. 3. cap. 10*, the which statute, in King *Richard's* days, was by a bye-word, *Flagellum Comit. London*, that is, the whip and scourge of the City of *London*: the statute shall be hereafter set down at large.

I say by this statute the King very easily found a quarrel against the City, and did by Commission seize the liberties of the said City. The fault was, for that the Mayor and Aldermen of the City did not correct nor punish, and this was all. But after in *Anno 16. and 20*, the same King restored the liberties again to the said City, *lib. alb. f. 45. a, b, c.*

Search.

The general Search of survey government, correction and permission of all people, within this City, as well Denizens and Strangers in their sellings, cuttings, workings, measurings, weighings, and in all and singular their other doings, done not only by custome, but also by Charter, belonging to the Mayor of *London* for the time being, *lib. alb. f. 58. a, b, c, d. 20. H. 7.*

This matter especially is most excellently well set down in the said Book. And King *Henry VII*, hath granted for him, his Heirs and Successors, that neither the Kings of this Realm, nor any other person shall interrupt the Mayor of *London* in the due execution and exercising of the premises: if this Charter were well looked unto, then enquire of what force all and singular these Charters are, to whom the King hath granted to be Searcher, not only over their own companies but also over others. As the Girdlers do attempt to search the Haberdashers, and Clothworkers, the Blacksmiths do attempt to search the Ironmongers, and such like others.

Southwark.

A large Charter is granted for the liberties of *Southwark*, and for correction of offences there, and a view of Franck-pledge with Arrests, and to bring the Offenders to *Newgate*. And to have as ample Liberties in *Southwark*, as the King had, *lib. alb. f. 41. b, c, d, e. 23. H. 6.*

Toll.

The Offices of the gathering of the Toll, and of the custome in *Cheap*, *Billingsgate*, and *Smithfield*, is granted to the city, *lib. alb. 46. b. 1. H. 4.*

Treasure-

Treasure-trove.

Treasure-trove, wair and fellons goods, and for-stallers of victuals, and Regrators, both in *London* and upon the *Thames*, are granted to the City, *lib. alb. f. 49. a. 23. H. 6.*

Tronage.

Tronage, that is to say, the weighing of lead, waxe, pepper, allom, madder, and of such like merchandize, are granted to the City, *lib. albo f. 46. b.*

Waste-grounds.

All the waste ground, or common grounds, purprestures, and improvements, and the Rents reserved of the same are granted to the City, as well in the Land, as in the *Thames*, *lib. alb. fol. 49. 23. H. 6.*

Wools. Leaden-hall.

The tronage or weighing of wools shall be at *Leaden-hall*, which was wont to be at *Westminster*, *lib. alb. fol. 55. 3. E. 4.*

Certain Proposals for regulating the LAW, to make the same more plain and easy to be understood, and lesse chargeable and expensive than heretofore.

FIRST, I take for an undeniable principle, that the Law which so much concerns every man, ought not to be a Mystery, but as much as possible be made most perspicuous and evident to the meanest capacity, nothing being more unjust than for a man to be judged by a law of which he was unavoidably ignorant. For if we consider the rise and original of all Laws, because men knew not when they did well, when they did evil; what was theirs, what not theirs; they instituted Laws to the end every man might know his Duty, and the penalty of transgressing. Moreover, it is a maxim in our own Law, that ignorance thereof excuseth no man, but every man is presumed to be connusant thereof. And it is a true saying, *Misera est servitus ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum*, it is a miserable slavery where the Law is uncertain or unknown; a wonder it was to all wise men, even to the ingenuous of the Professors of the Law themselves, that the Law should be so close lockt up in an unknown tongue, when the reason why the Laws were first written in that brackish *French*, was because that Language was then best understood of those whom those Laws most concern'd (*viz.*) the *Normans*.

Therefore blessed be God, it hath been and still is the Wisdom and Integrity of the PARLIAMENT, to make the Laws so plain and obvious to every understanding, that every man might know his duty and his property.

The Laws of this Land are either Criminal or Civil; as for the criminal Laws they are not so many or mysterious, but with a little study a man may attain

attain to a competent knowledge thereof; but for the civil Laws, especially those which concern Lands, they are infinitely intricate, mystical, and expensive. Now because when a Disease is known it is half cured, that which I conceive is the cause thereof, is multiplicity and diversity of Tenures, and Conveyances, together with the secret and clandestine making of Conveyances. There are not so little as Ten several ways whereby men may convey estates of Inheritance, upon every of which depends such innumerable quirks and intricacies, all of them having several operations, that men which make it their whole studies all their lives long, can hardly, if at all, come to some reasonable knowledge thereof.

Now that which I propose for the Remedy of this evil is —

1. That all Estates of Inheritance as well Freehold as Copyhold, might be but of one Tenure, to wit, Fee-simple. Entails, my Lord Cooke being Judge, having so fetter'd and intangled mens Estates, that infinite are the controversies which do arise thereupon. And to the end no man might be a loser hereby, nor any man's Property destroyed, certain Commissioners, not of the same County, might be authorized to assign and apportion to every Lord of a Manor, some part of the Tenancy in lieu of his chief Rents, Heriots, and perquisites of Courts, &c. in case the Lord and Tenant did not agree between themselves.

2. That there might be but one kind of Conveyance for all Estates of Inheritance (*viz.*) a Feofment in fee executed with Livery and Seisin, or attornment and inrollment in the proper County.

3. That every Lease longer than for seven years, and all Wills that concern Lands, should be by writing to be inrolled likewise, as aforesaid.

If this were done, I am persuaded the Law —

1. Would be reduced into one considerable volume, which now a small Library doth not contain; and there being but one Tenure and one kind of Conveyance, every man almost without *Herculean* labour, might attain to some competent knowledge thereof. And I would gladly know, why there should be so many sorts of Conveyances when one will serve the turn; unless it be to make the Law more mystical.

Frustra fit per plura quod fieri possit per pauciora.

2. The excessive expence and chargeable ceremonies of Fines and Recoveries, would be saved.

If in like manner all Conveyances were inrolled, then would there be plain dealing above-board, the Commonwealth (1) should be sure of their Escheats and Forfeitures upon any Treason committed or otherwise.

2. Purchasers should deal upon sure grounds, and not purchase a multitude of suits and troubles, instead of an estate.

3. Farmers should be sure of their bargains, when they are sure their Landlords have good estates.

4. Creditors should be sure of their Debts, whereas now men of very great estates in Lands, so convey and intangle them, that a Creditor can take no advantage against them.

5. Men upon Marriages of their Daughters shall be much more sure of Jointures; and in general, in all Contracts and Bargains there would be much more certainty, which is the mother of quiet and repose; whereas now who sees not the innumerable controversies do arise upon secret and clandestine Conveyances: also what abundance of Suits are commenced upon supposition that they have right, but cannot come to know the certainty, because they cannot come to sight of Evidence. How many poor Widows, Orphans, and others lose their right, by reason their Evidences are imbezzeled. These and many more mischiefs would be remedied by inrollment of Conveyances in the County.

Now next of all, let us consider what may be the Inconveniencies which may arise hereupon.

And first it may be objected, that for Copyholds the alteration would be very great; and that all Copyholds pass by Surrender, which do amount to as much as the Inrollment mentioned.

For answer thereunto it is confessed, That Copyhold Estates by reason thereof, are not liable to fraudulent Conveyances, and therefore there do not so many suits arise concerning Copyholds as of Freehold. Yet notwithstanding, they being not extendible for Debts (which is a thing very unreasonable in my judgment, that a man should have any Estate not liable to the payment of his Debts) but chiefly, because they retain in them as yet more of Villenage and Slavery, by reason of the arbitrary Fines, Herriots, Oaths, and Suits of Court due to the Lord, than is well consistent with the Freedom and Liberty of *Englishmen*. And to the end the Law might be the more easy and plain to be understood, and all occasions of Controversies as much as possible might be removed, I suppose it best that as aforesaid, all Estates of Inheritance of Copyhold might be made free, and all lesser Estates made only liable to certain Rents, as of Freehold lands.

2. It may be objected, That it would be inconvenient to take away Entails, whereby some would lose the benefit of Reversions after those estates ended. As to that we know every Tenant in-tail at this day, may at his pleasure make it Fee-simple. And for any thing else may be said therein, my Lord Cooke, in his first *Institutes*, fol. 19. b. shall answer for me in these words: (*When all Estates were Fee-simple, then were Purchasers sure of their Purchases, Farmers of their Leases, Creditors of their Debts, the King and Lords had their Escheats, Forfeitures, Wardships, and other profits of their Seigniories; and for these and for other like causes, by the wisdom of the Common-law, all*
Estates

Estates of inheritance were Fee-simple; and what Contentions and mischiefs have crept into the quiet of the Law by these fettered Inheritances, daily Experience teacheth us.) So that for this change there is a sufficient Precedent, the ancient Common-law of this Land, and the advice of him who knew the Laws of this land as well as most that ever studied the same, (*viz.*) the Lord Cooke.

Then also concerning the Inrolments aforesaid,—

1. It may be objected, That a man cannot borrow money upon a Mortgage without letting the Country know thereof; now as for that I conceive it no great matter, if he that is rich be so esteemed, and he that is poor be so reputed.

2. But then the main objection will be, There be many Conveyances which if examined would be found defective whereby Estates which have long continued in a Family might be carried away to others. Which instead of ending Controversies would beget new.

For answer to which, that admit it were so, yet they would be but only for the present, and after the first Suit it would be settled for Posterity. Moreover, it would but help those to possession to whom the Law had given most right.

But for remedy of such like Inconveniencies, was a profitable Statute made in the 21st. year of King James, (*viz.*) That after 20 years quiet Possession, no action should be commenced, unless in case of Infancy, Coverture, or the like, which Statute if it were enlarged and put in execution would salve that sore sufficiently.

The next Proposal for to remedy delays in Suits, and to take away excessive Charge; is to take way Arrests in the beginning of suits. It would require a volume of it selfe to shew the excessive expence, the great delays of Justice, the briberies and extortion by Sheriffs and Bayliffs, the batteries, barbarous cruelties, and many times Murthers, and many other inconveniencies which doe flow from this wicked fountain of Arrests.

As for Example; a Nobleman or Great man owes me 10, or 20. l. perhaps for wages or some other thing, for twice, it may be, ten times my debt, I cannot get him arrested, and until he be arrested I can never so much as proceed in my suit; and if after disbursement of a great sum, I get him apprehended, I shall have some five shillings allowed towards it by the Court; so if a man live in some priviledged places, or rather which usurp such priviledges, there they secure themselves, and be their Estates never so great, can by no means be layed hold on to pay their just debts. It would be too tedious to give instances of sculking wandring persons, and of some that secure themselves by the company of lewd and desperate fellows, that they cannot be apprehended without abundance of charge and oftentimes danger of life; these Mischiefs are so well known that I need not further set them forth. I appeal to many mens experience, whether if the arrest of divers persons would not cost them more than all the charges of Suit besides, nay, and their proper

Debts to boot ; and how many years men may wait through the corruption of under-Sheriffes and their Bayliffs, before they can get a debtor arrested, when if they were once taken, the suit would come to Execution in three quarters of a year at most, without much charge.

Now for a remedy hereof, I suppose a sufficient Summons might serve turn well enough, and so in default of not answering, the Plaintiff upon proof and evidence given might proceed to Judgement and Execution. For my own part I confess I see no satisfactory reason but that every man, as well as Tradesmen, might be brought within the Statute of *Bankrupts*. All that ever a Tradesman hath must be sold to pay his Debts ; and why other mens Estates, who are as justly indebted, as they, should not ; in true reason I doe not understand. The Law seems to me, too mild and remiss against the estates of Debtors, and against their persons as much too rigid and severe.

Another Proposal is, that Experience doth shew what very great delays and intolerable charges arise, from being tossed from Court to Court, (*viz.*) from *Chancery* to *Common-law*, and so back again : nay, I am persuaded that not one cause of ten, especially if of any consequence, but first or last comes into the *Chancery* meerly for delays ; by which means peaceable minded men, will rather give away half their right than be troubled to sue for it.

Now the remedy hereof, I suppose might be to impower the Common-law Court with equitable Jurisdiction, that the same Court might as well determine the Equity, as the Law of every case.

Another thing very necessary would be, That the Act for the relief of Debtors might extend to persons which now are, or hereafter shall be imprisoned.

Lastly, it were to be wished, that the Committee for the *Regulating of the Law* would procure some learned in the Laws, who might be well Fee'd for their pains, to argue and set forth before them the inconveniencies on the one side, with the profit and commodity on the other which may arise on these or the like Alterations, their work would be much more easy, and they themselves the better able to ponder and judge what is fit to be done ; it would not be Time, labour, or money ill spent, to procure good and wholesome Laws for ourselves and Posterity.

A REPORT of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Ships commanded by Sir RICHARD GRANVILL, commonly called GRENVILL, Vice-Admiral, and an Armada of the King of Spain.

Penned by the Honourable Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Kt.

Printed at Oxford, 1643.

BECAUSE the Rumours are diversly spread, as well in *England*, as in the *Low-Countries*, and elsewhere, of this late encounter between her Majesties Ships and the *Armada of Spain*; and that the *Spaniards*, according to their usual manner, fill the world with their vain-glorious vanity, making great appearance of victories, when, on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possess the ignorant multitude by anticipating and fore-running false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falshood and untruth; that the beginning, continuance and success of this late Honourable Encounter of Sir *Richard Granvill*, and other her Majesties Captains, with the *Armada of Spain*; should be truly set down and published without partiality or false imaginations. And it is no marvel, that the *Spaniard* should seek by false and slanderous Pamphlets, advices and letters, to cover their own loss, and to derogate from others their due Honour, especially in this Fight, being performed far off: Seeing they were not ashamed, in the year 1588, when they purposed the Invasion of this Land, to publish in sundry Languages in Print, great victories in words, which they pleaded to have obtained against this Realm; and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of *France*, *Italy*, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all Nations, how their Navy, which they termed Invincible, consisting of a hundred and forty Sail of Ships, not only of their own Kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest *Argosies*, *Portugal Caracks*, *Florentines*, and huge hulks of other Countries, were by thirty of her Majesties Ships of War, and a few of our own Merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantagious Conduct of the Lord *Charles Howard*, High Admiral of *England*, beaten and shuffled together; even from the *Lizard* in *Cornwall*, first to *Portland*, where they shamefully left *Don Pedro de Valdes*, with his mighty Ship; from *Portland* to *Cales*, where they lost *Hugo de Moncado*, with the *Gallias*, of which he was Captain, and from *Cales* driven with Squibs from

from their Anchors, were chased out of the sight of *England*, round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Where for the Sympathy of their barbarous Religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the Rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken, and so sent from Village to Village coupled in halters, to be shipped into *England*: Where her Majesty of her Princely and Invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them; they were all sent back again to their Countries, to witness and recount the worthy Achievements of their Invincible and Dreadful Navy: Of which the number of Soldiers, the fearful burthen of their Ships, the Commanders names of every Squadron, with all other their Magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an Army and Navy unresistable, and disdaining prevention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their Sailing round about *England*, so much as sink or take one Ship, Bark, Pinnace or Cock-boat of ours, or ever burnt so much as one Sheepecote of this Land: Whereas, on the contrary, Sir *Francis Drake*, with only eight hundred Soldiers not long before, landed in their *Indies*, and forced *St. Jago*, *Santo Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and the fort of *Florida*.

And after that, Sir *John Norris* marched from *Peniche* in *Portugal*, with a handful of Soldiers, to the gate of *Lisbon*, being about forty *English* miles. Where the Earle of *Essex* himself, and other valiant Gentlemen, braved the City of *Lisbon*, encamped at the very gate; from whence, after many days abode, finding neither promised party, nor provision to batter, they made retreat by Land, in despite of all their Garrisons, both of Horse and Foot. In this sort I have a little digressed from my first purpose, only by the necessary comparison of their and our actions: The one covetous of honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their own affairs, and by false Rumors to resist the blast of their own dishonours, as they will not only not blush to spread all manner of Untruths: But even for the least advantage, being but for the taking of one poor Adventurer of the *English*, will celebrate the Victory with Bonfires in every Town, always spending more in Faggots, than the purchase was worth they obtained: When as we never thought it worth the consumption of two Billets, when we have taken eight or ten of their *Indian* Ships at one time, and twenty of the *Brasil* Fleet. Such is the difference between true Valour, and Ostentation; and between honourable Actions, and frivolous vain-glorious Vaunts. But now to return to my purpose.

The Lord *Thomas Howard*, with six of her Majesties Ships, six Victuallers of *London*, the Bark *Raleigh*, and two or three other Pinnaces, riding at Anchor near unto *Flores*, one of the westerly Islands of the *Azores*, the last of *August* in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain *Middleton* of the approach of the *Spanish Armada*. Which *Middleton* being in a very good Sailer, had kept them Company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their Forces the more, as also to give advice to my Lord *Thomas* of their approach.

approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the Fleet was in sight : many of our Ships Companies were on Shore in the Island ; some providing ballast for their Ships ; others filling of Water, and refreshing themselves from the Land, with such things as they could either for Money, or by Force recover. By reason whereof our Ships being all pestered and romaging every thing out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every Ship sick, and utterly unserviceable : For in the *Revenge* there were ninety diseases ; in the *Bonaventure*, not so many in health as could handle her Main-sail. For had not twenty men been taken out of a Bark of Sir *George Careys*, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered *England*. The rest, for the most part, were in little better State. The Names of her Majesties Ships were those as followeth : The *Defiance*, which was Admiral ; the *Revenge*, Vice-Admiral ; the *Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain *Crosse* ; the *Lion*, by *George Fenner* ; the *Forefight*, by Mr. *Thomas Vavasour* ; and the *Crane*, by *Duffild* ; the *Forefight* and the *Crane* being but small Ships, only the other were of the middle size ; the rest, besides the Bark *Ralegh*, commanded by Captain *Tbin*, were Victuallers, and of small Force or none. The *Spanish* Fleet having shrowded their approach by reason of the Island, were now so soon at hand, as our Ships had scarce time to weigh their Anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their Cables and set sail. Sir *Richard Granvill* was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon that Island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord *Thomas*, with the rest very hardly recovered the Wind, which Sir *Richard Granvill* not being able to do, was persuaded by the Master, and others, to cut his Main-sail, and cast about, and to trust to the Sailing of the Ship ; for the Squadron of *Sivil* were on his Weather-bow. But Sir *Richard* utterly refused to turn from the Enemies, alledging that he would rather choose to dye, then to dishonour himself, his Country, and her Majesties Ship, persuading his Company that he would pass through the two Squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of *Sivil* to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the Mariners term it, sprang their Luff, and fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered, in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the mean while, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the Wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his Sails in such sort, as the Ship could neither make way, nor feel the Helm : so huge and high-charged was the *Spanish* Ship, being of a thousand and five hundred Tuns, who after laid the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his Sails, the Ships that were under his Lee luffing up, also laid him aboard : of which the next was the Admiral of the *Biscaines*, a very mighty and puissant Ship, commanded by *Britandona*, the said *Philip* carried three tire of Ordnance on a side, and eleven Pieces in every tire. She shot eight forth-right out of her Chase, besides those of her Stern-Ports.

After

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four others boarded her: two on her Larboard, and two on her Starboard. The Fight thus beginning at three of the Clock in the Afternoon continued very terribly all that Evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the Lower Tire of the *Revenge*, ditcharged with Cross-bar shot, thifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the Ship foundred but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The *Spanish* Ships were filled with Companys of Souldiers, in some Two Hundred besides the Mariners, in some Five, in others Eight Hundred. In ours there were none at all besides the Mariners, but the Servants of the Commanders, and some few Voluntary Gentlemen only. After many enterchanged Vollies of Great Ordnance and Small Shot, the *Spaniards* deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the Multitudes of their Armed Souldiers and Muskettiers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own Ships, or into the Seas. In the beginning of the Fight, the *George Noble* of *London*, having received some Shot thorow her by the *Armadas*, fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir *Richard* what he would command him, being but one of the Victuallers and of small force: Sir *Richard* bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune. After the Fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the Day lasted, and some hours of the Night, many of our Men were slain and hurt, and one of the great Gallions of the *Armada*, and the Admiral of the Hulks both sunk, and in many other of the *Spanish* Ships great Slaughter was made. Some write that Sir *Richard* was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the Fight, and lay speechless for a time e're he recovered; But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a Ship of *Lime* from the *Islands*, examined by some of the Lords, and Others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the Upper-Deck, 'till an hour before Midnight; and then being shot into the Body with a Musket, as he was a dressing, was again shot into the Head, and with all, his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an Examination taken by Sir *Francis Godolphin*, of four other Mariners of the same Ship being returned, which Examination, the said Sir *Francis* sent unto Master *William Kellegrue*, of her Majesties Privy-Chamber.

But to return to the Fight: The *Spanish* Ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her; So that e're the Morning, from Three of the Clock the day before, there had Fifteen severall *Armadas* assailed her, and all so ill approved for their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a Composition, then hastily to make any more Assaults or Entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small Ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by *Jacob Whiddon*, who hovered all night to see the Success: but in the morning bearing with the
Revenge

Revenge, was hunted like a Hare amongst many ravenous Hounds, but escaped.

All the Powder of the *Revenge*, to the last Barrell was now spent, all their Pikes broken, Forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the Fight she had but one hundred free from Sickness, and fourscore and ten Sick, laid in Hold upon the Ballast. A small Troup to man such a ship, and a weak Garrison to resist so mighty an Army. By those hundred all was sustained, the vollies, boardings, and entrings of fifteen Ships of War, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the *Spanish* were alwaies supplied with Souldiers brought from every Squadron: all manner of Arms and Powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of Ships, Men or Weapons; the Masts all-beaten over-board, all her tackle cut a-funder, her upper work altogether rased, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a Ship, nothing being left over-head either for flight or defence. Sir *Richard* finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours Fight, the Assault of fifteen severall *Armadas*, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred Shot of great Artillery, besides many Assaults and Entries; and that Himself and the Ship must needs be possessed by the Enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (the *Revenge* not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the Sea) commanded the *Master Gunner*, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the Ship, that thereby nothing might remain of Glory or Victory to the *Spaniards*: Seeing in so many hours fight, and with so great a Navy they were not able to take her, having had Fifteen hours time, above ten Thousand men, and Fifty and three * Sail of Men of war to perform it withall: and perswaded the Company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they, like Valiant Resolute Men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the Honour of their Nation, by prolonging their own Lives for a few Hours, or a few Days. The *Master Gunner* readily condescended and divers others; but the *Captain* and the *Master* were of another opinion, and besought Sir *Richard* to have care of them; alledging that the *Spaniards* would be as ready to entertain a Composition, as they were willing to offer up the same; and that there being divers sufficient and valiant Men yet living, and whose Wounds were not mortall, they might do their Country and Prince acceptable Service hereafter. And whereas, Sir *Richard* had alledged that the *Spaniards* should never glory to have taken one Ship of her Majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered, that the Ship had Six-foot Water in hold, three shot under Water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of the Sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crusht and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the Place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir *Richard* refusing to hearken

* The *Spanish* 53. Sail

to any of those reasons; the Master of the *Revenge* (while the Captain wanted him the greater Party) was conveyed aboard the General *Don Alfonso Bazan*. Who (finding none over-hasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting least Sir *Richard* would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the Report of the Master of the *Revenge* of his dangerous disposition) yielded that all their Lives should be saved, the Company sent for *England*, and the better sort to pay such reasonable Ransom as their Estate would bear, and in the mean Season to be free from *Galley*, or *Imprisonment*. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir *Richard Granvill*, whom for his notable Valour he seemed greatly to Honour and Admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of Life was promised, the Common sort being now at the end of their Perill, the most drew back from Sir *Richard*, and the *Master Gunner*, being no hard matter to dissuade men from Death to Life. The *Master Gunner* finding himself and Sir *Richard* thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a Sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his Cabin. Then the General sent many Boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir *Richard's* disposition, stole away aboard the General and other Ships; Sir *Richard* thus over-matched was sent unto by *Alfonso Bazan* to remove out of the *Revenge*, the Ship being marvellous unsavory, filled with Blood and Bodies of dead and wounded men like a Slaughter-house. Sir *Richard* answered, that he might do with his Body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the Ship he swooned, and reviving again desired the Company to pray for him. The General used Sir *Richard* with all Humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his Recovery, highly commending his Valour and Worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto them a Rare Spectacle, and a Resolution seldom approved, one Ship turn towards so many Enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge *Armadas*, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many Souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a *Spanish* Captain of the same *Armada*, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a Storm, was by the *Lion of London*, a small Ship, taken, and is now Prisoner in *London*.

The General Commander of the *Armada*, was *Don Alphonso Bazan*, Brother to the Marquess of *Santa Cruz*. The Admiral of the *Biscaine Squadron*, was *Britandona*, of the *Squadron* of *Sivil* the Marquess of *Arumburch*. The *Hulks* and *Flyboats* were commanded by *Luis Cautinbo*. There were slain and drowned in this fight, well near one Thousand of the Enemies, and Two special Commanders *Don Luis de Sant John*, and *Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga*, as the *Spanish* Captain confesseth, besides divers others of special account, whereof as yet Report is not made.

The Admiral of the *Hulks* and the *Ascension of Sivil* were both sunk by the side of the *Revenge*; one other recovered the Rode of *Saint Michael*, and sunk also

so there ; a fourth ran her self with the Shore to save her men. Sir *Richard* died, as it is said, the Second or Third day aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the Sea or on the Land we know not : the comfort that remaineth to his Friends is, that he hath ended his Life honourably, in respect of the reputation won to his Nation and Country, and of the same to his Posterity, and that being dead, he hath not out-lived his own honour.

For the rest of her Majesties Ships that entered not so far into the Fight as the *Revenge*, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but six in all, whereof two but small Ships ; the *Revenge* ingaged past recovery : The *Island of Flores* was on the one side, 53 of the *Spanish*, divided into Squadrons, on the other, all as full filled with Souldiers as they could contain : Almost the one half of our men sick and not able to serve : the Ships grown foul, unromaged, and scarcely able to bear any Sail for want of Balast, having been six months at the Sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had been lost : for the very hugeness of the *Spanish* Fleet, if no other Violence had been offered, would have crusht them between them into Shivers. Of which the dishonour and loss to the Queen had been far greater then the spoil or harm that that Enemy could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord *Thomas* would have entred between the Squadrons, but the rest would not condescend, and the Master of his own Ship offered to leap into the Sea, rather then to conduct that her Majesties Ship, and the rest, to be a prey to the Enemy, where there was no hope, nor Possibility either of Defence or Victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion or trust of a Generall, to commit himself and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope, or any likelihood of prevailing : thereby to diminish the Strength of her Majesties Navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the Enemy. The *Foresight* of the Queens commanded by Mr. *Thomas Vavisor*, performed a very great Fight, and staid two hours as near the *Revenge* as the Weather would permit him, not forsaking the Fight, 'till he was like to be encompassed by the Squadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himself. The rest gave divers vollies of Shot, and entred as the place permitted, and their own necessities, to keep their weather-gage of the Enemy, untill they were parted by night. A few days after the Fight was ended, and the *English* Prisoners dispersed into the *Spanish* and *Indie* Ships, there arose so great a Storm from the *West* and *North-West*, that all the Fleet was dispersed, as well the *Indian* Fleet which were then come unto them, as the rest of the *Armada* that attended their arrival, of which 14 Sail, together with the *Revenge* and in her 200 *Spaniards*, were cast away upon the *Isle* of *St. Michael*, so it pleased them to honour the burial of that renowned Ship the *Revenge*, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieved in her life time. On the rest of the *Islands* there were cast away in this Storm 15 or 16 more of the Ships of War : and of an hundred and odd Sail of the *Indie* Fleet expected this year in *Spain* : What in this Tempest, and what before in the *Bay of Mexico*, and about the *Bermudas*, there were 70 and odd consumed and lost, with those taken by our

Ships of *London*, besides one very rich *Indian* Ship, which set herself on fire, being boarded by the *Pilgrim*, and five other taken by Master *Wats* his Ship of *London*, between the *Havanah* and *Cape St. Antonio*. The fourth of this Month of *November* we received Letters from the *Tercera*, affirming that there are three thousand bodies of men remaining in that Island, saved out of the perished Ships, and that by the *Spaniards* own confession, there are ten thousand cast away in this Storm, besides those that are perished between the Islands and the Main. Thus it has pleased God to fight for us, and to defend the Justice of our Cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretences of the *Spaniards*, who seeking to devour all Nations, are themselves devoured. A manifest testimony how unjust and displeasing their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witness by the success of their affairs his dislike of their bloody and injurious designs purposed and practised against all Christian Princes, over whom they seek unlawful and ungodly Rule and Empire.

One day or two before this Wreck happened to the *Spanish* Fleet, when as some of our Prisoners desired to be set on shore upon the Islands, hoping to be from thence transported into *England*, which liberty was formerly by the General promised: One *Morice Fitz-John*, Son of Old *John* of *Desmond*, a notable Traytor, Cousin German to the late Earl of *Desmond*, was sent to the *English* from Ship to Ship, to persuade them to serve the King of *Spain*; the arguments he used to induce them were these: The increase of Pay which he promised to be trebled; advancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholick Religion, and safety of their Souls to all. For the first, even the beggerly and unnatural behaviour of those *English* and *Irish* Rebels, that served the King in that present action, was sufficient to answer that first argument of rich Pay. For so poor and beggerly they were, as for want of Apparel they stripped their poor Countrymen Prisoners out of their ragged Garments, worn to nothing by six Months service, and spared not to despoil them even of their bloody Shirts, from their wounded bodies; and the very Shooes from their feet; a notable testimony of their rich entertainment and great Wages. The second reason was hope of advancement if they served well, and would continue faithful to the King. But what man can be so blockishly ignorant ever to expect place or honour from a foreign King, having no other argument of persuasion than his own disloyalty; to be unnatural to his own Country that bred him, to his Parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by Oath, by Nature, and by Religion: No, they are only assured to be employed in all desperate enterprizes, to be held in scorn and disdain even among those whom they serve. And that ever Traytor was either trusted or advanced I could never yet read, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man could have less become the place of an Orator for such a purpose, than this *Morice* of *Desmond*. For the Earl his Cousin being one of the greatest Subjects in that Kingdom of *Ireland*, having almost whole Countries in his possession; so many goodly Manors, Castles, and Lordships; the Count Palatine of

of Kerry, five hundred Gentlemen of his own name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or four hundred years) was in less than three years after his adhering to the *Spaniards* and Rebellion, beaten from all his holds, not so many as ten Gentlemen of his name left living, himself taken and beheaded by a Soldier of his own Nation, and his Land given by a Parliament to her Majesty, and possessed by the *English*: His other Cousin, Sir *John* of *Desmond*, taken by Master *John Zouch*, and his body hanged over the Gates of his native City to be devoured same place: the third Brother Sir *James* hanged, drawn, and quartered in the by Ravens. If he had withal vaunted of his success of his own house, no doubt the Argument would have moved much, and wrought great effect; which because he for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalf. For matter of Religion it would require a particular Volume, if I should set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious Pretences, with that veil of Piety. But sure I am, that there is no Kingdom or Commonwealth in *Europe*, but if they be reformed, they then invade it for Religion sake, if it be as they term Catholick, they pretend Title; as if the Kings of *Castile* were the natural heirs of all the world: and so between both, no Kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces to invade, they basely entertain the Traytors and Vagabonds of all Nations; seeking by those and by their runnagate Jesuits to win parts, and have by that means ruined many noble Houses and others in this Land, and have extinguished both their Lives and Families. What good, honour, or fortune ever Man yet by them achieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our *English* Papists do but look into *Portugal*, against which they have no pretence of Religion, how the Nobility are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a Prey, and all sorts of People captiv'd; they shall find that the Obedience even of the *Turks* is easy and a Liberty, in respect of the Slavery and Tyranny of *Spain*. What have they done in *Sicill*, in *Naples*, *Milane*, and in the *Low-Countries*, who hath there been spared for Religion at all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certain Burger of *Antwerp*, whose House being entered by a Company of *Spanish* Soldiers, when they first sacked the City, he besought them to spare him and his Goods, being a good Catholick, and one of their own Party and Faction: The *Spaniards* answered, that they knew him to be of a good Conscience for himself; but his Money, Plate, Jewels, and Goods, were all heretical; and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish *Fleming*, who hoped that an *Agnus Dei* had been a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable Nation. Neither have they at any time, as they protest, invaded the Kingdoms of the *Indies* and *Peru*, and elsewhere, but only led thereunto, rather to reduce the People to Christianity, than for either Gold or Empery; when as in one Island called *Hispaniola*, they have wasted thirty hundred thousand of the natural People, besides many Millions else in other places of the *Indies*: A poor and harmless people created of God, and might have been won to his knowledge, as many of them were; and almost as many as ever were persuaded thereunto: The Story
whereof

whereof is at large, written by a Bishop of their own Nation, called *Bartolomeu de las Casas*, and translated into *English*, and many other Languages, intituled, *The Spanish Cruelties*. Who would therefore repose trust in such a Nation of ravenous Strangers, and especially in those *Spaniards*, which more greedily thirst after *English* Blood, then after the lives of any other people in *Europe*, for the many Overthrows and Dishonours they have received at our hands, whose Weakness we have discovered to the World, and whose forces at home, abroad, in *Europe*, in *India*, by Sea and Land, we have even with handfuls of Men and Ships, overthrown and dishonoured. Let not therefore any *Englishman*, of what Religion soever, have other opinion of the *Spaniards*, but that those whom he seeketh to win of our Nation, he esteemeth base and traitorous, unworthy persons, or unconstant fools; and that he useth his pretence of Religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch us from the Obedience of our natural Prince; thereby hoping in time to bring us to Slavery and Subjection, and then none shall be unto them so odious, and disdained as the Traytors themselves, who have sold their Country to a Stranger, and forsaken their Faith and Obedience contrary to Nature and Religion; and contrary to that humane and general honour, not only of Christians, but of Heathen and Irreligious Nations; who have always sustained what labour soever, and embraced even Death itself, for their Country, Prince, or Commonwealth. To conclude, it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Majesty, to break the purposes of malicious Enemies, of forsworn Traytors, and of unjust Practices and Invasions. She hath ever been honoured of the worthiest Kings, served by faithful Subjects, and shall by the favour of God, resist, repell and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred Person or Kingdom. In the mean time, let the *Spaniard* and Traytor vaunt of their Success, and we her true and obedient Vassals, guided by the shining light of her Vertues, shall always love her, serve her, and obey her to the End of our Lives.

His Majesties Royal Warrant to the Earl of BATH, then Sir JOHN GRANVILL, at Brussels, immediately before his Restoration.

CHARLES R.

IN consideration of the many Services done us by our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Servant Sir *John Granvill*, (one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber) and his Father, the most Valiant and Loyal Sir *Bevill Granvill*, who most honourably lost his Life at the Battle of *Landsdown*, in the Defence and Service of the Crown, against the Rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal Services.

But more especially in consideration of the late most extraordinary Services (never to be forgotten by us or our Posterity) which the said Sir

John

John Granvill hath lately rendered us in his Person, in his secret, prudent and most faithful Transactions and Negotiations, in concluding that most happy Treaty which he had lately, by our special Command and Commission, with our famous and renowned General *Monk*; and wherein he alone (and no other) was intrusted by Us, concerning the said Treaty, about those most important Affairs for our Restauration; which he has most faithfully performed with great prudence, care, secrecy and advantage for our Service, without any conditions imposed upon us beyond our expectation, and the Commission we gave him; whereof we doubt not, but by God's blessing we shall see the effects of our said happy Restauration. We are pleased to promise, upon the Word of a King, that as soon as we are arrived in *England*, and it shall please God to restore us to our Crown of that Kingdom; We will confer upon our said right Trusty and well-beloved Servant Sir *John Granvill*, the place and office of Groom of our Stole, and First Gentleman of our Bed-chamber (with all Fees, Pensions, and Perquisites thereunto belonging) together with the Title and Dignity of an Earl of our Kingdom of *England*: And the better to support the said Title of Honour, and to reward as we ought those many great services, and to recompence the losses and sufferings of him and his Family; We are further graciously pleased to promise, upon our said Royal Word, to pay all the Debts that he the said Sir *John Granvill*, or his Father have contracted in the late Wars, in our service, or in our Royal Father's of Blessed Memory; and also to bestow and settle, in good Land in *England*, an Estate of Inheritance to the value of at least 3000 *l. per annum*, upon him the said Sir *John Granvill*, and his Heirs for ever; to remain as a perpetual acknowledgment for his said services; and as a Testimony of our Grace and Favour towards him, and that Ancient and Loyal Family of the *Granvills*, unto all Posterity.

Given at our Court at Brussels, the 2d of April, in the 12th year of our Reign, 1660.

By his Majesties Command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

*The Popes Nuntioes, or, The Negotiation of Seignior PAN-
ZANI, Seignior CON, &c. Resident here in England
with the QUEEN, and treating about the Alteration of
Religion*

*With the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and his Adherents, in
the years of our Lord, 1634, 1635, 1636, &c.*

Together With a Letter to a NOBLEMAN of this Kingdom, concerning the same.

L O N D O N, Printed for R. B. 1643.

My LORD,

I Have read with a studious eye this Discourse which your Lordship commended to my observation, and I must confesse, that I was not more sorry that *England* loved *Rome* so well, than I am glad the affection betwixt them is thus discovered. For although the marks of the *Beast* for some years past were legible enough in every corner of this Land, and the *Clergy* generally could speak *Italian*, or were apt to learn it; yet such a spirit of Security did possesse us, and hope and fear had such influence upon our wretched soules, that we could not see that alteration which we lookt upon, and the Gospel was almost fled away before we believed it had any wings. But the great and mysterious Riddle is here unfoulded, and those Curtains of *Peace* and *Charity* which did so speciously cover this *Work of Darknesse*, are drawn from off it. He that will not now understand that *Tibur* and *Thames* were almost in one Channell, shall have my vote to graze upon the Mountains, and forfeit his reasonable soule, which in so clear a day will not discern the waters running. I believe your Lordship with more boldnesse will concur in this sentence, when you shall hear that the *Venetian Ambassadour* was the Author of this little Story, A man, whose Religion would not permit him to favour the reformed Churches, or to blast his own with any falshood, especially in an accompt to a wise State which had employed him; a man of dear acquaintance with *Panzani*, and although no master-builder, yet a pious servant and Spectator of the work: When you shall also hear the *Italian Copy* was first translated into *French* for the great Cardinals satisfaction; and I do not doubt it hath good acquaintances in the *Spanish Court*, and could speak that language long ago. I could proceed further, but that the limits of a letter cannot receive my thoughts concerning this Argument, and my eyes behold so much light, that they are altogether dazled with the lustre. A short time (if God permit) shall produce

duce a volume, which may prove me not only a lover of the truth, but in all lawfull Commands.

Your Lordships most obedient Servant,

D. T.

R E L I G I O N having a great power over the spirit of Man, and an incomparable force thereupon to produce effects extraordinary ; some men embrace it with sinceritie of affection as a way leading to true felicitie : but other esteem more of it for the general profit which redounds from it to humane societie, then for any other excellence discerned in it. Princes, and sage Polititians are of this latter sort of men, giving reverence to it for the commoditie which they receive from it ; as well knowing by experience of all ages, that there is nothing more proper to preserve men in concord, and render the people obedient to the higher Powers. Therefore the most advised and reserved Princes, though in their souls they make no account of Religion, yet in appearance they alwayes endeavour to seem extreemly religious, and inflict exemplary punishment on such as attempt any thing against the puritie of it ; foreseeing with great prudence, that it is impossible any alteration of Religion should happen without trouble and distraction in the State. And indeed in these latter times we see those States and Realms which have prevented divisions of Religion have maintained themselves in peace and tranquillitie, as *Italy*, and *Spaine* : whereas in others on the contrary where the introducing of new opinions has divided the people, there consequently Arms have been taken up by one against the other ; witness *France* and *Germany*. And though some Countreys have undergone change of Religion without interruption of their Repose ; yet if we examine the reason of it, we shall find the said change to have sprong from some extraordinarie cause, rather than from diversitie of opinion amongst the people. The separation of *England* from the Church of *Rome* was not caused so much by the desire of reforming Religion, as from animosities conceived by *Hen. 8.* against the Court of *Rome*, by reason of its difficult consenting to the dissolution of his marriage with *Katharine of Castile*. And though under *Edward* his Son the Reformation was received by publick consent of the whole Realme, it was grounded upon the same cause, and by obstinate opinion of new doctrine ; for under the Reign of *Queen Mary* the Kingdom was as easily reconciled to the Church of *Rome* again, as it had been separated before. *Queen Elizabeth* being come to the Crown, and her interests swaying her to favour the Reformation, she found her people as far disposed to embrace it as they had been forward to reject it, in her Sister's time ; and so the length of her Reign bringing in a permanence of form, she so well establisht it, that it hath since firmly continued under her Successors *JAMES* and *CHARLES*. But forasmuch as this Reformation (as has been said) was induced more for interest of State, and to deliver that Kingdom from the Pope's yoke, then for love of new Opinions : therefore the *English* did not so ingage themselves to those particular Opinions, but that they have since set themselves to reform the abuse of Religion by reducing themselves again to the old practise of their fore-fathers. Neverthelesse this Realm is so perversly addicted to maintain its

own resolute opinion of excluding the Pope's Authority, that this hath been the cause why the Catholicks (who for the first 12 years conformed themselves to the policie introduced into the Church of *England*) have since separated themselves from it; and to testifie their uniting to the Pope, have refused to frequent the Protestant Churches, and thereby have framed one partie in that State. *England* being so divided into Protestants and Catholicks, a considerable number of people by reason of the warres in *France* and the *Netherlands*, retired into it from those Countreys with their Preachers; and being seasoned and initiated with the doctrine of *Calvin*, they judged the *English* Reformation but imperfect, and so refusing submission to that form of policie, by this means they constituted a third partie, named *Puritans*. These three factions are still at this day in sway. That of the *Puritans* is the most potent, consisting of some Bishops, all the Gentry and Commonalitie. That of the Protestants is composed of the King, almost all the Bishops, and Nobilitie, and besides of both the Universities. The Catholicks are the least in number, yet make up a partie in that State sufficiently considerable, because the body of them is composed of such of the Nobilitie as are most rich, powerfull, and strong in alliance, and of no small number amongst the inferior sort. Now these three Factions in Religion, though they all oppose one another, yet the hatred of Protestants against Puritans is greater then against Catholicks, and that of Puritans is greater against Catholicks then Protestants. And thus both Catholicks and Protestants do very easily combine together for the ruin and rooting out of Puritans: and were it not for the interests of some great ones at Court, who serve themselves by pretext of Religion to attain to their own ends, and thereupon to win their attendance have received them into protection, it would be no hard matter to suppress, and quell the Puritans. The Realm being in this condition there is happened a discord amongst Catholicks which has distracted them also into Factions, the occasion whereof was the pretended jurisdiction of Dr. *Smith* an *Englishman* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, contesting for the power of Ordinary over all *England*: in which he was abetted with the favour of all the secular Clergy, and all Catholicks adhering to them. The Regulars hereupon, and more especially the Jesuits, opposed themselves, and wrote divers books both scandalous and prejudicial to the power of Bishops: all which have been censured and condemned by the University of *Paris*: and *Peter Aurelius* a Doctor there has written very learnedly in confutation of the said books. But this did little avail to the appeasing of the difference, it did exasperate rather the Regulars, so that they raised such persecution against the said Bishop, that he was faine to fly out of *England* into *France*, and there he is still residing. And since his retreat the dissention is grown more fierce, insomuch as the Pope taking notice thereof, and desiring to apply some convenient remedie, and yet not clearly discerning the truth of those affairs, so as they were disguised by the cunning and subtilty of each party: He then resolved to send over some person by whose presence upon the place he might be best informed of the truth for the applying of some expedient to those broyls. Thus in the year 1634, his Holinesse did dispatch

into *England* Signior Gregory Panzani, a Doctor in Law and Romish Priest, and by his papal Brief dated the 10 of *October* of the same year, directed to the *English* Clergy and Catholicks, he required and commanded credence to be given him in whatsoever Signior Panzani on his part should expose to them. Cardinal *Fran. Barbarini* also to accompany his Holiness Brief, sent a Letter of his own to the said Catholicks and their Clergy, with which and his Instructions Signior Panzani arrived at *London* the 25. *Decem.* 1634, where he saluted the Queen, and afterwards the King also, who received and treated him with much kindnesse, telling him that he was very welcome: yea, His Majesty remained uncovered during all the discourse, and entertainment. He did also desire conference with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but was put off and procrastinated therein from day to day: so that at last he departed the Kingdom without any speech had with him. From his arrival at the time of his abode in *England* he much applyed himself to Secretary *Windebank*, and the Lord *Cottington*, presuming by the means of the one to maintain himself in the favour of the Archbishop and his party, and by the other to avoid the hatred of the contrary side. By means of a Friend of his he endeavoured to found some of the *English* Doctors of the Archbishop's Adherents, whether or no the King would permit the residing of a Catholick Bishop of the *English* Nation to be nominated by his Majesty, and not to exercise his function, but as his Majesty should limit. This Proposition was not very pleasing, yet after better advisement they answered, that Seignior Panzani should first declare, whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop to be designed as did hold the Oath of Allegiance lawfull, or at least would tolerate the taking thereof by the Catholicks. In this Seignior Panz. would not declare himself, excusing it for want of Commission, and so that Treatie was interrupted. Nevertheless to his intimate friend on the second of *Octob.* 1635. he declared privately, that the Pope would never admit any man to govern as Bishop that would favour the Oath of Allegiance or fidelitie: yet as to the said Oath, some Divines of the Archbishop's party told the forenamed friend of Panzani, that forasmuch as Catholicks formerly would not take the said Oath of fidelity, because they believed it prejudicial to the Pope's authority, and that the Pope might not complain, that the taking of the said Oath was contrary to two of his Briefs prohibiting the same: the King did declare that he did intend no prejudice to the Pope's Spiritual Authoritie by the said Oath, nor require therein any other fidelity from his Subjects then such as God and nature obliged them to. And this will and intention of the King should be published to all Catholickes, at such time as the Oath should be presented. The Court of *England*, and the Prelates, with much zeal and passion, sought to procure a toleration of the said Oath from the Pope; alleadging, That if it were in the King's power to change it, He would retrench all such words, as seemed opposite to his Holiness's Authority: but the same being conceived, and enacted solemnly in Parliament: to change, it was beyond the Kings power: yet the explication appertained to his Majesty what the intendment thereof should be; and so by a Declaration his Majesty would clear, that he intended no prejudice to the

Pope. On the contrary, *Panzani* replied, That the Oath containing some formal Terms, contrary to the Authority due to his Holiness, and the intention of the Parliament being to oblige Subjects to such fidelity as was due to Princes only, the King ought to change the said Oath, and put in such terms as he pleased, so long as he altered not the Parliament's intention. Whereupon, we are to consider deliberately the different intentions of these two Courts: That of *Rome*, in perpetual pursuance of its old pretences, is more solicitous and laborious to reverse and destroy the said Oath, because the same seems contrary to its temporal Grandeur, than to extirpate such heresies as that Realm is infected with. But the aim of the *English* Court is to procure either an approbation, or toleration of the Oath from *Rome*, out of hope to effect thereby a reconciliation between both Courts; yet not intending to effect the same without very great advantage, and that in things contrary to the maxims of *Rome*, to which that will never accord. As for example, to get permission that Catholicks may indifferently frequent Protestant Churches; that the Papal power and dignity shall be confessed to be only of humane right, &c. And that which persuades the Court of *England*, that the Pope may grant his approbation to the Oath, is, because it seems that many of the Catholick Doctors, notwithstanding any Briefs of the Pope to the contrary, have maintained the lawfulness of it, both with their tongues and their pens. As to a reconciliation between the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were made some general propositions and overtures by the Archbishop's Agents, they assuring that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto, and that if it was not accomplisht in his life time, 'twould prove a work of more difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the last three years, the Archbishop had introduced some innovations approaching the rites and forms of *Rome*; that the Bishop of *Chichester*, a great confident of his Grace, and the Lord Treasurer, and eight other Bishops of his Grace's party, did most passionately desire a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; that they did day by day recede from their antient Tenets, to accommodate with the Church of *Rome*; that therefore the Pope on his part ought to make some steps to meet them, and the Court of *Rome* remit something of its rigour in doctrine, otherwise no accord could be. And in very deed, the Universities, Bishops, and Divines of this Realm, do daily embrace Catholick opinions, though they profess not so much with open mouth, for fear of the Puritans. For example, they hold that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church; that the Pope is superior to all Bishops; that to him it appertains to call general Councils; that it is lawful to pray for the soul of the departed; that Altars ought to be erected of stone: In sum, that they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of *Rome*.

There was likewise an *English* Doctor, that told *Panzani's* forementioned friend, that the King did approve of Auricular Confession, and was willing to introduce it; and would use force to make it received; were it not for fear of sedition amongst the people.

These affairs being so disposed, and the Overture of a peaceable Reconciliation,

liation so mature, for the treating of the same, Signior *Panzani* was advised to speak no more of the establishment of a Catholick Bishop in *England*, that being so odious to the Prelates there : but to procure from the King permission for a Nuntio or Agent, from the Pope, to be addressed to the Queen ; which without any bruit, might reconcile the two Courts.

And *Panzani's* forementioned friend did communicate the same to a personage, which had many friends about the King : so that this expedient was proposed to the King, and by *Panzani* himself to the Queen.

The King entred into deliberation upon it, with some of his most intimate Counsellors, who did approve thereof ; upon condition, That he that should be sent from the Pope should be no Priest.

The King also, to stop the mouths of murmurers, when this should be publickly rumoured, said in the presence of many : Why may not I as well receive an Ambassador from the Pope, as I do from other Catholick Princes ? And another time ; I can now reconcile my self to the Church of *Rome* with much advantage.

This affair being so established by *Panzani* further, to cover his designs, and to afford some satisfaction, both to the Popish Clergy, and Regulars of *England* ; and to testify his care of the main business, for which he was sent over, he did procure some accord betwixt the Seculars and Regulars, by common consent, upon the 22d of *November* 1635, where the Jesuits alone would not come in.

Since that time *Panzani* did apply himself to court the amity of the Bishops and Clergy of *England* ; and particularly, of the Bishop of *Chichester*, to whom he was presented by his old friend : by whom he did also caress others ; injoyning his said friend to make promise of Cardinalships, to such as lived unmarried ; and of pensions, to such as aspired not thereunto.

As to affairs of the Civil State, the said *Panzani* hath used incredible diligence to discover the passions, inclinations, and dependances of the King's Counsellors ; especially, of such as are well-affected to *Spain* ; and to discern the inclinations of the Prelates, and the means of gaining and assuring them : as also all the Officers of the Prince's House, whose names he has also taken, and entered in his memorial.

In the month of *July* 1636, there arrived in *England* as the Pope's Resident, Seignior *George Con*, a *Scottishman*, Secretary for the *Latin* tongue to Cardinal *Barbarini*, who was most kindly entertained by the King, Queen, and all the Court : and having great acquaintance and friends, he made much more noise and bruit, than *Panzani* had done, by giving and receiving visits from a great number of the Nobility. Yet there is little evidence that he shall advance the affairs of religion better than *Panzani*, because of the diffidence of the *English*, to whom he seems a more cunning vulpine man. And though the report is, that he is insinuated into the hearts of the Jesuits, (who now govern the best families of *England*) yet there is little hope of profit by that means ; because if the Court perceive this compliance, it may diminish the good opinion which is now conceived of him. For both the
Archbishop

Archbishop and Bishop of *Chichester* have said often; that there are but two sorts of persons likely to impeach and hinder reconciliation, to wit, Puritans amongst the Protestants, and Jesuits amongst the Catholics.

Out of this Discourse it may be inferred (if it be lawful to make judgment of things future by things past) this Realm so divided into so many factions in matter of religion, and that of the Catholics encreasing daily by the countenance of the King, will in time (as is to be feared) be troubled and torn with civil wars, which cannot fail amongst so many parties, when some Heads shall once appear to them, and such will soon be found amongst the King's children.

The Opening of the Great Seal of ENGLAND; Containing certain brief, historical and legal Observations, touching the Original, Antiquity, Progress, Use, Necessity of the GREAT SEAL of the Kings and Kingdom of England, in respect of Charters, Patents, Writs, Commissions, and other Process.

Together with the Kings, Kingdoms, Parliaments several Interests in, and Power over the same, and over the Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Keepers of it, both in regard of its New-making, Custody, Administration for the better Execution of Publick Justice, the Republicks necessary Safety, and Utility.

Occasioned by the Over-rash Censures of such who inveigh against the Parliament, for Ordering a new Great Seal to be Engraven, to supply the wilful absence, defects, abuses of the Old, unduly withdrawn and detained from them.

By WILLIAM PRYNNE, Utter Barrester of Lincolns-Inn.

ESTHER viii. 1.

Write ye also for the Jews, as liketh you, in the King's name, AND SEAL IT WITH THE KING'S RING: for the Writing which is written in the King's name, AND SEALED WITH THE KING'S RING, may no man reverse.

It is this fifteenth day of September, Anno Domini 1643, Ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons, concerning Printing, that this Treatise, intituled, *The Opening of the Great Seal of England*, be forthwith Printed by Michael Sparke, Senior.

JOHN WHITE.

LONDON: Printed for Michael Sparke, Senior, 1643.

To

To the R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader, having copiously answered, refuted all Royalists, Malignants, Papists, clamorous Objections and Primitive Exceptions, against the Proceeding of this present Parliament, in four several Treatises, lately published, concerning The Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms; which have given good satisfaction to many, and silenced the Pens, the Tongues of Anti-Parliamenters, who have been so ingenuous as seriously to peruse them: I yet find a New grand Objection lately started up, and much insisted on among these Opposites, by reason of the Commons late Order for making a New Great Seal, (now almost finished) to supply the wilful absence, defects, abuses of the old, to the extraordinary prejudice, damage, danger of the Houses, Kingdom, and delay of publick Justice; which, though sufficiently answered in the general by sundry Passages and Histories scattered in the former Treatises; yet because not so particularly or fully debated, as the consequence of this extraordinary weighty Act, and the querelousness of the clamorous Opposites, require; I have therefore (upon the motion of some friends) to stop up this new Breach and Clamour, speedily collected and published by Authority, these ensuing Historical and Legal Observations, concerning the Original, Antiquity, Progress, Use, Necessity of the Great Seal of the Kings and Kingdom of England; with reference to Sealing of Charters, Patents, Writs, Commissions, other Process; and given thee a summary account of the Kings, Kingdoms, several Interests in, and Power over the Great Seal, (and the Lords Keepers of it too) both in respect of its New-making, Custody, Administration, for the better execution of Publick Justice, the Republick's necessary safety and utility, clearing all contrary Objections of moment; which I here submit to thy charitable Censure and Acceptation; imploring thy Pardon and Direction, in case I have casually erred, out of Ignorance or Humane Frailty, in tracing this untrodden dangerous narrow Path, wherein I find no Footsteps, or only very obscure ones, to direct my course.

F A R R W E L L.

NOT to enter into any impertinent tedious Discourse of the Antiquity or use of Seals in general, which were very antiently used both by the Nations and Kings of the Jews, Persians, Medes, Babylonians, and others, (as

(as is manifested by (a) sundry Texts of Scripture, to omit prophane Stories;) it is a question much debated among Antiquaries, Historians, Lawyers, How ancient the use of Seals hath been among the Kings of *England*, and in what age, upon what occasion, by what degrees they grew to be absolutely requisite for the ratification of Charters, Patents, Writs, Commissions, and other Proceffes?

The first original Antiquity of Seals among our Kings, is very uncertain; for it is apparent, past all contradiction, (b) that our ancientest Kings Charters, Patents had no Seals at all annexed to them, being ratified only with the Sign of the Cross, (oft-time in golden Characters) the subscription of our King's name, with the names of divers Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, Clerks, and others, under them, as Witnesses; who all made the sign of the Cross, before or after their subscriptions; as is most evident by sundry ancient Charters of our *English Saxon* Kings, yet extant in old Leger Books of Abbeys, in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and by the printed Copies of them in the Histories of *Ingulphus*, *Malmfbury*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew Paris*, *Matth. Westminster*, *Holinsbed*, Mr. Fox, Mr. Camden's *Britannia*, M. Selden's *Titles of Honour*, History of Tythes, Notes to *Eadmetus*, Sir Henry Spelman's Councils and Glossary; Sir Edward Cook's Preface to his 4th and 6th Reports, his Institutions on *Littleton*, and *Magna Charta*, *Joannis Pitsseus*, *Relatio. Histor. de rebus Angl. Cl. Reynerus Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*; M. Lambard his Perambulation of *Kent* and *Archaion*; Bishop *Usher's Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, with others; which Charters, though without a Seal, have (c) ever been reputed as valid, firm in point of Law from time to time, and so admitted by our Judges, Kings, Parliaments, as any punier Charters sealed with our Kings Great Seals. To give you some few instances of the ancientest Charters of our Kings before the Conquest, which I find not sealed, but thus subscribed. King (d) *Ethelbert*, Anno 605, made two Charters, the first to the Church of *St. Pancras*; the other to the Monastery of *Peter and Paul*, to be erected at *Canterbury*; which are thus confirmed with the Sign of the Cross, not sealed:

✠ *Ego Æthelredus Rex Anglorum, hanc donationem meam Signo sanctæ Crucis propria manu confirmavi.*

After which follow divers other witnesses, who confirm it with the same sign. There is extant a Bull of *Augustine*, the first Bishop of *Canterbury*, of

(a) Gen. 38. 18, 25. Exod. 28. 21. c. 39. 6. Deut. 31. 43. Job 14. 17. c. 33. 16. c. 37. 7. c. 38. 14. c. 41. 15. 1 King 21. 8. Neh. 9. 38. c. 12. 1. Esther 3. 12. c. 8. 10. Jer. 2. 10, 11, 11, 24. Cant. 8. 6. Isa. 8. 16. Dan. 6. 17. c. 12. 49. c. 9. 24. Ezek. 2. Matt. 27. 66. John 3. 33. Rom. 4. 1. 1 Cor. 9. 2. 2 Tim. 2. 19. Revel. 5. 1, 5, 9. c. 6. 1, 3, 12. c. 7. 1, 3. c. 8. 16. c. c. 4. c. 10. 4. c. 20. 3. c. 22. 10. Polyd. Virgil. de Invent. 1. 8. c. 2. (b) See *Ingulph. Hist. p. 910. Terms of the Law. Tit. Faits, f. 94. Cook's Institutes on Littleton, f. 7. a.* (c) See 3 Hen. 7. 25, 26. Cook's Preface to the 4th Report. Terms of the Law. Title Faits. (d) Spelman. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 118, 119, to 126.

an exemption granted by him to this Monastery, with a leaden Seal annexed to it, the form whereof you may view in (e) Sir Henry Spelman, who suspects both these Charters, with *Augustine's* Bull and Seal, (the sealing of Bulls being not so ancient, and leaden Bulls being first brought in by Pope *Adrian*, about the year of our Lord 774, as *Polydore* and others observe) to be mere Counterfeits, upon good grounds. There is another Charter of the same King, of Lands given to the same Monastery, dated, *An. 610*, subscribed as the former. The next antient Charter I find, is that of (f) *Witbred* King of *Kent*, dated, *An. Dom. 695*, who the same year confirmed the great Council of *Be-cancellen* with the sign of the Cross, and such subscriptions as are aforesaid. To these I shall add the (suspected) Charter of (g) King *Kenred* and *Offa*, *An. 709*, with the Charters of *Egwin* Bishop of *Worcester*, *An. 709*. The Charter of (h) King *Ethelbald*, *An. 718*, made to *St. Guthlac*, and the Abbey of *Croyland*, with his General Charter of Privileges granted to all Churches and Monasteries, dated *An. 742*. The Charter of (i) King *Ina*, granted to the Abbey of *Glastenbury*, (supposed to be spurious) *An. 725*. Of (k) King *Offa* to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *An. 793*. The (l) Decree of *Ailardus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Council of *Clovesho*, *An. 803*. The Charter of (m) King *Kenulphus* to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 806*. The (n) Decrees of the Synod of *Clovesho*, under King *Beornwulfe*, *an. 824*; and of the Council of *London* under King *Egbert*, *an. 833*. The Charter of (o) *Witlafius* King of *Mercia*, to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 833*. The Charter of King *Bertulphus* to the same Abbey, *an. 851*, with the (p) Canons of the Council of *Kingsbury*, confirmed and subscribed by this King, and others the same year, with the sign of the Cross. The Charters of (q) *Ethelwulphus* to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 855*, and to all Churches and Monasteries, which he offered up to God upon the Altar of *St. Peter* at *Winchester*, where the Bishop received it, and sent it to all Churches to be published. The Charter of (r) *Beorredus* King of *Mercia*, to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 860*; of (s) Queen *Æthel-swith* to *Cuthwulfe*, *an. 860*; of King (t) *Edmund* to the Abbey of *Glastenbury*, *an. 944*; of (u) King *Edred* to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 948*; the Charters of (x) King *Edgar* to the Abbey of *Croyland*, *an. 966, 970, 974*; to the (y) Abbey of *Glastenbury*, *an. 965, 971*; and to the Abbey of *Malmf-bury*, *an. 974*; his charter of *Oswald's* Laws, *an. 964*; his Charter to his new

(e) Spel. Gloss. Tit. Bull. p. 108. Pol. Virg. De Juven. Rerum, l. 8. c. 1. (f) Spelman. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 189. to 194. (g) Spel. Ib. p. 207, 208, 209, 210. (h) Ingulph. Hist. p. 151, 852. Spelm. Concil. p. 256, 257. (i) Spelm. Ib. p. 227, to 231. (k) Ingulph. Hist. p. 853, 854. (l) Spel. Concil. p. 324, 325. (m) Ingulph. Hist. p. 154, 855. (n) Spel. Concil. p. 335, 338, 339. (o) Ingulph. Hist. p. 855 to 857, 868 to 862. (p) Spel. Concil. p. 346, 347. (q) Ingulph. Hist. p. 862. Matth. Westm. An. 854, 834. Spel. Conc. p. 350. to 354. Malm-buriensis De Gest. Reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 2. p. 41. (r) Ingulph. Hist. p. 863, 864. (s) Cooks Ep. to the 6th Report. (t) Malmesb. de Gestis Regum Ang. l. 2. c. 7. p. 53, 54. (u) Ingulph. Hist. p. 874. to 877. Spelm. Concil. p. 428. (x) Ingulph. Hist. p. 880. to 885. (y) Malmf. de Gestis Regum, l. 2. c. 8. p. 56, 57. Spelman. Concil. p. 485, 486, 488, 489, 432. to 135. J. Seldeni ad Eadmerum notæ, p. 159, 160. Cooks Preface to the 4th Report,

Monastery of *Winchester*, an. 966, and another Charter, an. 964; the Charter of * King *Ethelred*, an. 955, to *Ulfic*, with (z) his Charter of Privileges granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, an. 1006. the (a) Charter of King *Knute*, or *Canutus*, to the Church of our *Saviour* at *Canterbury*, An. 8018. and to the *Abbey* (b) of *Croyland*. an. 1032. of *Thorold* to the *Abbey* of *Croyland*, an. 1051, and of King *Edward* the Confessor to the same *Abbey* about the year 1050. All these ancient Charters of our Kings before the Conquest had no seals at all annexed to them, but were only ratified with the sign of the cross subscribed by the Kings themselves, and those who made them, together with their names and crosses of the witnesses. And it is observable, that all or most of these ancient Charters of our kings, which granted any lands or privileges to *Abbeys* or *Churches*, were made in full Councils and Parliaments, with the unanimous consent and approbation of the Bishops, Prelates, Abbots, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and great men therein present, who commonly subscribed them; the reason was, because none of our ancient Kings (as I have proved) had any power to grant or alien the lands of the Crown (which they enjoyed only in the Kingdom's right, and for its use) to any, without the consent of their Nobles, and people in full Parliament: and in most of these Charters, *Abbeys* and *Churchlands* were exempted from all taxes, tallages, and temporal services whatsoever, except the repairing of high ways, bridges, and castles for the common good: and (c) thereby were anciently exempted from *Danegeld*, as I have elsewhere manifested.

Which of our Kings first used a seal, is not certainly determined. Sir *Edward Cook* in his *Institutes on Littleton*, fol. 7. a. records that the Charter of King *Offa*, whereby he granted *Peter-pence*, doth yet remain under his seal; Now this Charter, as (d) Sir *Henry Spelman*, and our (e) Historians generally in his life, accord, was dated in the year of our Lord 793. or 794. and is the first Charter sealed (if true) by any of our Kings. There is another (f) Charter of King *Edwin*, of certain land called *Iecklea* in the Isle of *Ely*, bearing date Anno 956. sealed with his own seal, and with the seal of *Elfwin* Bishop of *Winchester*. I read in *Francis Thinne* his Catalogue of Chancellors, and in Sir *Henry Spelman* his Glossary, fol. 126. 132. that our *Saxon* kings *Æthelstand*, *Edmund*, *Edred*, *Edgar*, and *Æthelred*, had their several Chancellors; but whether they had any seals or not, is uncertain: if they had any, 'it is certain' (writes (g) Sir *Henry Spelman*) that they scarce used them at all, or very rarely, most of their Charters having no seals at all, but only crosses, or subscriptions of these Kings names, and witnesses.' The very (h) first of all our Kings who used a large broad seal, was *Edward* the Confessor, who, being brought up in *Normandy*, introduced that, with some other of the *Normans* Customs with him, and had three Chancellors: Under this (i) seal he granted a

* Cooks Preface to the sixth Report.

(z) Spelman Concil. p. 504. to 510.

(a)

Spelman p. 533.

(b) Ingulph. hist. p. 893, 93, 914.

(c) Remonstrance against

ship-money.

(d) Concil. tom. 1. p. 308, 310, 311, 312.

(e) Huntindon, An-

tiquitates Ecclesiae Brit. Fox Polychronicon, Holinsh.

Grafton, Speed and others.

(f) Cooks

Instit. on Lit. f. 7. a.

(g) Glossar. p. 127.

See Terms of the Law, title Fairs.

(h) Speed hist. p. 415. terms of the law, f. 94.

(i) Spelman Glossar. p. 1260.

Charter of sundry liberties and privileges to the Church of Saint *Peters* iⁿ *Westminster*, Anno Dom. 1066 which was sealed by his Chancellor *Reynbaldus*, as is evident by this his subscription to that deed; *Ego Reynbaldus Regis CANCELLARIUS relegi & SIGILLAVI*. This is the first Charter, for ought appears, that ever was sealed with a Royall broad Seal, or by a Chancellor. But that all this good King's Charters, or any of his writs or commissions were thus sealed by this great seal, or that the Chancellor had then the custody of the seal (which the Chancellors in the reign of *Charles* the great, and *Ludovicus Pius*, had not in *France*, as Sir *Henry Spelman* proves in his *Glossary*, p. 127. out of *Capit. l. 2. c. 24.* and *Egolismensis in vita Caroli*, p. 15. and the passage of *Ingulphus* concerning the office of the Chancellor in his time, cited in *Spelman*, seems to disprove) is a *non liquet* unto me. The exact form of this King's great seal you may behold in * *John Speed*, together with the various effigies of all our succeeding Kings broad seals, prefixed by him before their several lives.

Two things there are, which in this enquiry after the original use of our Kings great seals, seem somewhat dubious unto me. First, when, how, and by what law or means it came to pass, that our Kings Charters and Patents ought of necessity to be sealed with the great seal, contrary to the primitive usages in former ages, or else to be reputed invalid, and meere nullities in law? Secondly, when, and by what law or grounds, and in what King's reign, Writs, Commissions, and other Proceſſe of law, began to be issued out under the great seal, or else to be disallowed as illegal? it being evident unto me, that Charters, and Patents were usually sealed by some of our Kings, before any of their Writs, Commissions, or legal Proceſſe issued under their seals.

These two doubts, I confesse, are beyond my skill exactly to assoile; yet this I conjecture as most consonant to truth; That (k) *Edward* the Confessor being trained up in *Normandy*, and addicted to the customs of the *French*, which he introduced with him, did first of all bring in the sealing of deeds; which I gather from the words of (l) *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland*, who flourished in his reign, and writes thus of him: *Cœpit ergo tota terra sub Rege, & sub aliis Normannis introductis, Anglicos ritus dimittere, & Francorum mores in multis imitare: Gallicum idioma omnes Magnates in suis Curiis tanquam magnum Gentilitium loqui; CHARTAS ET CHIROGRAPHIS SUA MORE FRANCORUM CONFICERE, & propriam consuetudinem IN HIS, & in aliis erubescere*. Now the *French* Kings long before his days, used to seal their Charters with golden Bulls, as (m) *Franciscus Rosierius*, and Sir (n) *Henry Spelman* testifie; there being divers Charters of King *Dagobert*, *Sigebert*, and *Pipin* yet extant under golden Bulls, as they record: and *Charles* the Great, descended of *Pipin*, was the first Emperour of the *Romans* which sealed Charters with a golden Bull as (o) *Polydor Virgil* attests, (p) *Flodoardus* also recording, that *Charles* the Bald

* Hist. of Eng. p. 409.

(k) Terms of the Law Tit. Faits. f. 94. Speed hist. p. 45.

(l) Hist. p. 895.

(m) In Apparatu a Stemmata Lintharogiae.

(n) Glossar. tit. Bulla.

aurea, p. 106, 107.

(o) De invent. Rerum, l. 1. o. 2. see Ioan. Zonarae, An. tom. 3.

f. 147. c.

(p) Hist. Rhem. Eccl. l. 3. c. 17.

An. Dom. 867. sealed with a Bull of his name, *Bulla sui nominis sigillavit.* In imitation of whom (q) *Edward* the Confessor, as it is probable, caused a great Seal to Charters of Privileges and Donations granted to the *Abbey of Westminster* (to which he was a special benefactor) the copies of which you may read in (r) *Sir Henry Spelman*: witnesse this close of his second; *Chartamistam conscribi, ET SIGILLARI JUSSI, & ipsam manu mea signo sanctæ CRUCIS impressi, & idoneos testes annotari præcepi ad corroborandam*: After which his own subscription with the sign of the Cross follows, and the subscriptions and crosses of sundry Bishops and Abbots; after them, *Ego Reynbaldus CANCELLARIUS* ✕; then follow the subscriptions of *Dukes*, and other the King's Officers, with this conclusion, *Acta apud Westmonaster. quinto kal. Januarii, die sanctorum Innocentium, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 1066. Indictione tertia. Anno Regni serenissimi Edwardi Regis 24. Swyergerius Notarius ad vicem Reynbaldi Regiæ dignitatis Cancellarii, hanc Chartam scripsi & subscripsi, in Dei nomine feliciter, Amen.* With this close of his Charter dated the same year and day; *ut ergo hæc auctoritas nostris & futuris temporibus, circa ipsum sanctum locum perenniter firma & inviolata permaneat, per omnia tempora illæsa custodiatur atque conservetur & omnibus Optimatibus nostris, & Judicibus publicis & privatis, melius ac certius credatur, Manus nostræ subscriptione subter eam decennius roborare, & idoneos testes annotare, AT QUE SIGILLO NOSTRO JUSSIMUS SIGILLARI.* ✕.

Ego Edwardus Dei gratia Anglorum Rex, hoc privilegium jussi componere, & compositum, cum signo Dominicæ CRUCIS confirmando impressi. ✕: then follow the subscriptions of divers Bishops and Abbots with crosses: next to them, *Ego Reynbaldus Regis CANCELLARIUS relegi ET SIGILAVI.* ✕: next ensue the subscriptions of some Dukes, Officers, and Knights, with crosses: next the date of the place, day, year of Christ, and the King's reign; with *Ego Alfgeatus Notarius, ad vicem Reynbaldi Regiæ dignitatis Cancellarius, hoc privilegium scripsi & subscripsi, In Dei nomine feliciter. Amen.*

From which Charters and Subscriptions we may observe,

First, That this King *Edward*, though he added his great Seal to his Charters yet he retained the ancient form of confirming them with the sign of the crosse, and the subscription of his own name, and the names of witnesses; which continued long after, till *Edward* the first his reign, if not longer, though since discontinued.

Secondly, that the Chancellor in his days, though he subscribed his name after Prelates and Bishops, yet he did it before Dukes, Earls, and all other temporal Lords, therefore he was then, no doubt, the chiefe temporal Officer, and hath so continued ever since. What the dignity and office of the Chancellor was in this King's reign and before, appears by *Ingulphus* his history of *Turketulus* (s) (Chancellor both to King *Æthelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred* successive'y, and the second Chancellor we read in our Realme) who was then PRIMUM, PRÆCIPUUM ET A SECRETIS FAMILIARISSIMUM.

(q) Speeds Hist. p. 415. Terms of the law, f. 04.

(r) Con. il. Tom. 1. p. 60. to 637.

(s) Thinn Catalog. of Chancellors in Holinshed vol. 3. col. 1260. &c. Spelman, Gloss. p. 132.

• This (t) *Turketulus* (writes he) descended of the blood royal, being Nephew to King *Edward the Elder*, who for his merits would have matched him to divers rich Noblemens daughters, but he refused them, leading a single life: After which he would have promoted him to a Bishoprick for his learning and holiness, profering him first the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and afterwards the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* very often, and to prefer him before all his other Clerks; but he rejected those dignities with various excuses, and utterly abhorred them all his life, *tanquam tendiculas Sathane ab subvertendas animas*, as the snares of Satan to subvert souls: Such were lordly Bishopricks esteemed, even in that blind age: which may be further ratified by this monkish story, related out of the *Promptuary of the Disciple*, and *Arnoldus in (u) the Flower of the Commandments of God*: 'That a Monk of *Clervaulx* was chosen to be Bishop, the which refused it, against the will of his Abbot and of the Bishop, and soon after died: Who appearing after his death to his familiar, he demanded of him, if the disobedience before-said had noyed him? He answered, that nay; and afterward said, If I had taken the Bishoprick, *I had been damned*; and said moreover an horrible word, *The state of the Church is come unto this, that she is not digne to be governed BUT OF ILL BISHOPS, &c.*' But to return to our story, *Turketulus* refusing the glory of this terrene dignity and transitory honour of a Bishoprick, the King at last made him Chancellor: *Ut quaecunque negotia temporalia vel spiritualia Regis judicium expectabant, illius consilio & decreto (tam sanctae fidei, & tam profundi ingenii tenebatur) omnia tractarentur, & tractata irrefragabilem sententiam sortirentur. Consilio ergo illius, multa bona opera, &c. effecit*: After which he adds, 'he was a man of greatest power and authority with these three Kings, both for his incomparable wisdom and valour; he had sixty Manors of his own (six whereof he gave to God and the Abbey of *Croyland*, where he became Abbot, and the residue to the King) and vast treasures of jewels and money,' yet in all this greatness, his Title of Chancellor was his highest dignity, as *Ingulphus* manifests: Therefore it was then, no doubt, the most eminent office.

Thirdly, that in those times (x) it was one chief part of the Chancellor's office, by himself or his Notaries and Substitutes, to dictate and write all the King's Charters, Patents, Writs, and to subscribe them as a witness: Whence *Turketulus*, when he was Chancellor, writ or dictated most of the King's Charters made to the Abbey of *Croyland*: *Rex Edredus dedit Monasterium Croyland per Chartam suam, dictatam ab eodem Turketulo*, writes *Ingulphus*, p. 874.

Fourthly, That the Chancellor in his reign, sealed the King's Charters with his seal; yet (y) whether he only did it, or had the sole custody of the seal, is uncertain.

(t) *Ingulph. Hist.* p. 872. to 892. *Spelman Gloss.* p. 126. (u) *Fol.* 227. printed by Winkin de Word at London, An. 1521. (x) See *Spelmanni Glossar.* tit. *Cancellarius*, p. 125. to 128. (y) *Spelmanni Gloss.* p. 127, 128.

But though King *Edward* the Confessor (z) first brought in the great seal, yet the custom of sealing Charters, Patents therewith, with other mens sealing Deeds, grew not common, universal, or necessary, (a) till the latter end of the *Conqueror's* reign; as (b) *Ingulphus* in these direct terms avers, from his own experimental knowledge: *Et non tantum hunc morem* (of making Knights) *sed alias etiam consuetudines* (William the Conqueror and his Normans, of whom he writes) *immutabant; nam chirographorum confectionem Anglicanam, quæ antea usque ad Edwardi Regis tempora, fidelium præsentium subscriptionibus cum Crucibus Aureis, aliisque sacris signaculis firma fuerint, Normanni condemnantes, chirographa chartas vocabant; Et chartarum firmitatem cum cerea impressione per uniuscujusque speciale sigillum, sub instillatione trium vel quatuor testium astantium* (whereas antient Charters had twenty or more witnesses) *conficere constituebant. Conferebantur etiam primo nulla prædia nudo verbo, absque scripto, vel charta, tantum cum Domini gladio, vel galea, vel cornu, vel cratera; & plurima tenementa cum calcari, cum striguli, cum arcu, & nonnulla cum sagitta. Sed hæc initio Regni sui; posterioribus annis immutatus est iste modus. Tantum tunc Anglicanos abominati sunt, &c.* So that by this Historian's express testimony (a man of great eminency in that age, being Abbot of *Croyland*, and much frequenting the Court, yea, taking more pains to search out and preserve antient Charters than any in that age) *William* the Conqueror and his Normans, especially in all matters of government, law, and justice, his Charters being of far other tenour, form, and brevity, than those before or since in use) were the first who introduced it, by insensible degrees, the *French* custom of sealing charters and deeds with seals; and this the King, with his Officers (as all our Historians complain) being extraordinary covetous and oppressive, using sundry new devises to fill their own purses, by exhausting the peoples; it is very likely (as *Ingulphus's* words import, and (d) others insinuate) that he and his Chancellors (of which I find (e) nine in his reign) to make a benefit and project of his great seal, did in his latter days ordain, that all Charters, Patents, should be thenceforth sealed with his royal seal, or else be reputed invalid in law. Three charters of his I find recorded in our writers: The first made to the Abbey of *Croyland*, at the suit of (f) *Ingulphus* who registers it, subscribed by some witnesses, without mentioning any seal of his thereto annexed. The second, to the Abbey of *Battle*, sealed with his great seal, and subscribed by four or five Bishops, which Patent and Seal too you may view in (g) *Mr. Selden's* Notes on *Eadmerus*. The third, to the City of *London*, granted at the sute of *William* their Bishop, written in the *Saxon* tongue, confirmed with green wax, whereas the *Saxons* before used only to sign with gilt crosses; the copy whereof you made read in *Lambert's* Peram-

(z) *Speed's* Hist. p. 415.(a) See *Rastal's* Terms of the Law. tit. Faits.

(b) His-

tory, p. 901.

(c) *Malmesbury*, *Matthew Paris*, *Eadmerus*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, *Polychron*, *Holingshed*, *Speed*, *Daniel*, and others in his life.(d) *Speed's* Hist. p. 440,

450.

(e) In *Thinn's* Catalogue, and *Spelman. Gloss.* p. 132.

(f) History,

p. 912.

(g) Page 165, 166. see the form of his seal in *Speed's* Hist. p. 435.

bulation of *Kent*, *Holingshead*, and (b) *Speed*. As for that Charter of his, recorded by *John Stow*, and *Speed* in his life, out of the Book of *Richmond*:

I *William* King, the third yeare of my reigne,
Give to thee *Norman Hunter*, to mee that are both leefe and deare,
The Hop and the (i) *Hopton*, and all the bounds up and downe,
Vnder the earth to Hell, above the earth to Heaven,
From me and mine, to thee and to thine,
As good and as faire, as ever they mine were:
To witnesse that this is sooth, I bite the white wax with my tooth,
Before *Jugge*, *Maud*, and *Margery*, and my youngest sonne *Henry*,
For a Bow and a broad Arrow, when I come to hunt upon *Yarrow*.

I deem it either a forgery, or a Charter granted only in merriment, which *Rastall* in his *Terms of the Law*, f. 80. attributes rather to King *Edward* the third, than to the *Conqueror*; concluding, that sealing was not commonly used till the reign of *Edward III*: which if true perchance of deeds between private persons, yet not of Royal Charters. King *William Rufus*, *Henry I*, *Stephen*, and *Henry II*, had all their several great seals (the portraitures whereof you may behold in *John Speed's* History before every of their lives) and their several Chancellors too, whose names you may read in (k) *Francis Thinn's* Catalogue, and (l) *Spelman*; which Chancellors, as is most likely, kept their seals, sealing both Patents and Charters with them.

I read, that (m) King *Henry I*, in the first year of his reign, granted a Charter of Liberties to his Subjects (according to his Promise and Oath, before and at his Coronation) much like to *Magna Charta*, subscribed with Witnesses: ET SIGILI SUI TESTIMONIO ROBORATUM, as *Eadmerus*, and others write: To this Charter he set both his hand AND SEAL, commanding as many copies as there were Counties in *England* to be transcribed, and kept in the Monasteries of every Province: He was made a King by right of Election, not of Succession, his brother *Robert* being right heir. In this King's reign, I find one Writ to *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who used (n) a seal wherewith he sealed his letters written to this King) with (o) *Teste Walrico CANCELLARIO apud Merlebergam*. And another (p) Writ directed to him, to respite the consecration of *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* till *Easter*, SIGILLO REGIS INCLUSAS; the first Writ I, to my remembrance, find sealed with any King's Seal, though Patents were commonly sealed before this time. (q) King *Stephen*, coming to the Crown by the Nobles Election, not by right

(b) History, p. 450, 451. (i) I doubt Hoplands, hops and hop-yards were not then in use. (k) Holingshead, vol. col. 1260. to 1280. (l) Glossarium, p. 132, 133. (m) Matth. Paris, p. 53, 54. Eadmerus, l. 3. p. 55. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. l. 5. Hoveden, Holingshead, Matth. West. Fabian, Polychron, Caxton, Grafton, Stow, Daniel in 1 Hen. I. Speed, p. 407. (n) Delatae literae repositae in tuo sigillo, Eadmer. l. 4. p. 86. (o) Eadmerus, ibid, & p. 101. (p) Eadmer. Nov. l. 4. p. 101. (q) Malmesb. Novel. l. 1. p. 179. Huntind. Matt. Paris, Hoveden, Matt. West. Speed, Holingsh. Daniel, in his life, An. 1.

of inheritance, as next heir, vowed to confirm their Liberties by his Charter and SEAL; which he did at Oxford in the first year of his Reign: this Charter you may read in the marginal Authors, being like to *Magna Charta* in substance. That King Henry II. used to seal his Charters and Patents, I find apparent testimonies in our Historians. For his Oath of Purgation which he made concerning the death of *Thomas Becket*, (registred at large by (r) *Roger de Hoveden*) was put into writing in form of a Charter, and then sealed with his Seal, and the Seals of the Cardinals, as this Author attests. *Et ut hæc in memoria Romanæ Ecclesiæ haberentur, Rex Pater FECIT APPONI SIGILLUM SUUM SCRIPTO ILLI, in quo superdicta capitula continebantur, una CUM SIGILLIS prædictorum Cardinalium (Thodine and Albert). Atque ut in memoria Romanæ Ecclesiæ firmiter habeatur, SIGILLUM VESTRUM PRÆCIPISTIS APPONI.* (s) *An. Dom. 1177.* Sancho King of Navarre, and Alphonso King of Castile, being at variance, about breaches of Articles in a former truce, referred their differences to the determination of King Henry II. who calling his Nobles and Parliament together, made these Kings Ambassadors to put their differences in writing, and then to swear to stand to his, and his Council's arbitrement: which done, he made a Charter of his award, subscribed with the names of many Bishops, Nobles, Clerks, and Laymen, as you may read at large in *Hoveden*, which Charter questionless was sealed with his seal, though it be not expressed. (t) The same year, on the 7th day of October, King Lewis of France, and King Henry II, made a final concord and league for mutual offence and defence, which was put in writing, sworn to, subscribed by many witnesses of note and SEALED; witness the words of *Hoveden* (who records it at large.) *Et ut hoc statutum firmiter teneatur, & ratum permaneat, scripto commendari, ET SIGILLI SUI AUCTORITATE CONFIRMARI FECIT.* And the same year Audebert Earl of March selling his Earldom to King Henry, made a Charter thereof, registered in (u) *Hoveden*, which concludes thus: *Ne autem hæc mea venditio solemniter celebrata aliqua posset in posterum malignitate divelli, EAM SIGILLO MEO MUNIVI:* after which many Bishops, and other witnesses subscribed. In this King's Reign it is apparent, that the great Seal remained in the custody of the Chancellor; for I read (x) that this King making his Chancellor *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he thereupon, *An. Dom. 1162.* (contrary to the King's good liking and expectation, who was then in *Normandy*) sent messengers over with the Seal, *Cancellaria renuntians, ET SIGILLUM RESIGNANS*, renouncing the Chancellorship, and resigning up the Seal unto him; because he could not attend the Court and Church at once: so as the Chancellor then kept the seal of *England* with him here, when the King was absent in *Normandy*, for the

(r) *Annal. pars post. p. 529, 530.* See Matthew Paris, p. 120, 121, 122, 124, 125.
 (s) *Hoveden An. pars post. p. 560. to 566.* Matt. Par. p. 12. See Holinsh. and Speed in his life.
 (t) *Hoveden An. pars post. p. 570, 571.* Matt. Paris, p. 121. See Holinsh. Grafton, Speed, Daniel, Fabian.
 (u) *Annal. pars post. p. 527.* (x) Matth. Paris, hist. p. 94. *Antiquitates Eccles. Brit. p. 122.* Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops in the life of Becket. Thinn's Catalogue of Chancellors, Holinshed. in Hen. 2.

better execution of publicke justice. This will yet more plainly appear by the ensuing passage of (y) *Hoveden* and Writ of King *Richard* the first; *Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c.* Willielmo de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia, Hugoni Bardulpho salutem, sciatis quod didicimus, quod in morte Patris nostri sine præcepto suo, & conscientia, habuerunt literas DE SIGILLO SUO Gaufridus de Muscamp de habendo Archidiaconatu de Cliveland, & Willielmus de Stigandebi, & Magister Erradus de præbendis in Ecclesia Eboracensi, quæ tum vacabat, & erat in manu nostra: Et ideo præcipimus, quod præfatos ab Archidiaconatu & Præbendis dictis sine mora dissaisietis, repentes ab eis quicquid ex inde perceperunt, postquam illos redditus ita frudulenter & per surreptionem sunt adepti. Teste meipso tertio die Novembris apud Mamerz. Prob pudor!

Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

*Idem enim * Archiepiscopus dum adhuc esset CANCELLARIUS REGIS Patris sui, SIGILLUM ILLUD IN CUSTODIA HABUIT, per quod præfatus Archidiaconatus, & præbendæ illæ datæ fuerant prænominatis personis.*

By which passage and writ it is apparent: First that the Chancellor in *Henry* the seconds Reign, had the custody of the great Seal. Secondly, That presentations to Churches, Archdeaconries, and Prebendaries, were then granted under the Great Seal. Thirdly, that Chancellors did sometimes fraudulently grant and seal Patents without the King's privy; and that these Patents, when discovered, were reputed fraudulent and voyd. Fourthly, That writs at Common Law were usual in *Henry* the second his Reign; which appears most plentifully and irrefragably by *Ranulphus de Glanvilla*, chief Iusticiar under this King his *Traetus de legibus & consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ*, the common Law and the Proceedings upon them, yet in use, are collected and registred for the benefit of Posterity. In this King's time I conceive, our Writs of Law were reduced by this *Ralph Glanvill* and his fellow Justices, into a set form, and began to issue forth under the King's Seal to avoyd forgery; but whether under the Great Seal, or special Seal of every Court (as Sir *Edward Cook* in his Institutes on *Magna Charta*, pag. 554, 555, 556, conjectures) I cannot certainly define. In his Reign I first find, that the counterfeiting of the King's Charter was reputed Treason; as *Glanvill* expressly declares it, lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 14. cap. 7. *Illud tamen notandum, quod si quis convictus fuerit de Charta falsa, distinguendum est, Verum fuerit CHARTA REGIS, an privata. Quod si CHARTA REGIS, tunc is qui super hoc convincitur, condemnandus est, TANQUAM DE CRIMINE LESÆ MAJESTATIS. Si vero fuerit charta privata, tunc cum convicto mitius agendum est.* Now that which he terms counterfeiting the King's Charter, (z) *Bracton*, (a) *Britton*, and the Statue of 25.

(y) Annal. pars post. p. 748. * *Geoffrey*.

(a) Lib. 1. c. 8. f. 16. *Stanfords Pleas* lib. 1. c. 1.

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(z) Lib. 2. Tit. de Crimine lesæ Majest.

(b) Annal. pars poster. p. 551.

E. 3. of Treasons, still counterfeiting the Great Seal, or Privy Seal of the King's and therefore this of *Glanvill* relates principally to the counterfeiting of the King's Seal annexed to his Charter. I find in (*c*) *Roger Hoveden*, a Charter of *William, King of Sicily*, which he made to *Joan* daughter of King *Henry*, touching her Dower, dated *Anno Domini 1177. Mense Februarii Indiæ: decima*, subscribed with the names of witnesses Subjects to King *William*, and among others, *Ego Mattheus, Domini Regis VICE-CANCELLARIUS*: Which Charter concludes thus: *Ad hujus autem donationis & concessionis nostræ memoriam, & inviolabile firmamentum; privilegium præsens per manus Alexandri, notarij nostri scribi, ET BULLA AVREA NOSTRO TYPARIO IMPRESSA, ROBORATUM NOSTRO SIGILLO, jussimus decorari. In quo familiares nostri, & aliæ personæ præcepto nostro se scripserunt hoc modo*; the Form of which King's great Seal you may behold ingraven in *Hoveden*, p. 553.

In fine, this *Henry* the second, being (*d*) chosen King of *Hierusalem* (which Kingdom was wholly elective) and earnestly importuned by *Heraclius* Patriarch of that City, the Christians there, and by Pope *Lucius* his Letters, to accept that Honour; *an. 1185.* (*e*) He thereupon summoned a Parliament at *London* on 10. of *April*; wherein he charged all his subjects with many adjurations, to advise and resolve him, what was best to be done in this case for the salvation of his soul; and that he was resolved by all means, to follow their advice herein. Whereupon the Parliament conferring on the premises, resolved; that it was much more wholesome for the King's soul, that he should govern his own Kingdom with due moderation and defend it from the eruptions of the Barbarous *French*, than to provide for the safety of those in the East, in proper person. Which I only note in the by (having omitted it in its due place) First, to manifest what high esteem our Kings have had of the resolutions and advice of their Parliaments, to which they wholly submitted their own judgments, acquiescing in their resolves. Secondly, to evidence the Sovereign power of Parliaments over our Kings then, who might not desert the Realm, nor take any new honour or dominion upon them, without their previous consents and advice: Thirdly, to shew the dutie of Kings to their Subjects and Kingdoms.

King *Richard* the first succeeding his Father *Henry* second, rather by Election, than Succession, (and (*f*) not stiled a King, by our ancient Writers, before his Coronation) was the first of all our Kings (as our (*g*) Writers accord) who sealed with a Seal of Arms, all our former Kings seals, being but the Picture of the King sitting in a Throne, on the one side of the seal, and on horse-back on the other side in divers Forms, with various inscriptions of their Names and stiles; which you may view in *Speed*. But the King bare two Lions Rampant combatant in a shield, in his first, and three Lions passant in his latter Seal; borne ever after by our Kings, as the Royal Arms of *England*.

(*c*) *Mat. Paris* his *Angl.* p. 1. 7. *Hoveden* p. 358 *Fabian* par. 7. p. 353, 354. *Polychron.* l. 7. c. 24. *Speed* 522. (*d*) *Mat. Paris* p. 47. 64, 69. *Hoveden Annal.* pars poster. with others. (*e*) *Speed hist.* p. 530. (*f*) *Speed hist.* p. 541. *Daniels hist.* p. 125. *Cook Instit.* on *Littleton* f. 7. a. (*g*) See *Hoveden*, *Mat. Paris* *Nubrigen*, *Mat. Westm.*, *Holinsh.* *Speed*, *Grafton*.

His first (b) Chancellor, was *William Longchamp* Bishop of *Ely*, Legate to the Pope, whom he made His Vice-Roy and Iusticiar of *England*, when he went to the Holy Land against the *Saracens* committing the Kingdom to his Government, chiefly; who infinitely oppressed and tyranized over it, as all our Historians evidence: (i) *Matthew Paris* gives this Character of him. *Erat idem CANCELLARIUS MAXIMUS inter omnes occidentales, REX ET SACERDOS in Anglia, qui omnia pro nihilo ducebat, cum Episcopali tantum dignitate non contentus nimis alta se sperare denotavit. In prima namque Literarum suarum fronte, vanitatem & elationem expressit, cum dixit, Willielmus DEI GRATIA* (commonly used before, in, and since that age by and to Bishops, Popes, Abbots, in publique Writs, as well as Kings, as the (b) Marginall Authors manifest) *Eliensis Episcopus DOMINI REGIS CANCELLARIUS, totius Angliæ Iustitiarius, &c. Apostolicæ sedi, Legatus, &c. Has autem dignitates, quas pretio obtinuerat, immoderato excessu exercuit volens locellos, quas in earum impetratione evacuerat, reficere, &c.* This Chancellor (as is probable) had the custody of one part of the Seal in this King's absence, for the better administration of justice, though the King carried the other part of the great Seal with him into the wars, pretended to be there lost, as you shall presently hear. I find divers of this King's Charters, Letters, Writs, before and after his voyage to the Holy-land, recited in (i) *Hoveden*. These Charters, which questionlesse were sealed with his Seal, were subscribed by sundry witnesses; the Writs and Charters concluding with a *Teste meipso apud Chinonem, &c.* The Charter of the Manor of *Sadburgh* to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, is thus dated. *Datum anno primo regni nostri 18 die Septembris apud Eatingat, per manum Willielmi de longo campo, CANCELLARII NOSTRI.* During this King *Richard's* imprisonment in *Germany*, *Henry* the Emperour sent Letters to the Nobles of *England* for this King, by *William Longchamp*, his Chancellor, *AUREA BULLA IMBULLATIS in hac forma*, sealed with a golden Bull in this form. And soon after this (l) Chancellor, *William Briwere*, and others, concluding a peace between this King and *Phillip* King of *France*, authorized thereto by the King's Letters Patents; these Commissioners not onely sware to, but sealed the Article of this truce, as this close of it manifests. *Quæ omnia prædicta, ut rata permaneant & inconcussa, ego Willielmus de Rupibus, & ego Joannes de Pratellis, & ego Willielmus Briwere, per præceptum Regis Angliæ Domini nostri, SIGILLORUM NOSTRORUM ATTESTATIONE ROBORAVIMUS. Actum Medunæ Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1193. octavo Idus Julii.* And the very next year the (m) Letters and instrument of the truce made between those two Kings by *Drogo* and *Anselme*, and sworn by them

(b) Hist. Angl. p. 155, 156. (i) Eadernus Hist. p. 12, 36. 201. Hoveden, Annal. p. 459, 498, 504, 505, 509, 512, 513, 523, 524, 530, 538, 575, 644, 611, 670, 677, 707, 712, 718, 721, 741, 763, 766, 782. Matth. Paris p. 106. Spelmanni Concil. p. 142, 395. Mr. Seldens Titles of Honour, p. 123, 128. Register pars. 1. f. 286, 392. to 3. 8. pars 2. f. 3. p. 22, 30, 33, 35, 38, 44, 54, 55, 60, 62, part 35, 22, 26, 29, 31, 35, 42, 47. Fitz. Nat. Brief. 132. (l) Annal. pars. post p. 958, 662, 667, 676, 798, 700, 726, 730, 732, 734, 743, 748. (k) Hoveden Annal. pars post p. 741, 742, 743. (m) Hoveden Annal. pars. post. p. 74, 749, 743.

in the *French* Kings behalf, have this conclusion. *Et nos ut omnia prædicta SIGILLIS NOSTRIS ROBORAVIMUS. Actum inter Vernelium & Thilers, Anno incarnati verbi 1194, 23 die Julii.*

King *Richard* being released this very year (which was the sixt of his reign) out of prison, and new crowned, among other oppressive projects to raise money to maintain his wars (which made him an extraordinary oppressour of his people) (n) caused a **NEW BROAD SEAL TO BE MADE**; (the portrayture whereof you may view in *Speed*) pretending that the old was lost, when *Roger* his **VICE-CHANCELLOR** was drowned before *Cyprus*, and that his **CHANCELLOR** during his imprisonment, had abused **THIS SEAL**, where upon he took it from him: requiring and commanding, that all persons as well Clergymen as Laymen who had Charters or confirmations **UNDER HIS OLD SEAL**; should bring them in to be renewed **UNDER HIS NEW SEAL** and unless they did so, that nothing which had been passed **BY HIS OLD SEAL**, should be ratified, or held good in Law. By which device he drew a great masse of Money to his Treasury; subscribing his new-sealed Charters thus: This was the tenor of our Charter under our first Seal which because it was lost, and at the time of our being captive in *Almayne* in the power of another, **WE CAUSED TO BE CHANGED, &c.** Which (o) *Hoveden* thus relates. *Et imputans Cancellario suo hoc per ipsum fuisse factum, ABSTULIT AB EO SIGILLUM SUUM & fecit sibi NOVUM SIGILLUM FIERI; tum quia CANCELLARIUS ille operatus fuerit inde minus discrete, quam esset necesse, tum quia SIGILLUM ILLUD perditum erat, quando Rogerus malus catulus, VICE-CANCELLARIUS SUUS submersus erat, in mari ante insulam de Cypro: & præcepit Rex: quod OMNES tam clerici quam laici, qui Chartas habebant, venirent AD NOVUM SIGILLUM SUUM da Chartas suas renovandas: & nisi fecerint; NIHIL quod actum fuerat PER SIGILLUM SUUM VETUS, RATUM HABERETUR. Præterea Rex statuit, torneamenta fieri in Anglia, & Charta sua confirmavit, &c.* (making them also a money matter)

By which passages it is apparent: First, that all these Kings Patents, Charters, were sealed with his great Seal. Secondly, that the abuse, loss or absence of the great Seal, is a sufficient cause to make a new one. Thirdly, that the profit made by the great Seal, and project of raising money by new Charters sealed with it, was the true original cause of all sealing of Charters and Writs with this Seal, and making it simply necessary in Law; there being no publique resolution or declaration declaring Charters or Writs not sealed with the great Seal, to be voyd in Law, (for ought I find) before this project; unless that formentioned, touching the Conqueror, pass for a Law, and judgment in this particular. Fourthly, that the Chancellor in this King's reign had the custody of the Great Seal; the indiscreet use and abuse whereof was good ground in Law to deprive him of its custody.

What the Office and dignity of the Chancellor really was in that age, ap-

(n) *Hoveden Annal. pars post p. 746. 785. Speeds Hist. p. 541. Daniel p. 125. See Holinshed, Grafton, and others.*
 (o) *Annal. pars post. p. 746, 765.*

pears by this description of it, written in or near that time. (p) *Cancellarii dignitas est, ut SECUNDUS A REGE in Regno babeatur; ut ALTERA PARTE SIGILLI REGII (QUOD ET AD EJUS PERTINET CUSTODIAM) PROPRIA SIGNET MANDATA. Ut capella Regia in illius sit dispositione & cura. Ut vacantes Archiepiscopatus, Episcopatus, Abbatis & Baronias cadentes in manum Regis ipse suscipiat & conservet. Ut omnibus Regiis assit consiliis, etiam non vocatus accedat. Ut omni SIGILLIFERI CLERICI REGII sua manu signentur. Item, ut (suffragantibus ex Dei gratia vite meritis) non moriatur nisi Archiepiscopus, vel Episcopus si voluerit.* And by the black Book of the Exchequer attributed to *Gervasius Tilburienfis*, par. 1. c. 5. *Cancellarius sicut in Curia, sic ad Scaccarium MAGNUS est: adeo ut sine ejus consensu vel consilio, nihil magnum fiat, vel fieri debeat. Verum hoc habet officium dum residet ad Scaccarium. AD IPSUM PERTINET CUSTODIA SIGILLI REGII, quod est in Thesauro; sed inde non recedit nisi cum præcepto (q) Justitiæ; ab inferiori ad superius Scaccarium, a Thesaurario vel Camerario deferitur, ad explenda solum negotia scaccarii. Quibus peractis in loculum mittitur; & locus a Cancellario consignatur, & sic Thesaurario traditur custodiendus, &c.* The custody therefore of the great Seal was then reputed an unseparable part of the Chancellor's Office and Honour.

King *John* succeeding his brother *Richard*, by the Nobles and Peoples election, rather than by descent, as (r) *Matthew Paris*, with divers others observe, had both a great Seal and (s) Chancellors who kept it, with which he sealed divers Charters. Among others one Letters Patents SIGILLO NOSTRO MUNITAS to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Monks, and other Prelates persecuted by him, restoring them to their liberties and possessions, which was dated the 13th day of *May*, in the 14th year of his reign. Another dated the 15th of the same month at the house of the *Templars* near *Dover* (*Chartam SIGILLO NOSTRO MUNITAM*) of his most detestable resignation of the Kingdom and Crown of *England* to the Pope, delivered to *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate (to whom he did homage for *England* and *Ireland* after this surrender) which Charter first sealed with Wax, and after delivered to *Pandulph*, was the same year afterwards, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and People, AURO BULLATA EST, sealed with gold, and delivered to *Nicholas* Bishop of *Tusculan*, the Pope's Legate, to the use of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to whom he then did homage, to his eternal infamy; which so much disconted his Nobles, Prelates and People, that they took up Arms against him, and enforced him in an Assembly and Treaty at *Running-mead*, to grant them the great Charter of their Liberties, and Charter of the Forest, ratified with his SEAL, Oath, Witnesses, Subscriptions, the Bishop's Excommunications, and Pope's Bull; and then sent his Letters Patents to all the Counties of *England*, com-

(p) *Spelmani Glossarium*, p. 128.
Angl. p. 189, 190.

(q) Id est Capitalis Justiciarii Angliæ.
(s) See *Spelman* and *Thinne*. *Matthew Paris*, Hist. Angl. p. 225, 227, 237, 246 to 254. *Matthew Westm. Holinshed*, *Speed*, and others.

manding the Sheriffs to swear all the men within their Bailiwicks, to observe the said Laws and Liberties, thus granted and ratified, in the 17th year of his reign. In brief, the Charter of the truce between King *John* and King *Philip* of *France*, registred in (t) *Hoveden*, was sealed with his Seal, concluding thus, *Que ut perpetuum robur obtineant, presentem Chartam auctoritate SIGILLI NOSTRI corroboramus, Anno 1200, mense Maii.*

In this King's reign the Chancellor's place (through the benefit of the Seal) became so gainfull, (u) that *Walter de Gray* (afterward Archbishop of *York*) profered the King 5000 Marks, *pro habenda CANCELLARIA* (which was then no Court, but the Office of making and sealing royal Writs and Charters) *Domini Regis tota vita sua, & pro habenda inde Charta Dom. Regis*; which great place he then obtained, or rather, purchased by his money, not merits.

King *Henry III.* coming to the Crown (by the Lords and Commons (x) election, rather than by descent) when he was but nine years and some odd months old, in the ninth year of his reign, ratified (y) *Magna Charta*, and the *Charter of the Forest* in Parliament, under his Hand and Seal, with Witnesses thereunto subscribed; and commanding as many Charters to be engrossed as there were Counties in *England*, ET REGIO SIGILLO MUNITIS, and ratified WITH THE ROYAL SEAL, he sent one of the great Charters into every Shire, and one *Charter of the Forest* into every County where there were Forests, to be there reserved. But this unconstant King coming to age, within two years after, (z) in a Parliament at *Oxford* (a fatal place for ill advice to our Kings) through ill Counsel, to the great discontent of his Nobles and Commons, annulled the *Charter of the Forest*, declaring it void, as granted in his non-age, when he had no power of himself, NOR OF HIS SEAL, and so of no validity; and causing Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy and all others, if they would enjoy these Liberties should renew their Charters, AND HAVE THEM CONFIRMED UNDER HIS NEW SEAL (which he had then caused to be made, only by way of project to raise money, as *Richard* the first had done;) for which they were constrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chief Justice, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom was laid the charge of this mischief: which procured him the general hate of the Kingdom; and begat a new insurrection of the Lords and Commons, who taking up Arms hereupon, enforced the King to call a Parliament, and therein to new ratify these Charters at his full age. In this King's reign all Patents, if not Writs and Commissions too, usually issued under the Great or Lesser Seal, of which there are divers precedents extant in *Matthew Paris*, and in the clause and Patent rolls of this King, to which I shall refer you. And such notice was then taken of the

(t) *Annal.* p. 814, 815. (u) In dorso Rot. finium hujus Anni; & *Spelmani Glossarium*, p. 131, 132. *Thin's Catalogue of Chancellors.* (x) *Fox Acts and Monuments*, edit. ult. Vol. 1. p. 1334. *Speed*, p. 591. (y) *Matth. Paris, Hist.* p. 11. *Speed*, p. 599. See *Polychronicon*, *Fabian*, *Holinshed*, *Magna Charta* itself. (z) *Matth. Paris*, p. 324, 325. *Daniel*, p. 151, 152. *Holinshed*, *Speed*, *Grafton*.

dignity and necessity of the King's Seal to Charters and Writs, that *Henry de Bracton*, a famous Lawyer in those days, writes expressly, 'That it was no less than Treason to counterfeit the King's Seal.' (a) *Est & aliud genus criminis lesæ Majestatis, quod inter graviora numeratur, quia ultimum inducit supplicium & mortis occasionem; scil. crimen falsi, quod in quadam sui specie, tangit coronam Domini Regis. Ut si quis accusatus fuerit vel convictus FALSIFICATIONIS SIGILLI DOMINI REGIS, CONSIGNANDO INDE CHARTAS VEL BREVIA* (Writs then were sealed with the King's Seal as well as Patents) *& apponendo signa adulterina; quo casu, si inveniatur inde culpabilis vel seiscitus, si Warrantum non habuerit, pro voluntate Regis judicium sustinebit.* How the Lord Chancellors were elected, and the Great Seal disposed of by Parliament in this King's reign, I have (b) elsewhere related, and shall touch again anon.

King *Edward I.* coming to the Crown, and proclaimed King during his absence in the holy Land, his (c) 'Lords and States without his privy, made both a new great Seal and Chancellor to keep it; with which, in the 25th year of his reign, he (d) confirmed the great Charter, and Charter of the Forest, in Parliament. And in another Parliament, in the 28th year of his reign, it was enacted: (e) 'That the great Charter of the liberties of *England*, and Charter of the Forest shall be delivered to every Sheriff of *England* UNDER THE KING'S GREAT SEAL, to be read four several times in the year before the people, in the full County. And for these two Charters to be firmly observed in every point and article (wherein no remedy was before at Common law) there shall be CHOSEN in every Shire Court, BY THE (f) COMMONALTY OF THE SAID SHIRE, three substantial Knights, or other lawful, wise, and well disposed persons to be Justices; which shall be assigned BY THE KING'S LETTERS PATENTS UNDER THE GREAT SEAL, to hear and determine (without any other Writ but only their Commission) such complaints as shall be made against all those as commit or offend against any point contained in the foresaid Articles, in the Shires where they be assigned, as well within Franchises as without, &c. Also, (g) That all the King's Takers, Purveyors, or Ratours, FROM HENCEFORTH, shall have their warrant with them UNDER THE KING'S GREAT OR PETTY SEAL, declaring their authority, and the things whereof they have power to make price or purveyance, the which Warrants they shall shew to them whose goods they take, before that they take any thing, And Chap. 6, There shall NO WRIT FROM HENCEFORTH, that toucheth the Common law, go forth UNDER ANY OF THE PETTY SEALS.

(a) *Bracton*, l. 2. de crimine lesæ Majestatis, see *Stamford's Pleas*, fol. 2. (b) See the second part of the *Sovereign Power of Parliaments*, p. 48. to 93. (c) *Matth. West.* & *Daniel*. in 1 *Edw. 1.* (d) *Confirmatio Chartarum*, 25 *Ed. 1.* and *Cook's Institutes* on it. *Walsingham hist. Ang.* p. 35. to 48. (e) *Articuli super Chartas*, ch. 2. See *Cook's Institutes* on these Acts. (f) The people then had power to elect these their Judges and Justices even by Act of Parliament. (g) Chap. 2.

These are the Statute laws, extant, prescribing, that the King's Charters, Patents, Commissions, Warrants, Writs, should issue forth under the Great or Petty Seals, though they did so usually before his reign, rather through custom, which crept in by little and little by degrees, from *Edward the Confessor's* daies, unto this very Parliament, as the premises evidence, till it got the reputation of a received common Law and usage, and at last was thus established, as simply necessary by these present Acts; which settled the law in point of necessity of sealing all Writs, Charters, Patents, with the Great Seal, and added such Majesty to the Seal it self that *Britton*, an eminent Judge and Lawyer flourishing in this King's reign, (writing his book, as in this King's name) resolves expressly, c. 3. f. 10. &c. 8. f. 16. That the (b) counterfeiting of the **KINGS SEAL IS HIGH TREASON**; and the Justice ought to enquire concerning the Falsifiers of **THE SEAL**: Not only whether any have actually counterfeited it, but also, whether any have hanged **ANY SEAL** by an Engyn to any Charters without license: or having stolen or taken away **ANY SEAL** or otherwise finding it, **HAVE SEALED WRITS** without other authority. And Chap. 48. *Exceptions aux Breve*. p. 122. He writes, it is a good exception to abate a Writ *si le Breve ne fuit unques enseale de nostre Seal; ou si li Ordinance et le Seal de nostre Chauncery ne soit point contenu*. And *Andrew Horne*, another great Lawyer, living in or near this time; in his *Myrrour of Justices*, cap. 3. sect. 6. p. 191. Among Exceptions to the power of the Judge, enumerates this for one; **IF THE COMMISSION BE NOT SEALED WITH THE KINGS GREAT SEAL OF THE CHANCERY**: *Car al Privy Seal el Roy, ou al Seal d' Eschequer, ou Autre Seal, forsque Solement al Seal que est assignee conu d' le Cominalty del people & nosmement en Jurisdiction, & Bres Originals, ne estoit a nul obeyer des leies & usages del Royalme, si non solement pur le Roy. Du elle putra ee vicieuse Pur le Seal counterfeit, ou antierment fausse*: This falsifying of the King's Seal to Writs, cap. 1. sect. 6. *De Faussonners*, pag. 28, 29. he makes a crime next to High Treason; which forging, he saith, ' may be ' in divers manners: As where a writ is **SEALED** whereof the grosse and ' matter, or the form is not avowable by the King, nor by the Law, nor by ' the rights and customs of the Realm. If a Man seal after that the ' Chancellor, or other Keeper knoweth that he hath lost his Warrants, by ' death, or any other manner. When a writ or letter passeth the Seal against ' the King's defence. When men seal with counterfeit Seals or seal by ill art, ' or Warrants not avowable; and so it is falshood in those who seal and have ' no authority.' And Chap. 4. Sect. 2. p. 233. Thus (k) **OUR ANCIENTS ORDAINED A SEAL, AND A CHANCELLOR FOR TO KEEP IT**, and to give remediable **WRITS** to all Persons without delay. Then describing what manner of Writs must issue, he concludes thus, ' And now may Justices, Sheriffs, and their Clerks withdraw, raise, ' amend, and impair them, without discerning or pain, for the Writs that

(b) See 3. Ed. 1. cap. 15.

(i) To wit, in 1 Edw. 1. or when the great Seal was first introduced in Edward the Confessors days.

‘are made close to the abuse of right.’ Wherefore THE SEAL ONLY is the jurisdiction assignable to all Plaintiffs without difficulty. And to do this, the Chancellor is chargeable by oath in allegiance of the charge of the King, that he shall (k) neither deny nor delay to render right remediable to any one.

Thus have I given you a brief Historical and Legal Narration of the Original, Growth, Progress, Use, and Necessity of the Great Seal of *England* and of the manner of making, subscribing, and sealing Charters, Patents, Writs, with other instruments in our Realm, from *Æthelbert*’s first Charter, *Anno* 605. till the end of King *Edward* the first his reign, when Seals and (l) sealing grew more common, and our ordinary Law-books (which recite few or none of the premises) began to make mention of Seals and sealing; of whose antiquity, kinds, and present use in point of Law, if any desire further satisfaction, let them consult with *Polydor Virgil*, *De inventoribus Rerum*, lib. 8. cap. 2 *Henrici Spelmani Glossarium*, title, *Bulla*, *Rastal*’s Exposition of the Terms of the Law, title: *Faits*, Sir *Edward Cooke*’s Institutes on *Magna Charta*, pag. 554, 555, 556, his 11 *Report*. 1. 92. and *Ashe*’s Tables, title: *Seals*; it being not my intention to trouble the Reader here with trivial common things concerning Seals or sealing, but only with such Antiquities and rarities as are not commonly known, nor mentioned in our Law Books.

The Kings and Parliaments severall and joint Interests in, and Power over the new-making, keeping, ordering of the GREAT SEAL of ENGLAND.

HAVING thus traced out the original, progress, use, and necessity of the GREAT SEAL, through the obscure paths of abstruse *Antiquity*, with as much Variety, Perspicuity, Brevity as possible; I shall in the next place summarily examine, What severall or joint interests the King, Kingdom and Parliament have in; what power or jurisdiction over the Great Seal of *England*, both in respect of the new-making, keeping or using thereof?

For the better assailing of which grand Question, now in publick agitation, I shall premise these three Propositions and Distinctions, which will much conduce to the clearing and resolution of this doubt.

First, that our Kings Great and Petty Seals, when originally invented, and whiles the use of them was only private or meerly arbitrary, not simply necessary in point of Law, in the administration of Justice, or transactions of the publick affairs of the Realm, were proper and peculiar to themselves alone, and in their own disposing power only, as every private man’s Seal now is, they using them only as private, not as publick persons in their natural, not politick capacities: But after that these Seals, by use and custom became simply necessary for the publick execution of Justice and affairs of the

(k) *Magna Chart.* cap. 29.
of the Statute of Gloucester. 20 Edw. 1.

(l) See 9. Edw. 1. the correction of the twelfth Chap.
De Non ponendo in Assisis. 34. Ed. 1. cap. 6.

Realm, and our Kings made use of them in their politique capacities, as Heads or supreme Governours of the Realm, and publick Ministers thereof; the whole Kingdom and Parliament by this occasion, and upon this Reason, came to gain a publick interest in and jurisdiction over these Seals as well as our Kings: (even as in all other inferior Corporations, the Commonalty as well as the Mayors, in Cities and Boroughs; the Chapters, as well as Bishops or Deans; the Convents, as well as the Abbots or Priors; the Wardens, Assistants and the whole company, as well as the Masters; the Fellows of Colleges, as well as the Presidents, have a publick interest in, and power over their severall Corporation-Seals, made only for their common good and affairs;) as I shall manifest in the sequell. And in this respect the Great Seal came to be commonly called, (m) THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND; in our Acts, as in 14 and 15 Hen 8. c. 4. 34 and 35 Hen. 8. c. 26. 1 Ed. 6. c. 44. 3 and 4 Ed. 6. c. 12. 2 and 4. Phil. and Mar. cap. 20. 1. 5. Eliz. cap. 1. 8 Eliz. cap. 1 13 Eliz. cap. 6. 7, 9. 18 Eliz. cap. 2. 23 Eliz. cap. 14. 39 Eliz. cap. 6. 43 Eliz. cap. 4. 5 Eliz. cap. 18. An Act declaring the authority of the Lord Keeper OF THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAD (frequently thus stiled in this Act) and the Lord Chancellor to be one; 1 Jac. c. 28. 1 Car. c. 2. 16 Car. c. 1. with sundry other Acts, to omit Law-Books and Histories. And being thus become the Great Seal of *England*, the Parliament (the representative body of the whole Realm of *England*) must necessarily have an interest in, and jurisdiction over it in all publick respects, even so far as to new make it when there is need, and to dispose it for necessary affairs of Parliament and the Realm, when the old Seal (the proper Seal of the Parliament) is purposely substracted, yea, denied them for necessary and publick uses.

Secondly, that after the Great Seal became common and necessary to most publick affairs, in which regard the whole Kingdom and Parliament came to have a right in, and power over it; so in other respects the King still retained a peculiar interest and prerogative in it, in all arbitrary matters of royal grace and favour, to which he is no ways obliged in point of Law, in which respect it is called, The King's Great Seal. As first, in cases of general or particular Charters of pardon. Secondly, of Indenization or Enfranchisement. Thirdly, of erecting new Corporations, or confirming old. Fourthly, of dispensing with some kind of Laws, Penalties, and Forfeitures. Fifthly, of conferring some kind of less publick Offices, and Annuities, for services performed or to be executed. Sixthly, of granting new Liberties or Franchises of grace to Corporations or private Subjects. Seventhly, of creating or conferring new honours on deserving men. Eightly, of Licences for mort-mains, impropriations, alienations, consecrations of new Churches or Chappels, &c. Ninthly, of publick collections for persons or Towns distressed through fire, shipwreck, or other casualties. Tenthly, of private negotiations with foreign Princes, States, or Subjects, and some kind of Protections, Commissions of

(m) Our ancientest Statutes call it indefinitely The great Seal; as 2 Ed. 3. Stat. 3. c. 8. with others.

grace rather than right or justice. In all these, and such like particulars of meer grace, or less publick concernment, the Kingdom and Parliament neither properly have, nor pretended to have any publick right or jurisdiction over the great or petty Seals, but leave them absolutely free to the King as if they were his own private seals alone, so far forth as his Charters, Pardons, Grants, Licenses, Dispensations, Protections, Commissions of this kind are consonant to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and not repugnant to them.

Thirdly, the Parliament and whole Kingdom, as to all publick affairs of state and the administration of Justice to all the subjects, hath committed the making lawfull use, power and disposal of the Great Seal of *England* in trust to the King, as to the supreme Magistrate and Justitiar: over which they never claim a constituting or disposing jurisdiction, whiles it is rightly managed according to Law. But if this Seal be either wilfully abused or substracted contrary to Law, or trust, to the prejudice of the Kingdom, the obstruction of publick Justice, or violation of the privileges of Parliament, and not redressed after several complaints and Petitions of the Houses to the King for reformation of this grievance; Whether the whole Kingdom, or Parliament in such a case as this, who have authority to remedy the grievances, the abuses or wilfull absence of the Great Seal, and appoint a Keeper of it, for supplying the absence, regulating the abuses of the old, removing obstructions of publick Justice, filling up the Commons House by issuing Writs to elect Knights and Burgeses in the places of such as are dead or justly expelled (now denied;) sealing of Writs of Errour in Parliament, and other such publick Parliamentary affairs, necessarily requiring the presence of the Great Seal (the proper Seal of the high Court of Parliament, which hath no other Seal but it) and the Lord Chancellor (the ordinary Speaker of the Lords House, by virtue of his very Office in all ages) and so his and the Great Seal's presence absolutely necessary, unless dispensed with by the House upon inevitable occasions of absence, is the sole question now in debate? and under correction, in this case, and for these publick ends alone, I humbly conceive, the Parliament both lawfully may cause a new Great Seal of *England* to be engraven, constitute a Chancellor to keep it, and seal Writs for new Elections, Writs of Errour in Parliament, with other necessary Writs and Commissions with it, for the publick administration, expedition of Justice, the better transaction of all Parliamentary State affairs now obstructed, to which the Great Seal is requisite.

This I shall endeavour to make good by Precedents, by reason of Law and State-policy; beginning with the new making, and then proceeding to the keeping and ordering of the Seal, during the present differences and necessity.

First, there are two memorable Precedents in our Histories and Records, of making a new Great Seal by the Commons in Parliament, without the King's actual assent, which will over-rule our present case: I shall begin with the

ancientest of them ; (k) King *Henry* the third departing this life, while his son, Prince *Edward*, was militating in the Holy Land against Christ's enemies ; hereupon the Nobles and States assembled at the new Temple in *London*, the day after the King's funeral, Proclaimed Prince *Edward* his son King, ordained him successor of his Father's honours, though they knew not whether he were living ; ET FACTO SIGILLO NOVO, writes *Matthew Westminster*. And CAUSING A NEW SEAL TO BE MADE (so *Daniel*) they appointed faithful Ministers and KEEPERS for the faithful custody both of the Seal, King's Treasure and Kingdom's peace. Lo here a new Great Seal made by the Lords and States in the King's absence, without his privity, for necessary execution of justice, either in an assembly out of Parliament (as some suppose this meeting was ;) or at least-wise in a Parliament, assembled held, yea ordaining a new Great Seal, new Officers of King and State, without the King's presence or privity, and then it is our present case in effect : For if this Assembly of the States, even out of, or in Parliament, in this case of necessity, during the King's inevitable absence, might lawfully make both a new Great Seal, Chancellor, Treasurer, Judges, Justices of peace, and other Officers of King and State (as they did, and conceived they might justly do, none then or since disavowing or censuring this Act of theirs, for ought I read, but all applauding it as legal, (then certainly this Parliament assembled and ratified by the King himself, being the greatest sovereign power, and having far more Jurisdiction then any Council or Assembly of Lords out of Parliament, may much more justly and loyally cause a new Great Seal to be engraven, and appoint a Keeper of it, during the wilful absence of the king, and old Great Seal for Parliament (contrary to all Law and former Precedents) for the better expedition of Justice, and transaction of the affairs of the Parliament being the Parliament's proper Seal, and anciently appointed by it, as *Horne's* (m) preceding words import.

The second Precedent is, that of King *Henry* the 6, his reign, who being but an (o) infant of 9 Months age when the Crown descended to him : there (p) issued forth a Commission in this Babe's name, to *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, his Uncle, then Protector, to summon and hold a Parliament in his name ; which being assembled, Num. 14. The Bishop of *Durham* Lord Chancellor to *Henry* the 5th. resigned up the old Seal of *England* to King *Henry* the 6. in the presence of divers credible witnesses, and the Bishop of *London*, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Normandy*, resigned up also the seal of that Dukedom to him. After which, Num. 15. it was enacted and provided by the Lord Protector, Lords and Commons in that Parliament ; That for as much as the inheritance of the Kingdoms and Crowns of *France*, *England*, and *Ireland* were now lawfully descended to the King, which Title

(n) Matth. West. An. 1272. pag. 352. Hornes Myr p. 233. Hore. p. 15. Daniels Hist. pag. 185. See Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 1, 2. Speeds Hist. p. 646. Walsing. Ypod. Neuster. p. 67. (n) Pag. 15. (o) Hall, Stow, Speed, Holinsh. Grafton, (p) 1 H. 6. p. Rot Parl. H. 6. Num. 1. &c. The second Part of the Sovereign power of Parliaments and Kingdoms (where I have transcribed these Records at large) p. 65. to 70.

was not expressed in the King's SEAL, whereby great peril might accrue to the King, if the said Inscriptions were not reformed according to his Title of inheritance; that therefore IN ALL THE KINGS SEALS, as well in ENGLAND, as in IRELAND, GUYEN, and WALES, this New Stile should be engraven: *Henricus Dei Gratia, Rex Franciæ, et Angliæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ*, according to the effect of his Inheritances; blotting out whatsoever was formerly in them superfluous, or contrary to the said stile. And that COMMAND should be given to all Keepers of the said Seals of the King to REFORM them WITHOUT DELAY, according to the FORM AND EFFECT OF THE NEW SEAL aforesaid, Numb. 16. The Lords and Commons in this Parliament constitute and ordain a new LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, Lord Treasurer, and KEEPER OF THE PRIVY SEAL; granting them several Letters Patents of these Offices in Parliament in the King's name. And Num: 17. The Liberties, Annuities, and Offices granted by King *Henry* the 5. and his Ancestors to Souldiers in foreign parts, were confirmed in Parliament, and their Patents ordered TO BE SEALED WITH THE KINGS NEW SEALS, without paying any Fee.

Here we have not only the Great, but Privy Seal, yea all the King's Seals in *England, Ireland, France, Wales*, resigned, altered, ordered to be new made, and the Chancellors and Keepers of them expressly Created by Lords and Commons in Parliament, without any Personal actual consent of the King (then an Infant) for the necessary administration of Justice, and great Affairs of the Realm; no man ever questioning, much less censuring this Act of theirs, as illegal, or treasonable, within the Statute of 25. *E. 3.* of counterfeiting the King's Seal; but all approving it as just and necessary. Therefore doubtless the present Parliament may doe the like in this unparallel'd case both of the King's, L. Keeper's, the great and privy Seals wilfull absence and subtraction from the Parliament, of purpose to obstruct all proceedings in in Parliament, and the course of common Justice.

These two famous Precedents are not singular, but backed with the Authority of Judge *Horne*, fore-cited, p. 15. and many other of like nature and reason, even in printed Statutes.

The Statute of *Action Burnel* made in the 13th year of King *Edward* the first, for ' the more speedy recovery of the Merchants Debts, gives the ' Mayors of *London, York, and Bristol* authority to take Recognisances of ' Debts before them to be made by the Clerk appointed for that purpose: ' whereunto the SEAL of the Debtor shall be put, with THE KINGS ' SEAL, THAT SHALL BE PROVIDED FOR THAT PURPOSE; ' the which SEAL SHALL REMAIN IN THE KEEPING OF THE ' MAYOR and CLERK AFORESAID. And THE KINGS SEAL ' shall be put unto the sale and delivery of the goods devisable for a perpetual ' witness; We have here a new Seal of the King's, with special Keepers of it, appointed for Recognisances, and the uses thereof limited, by a special Act of Parliament: confirmed in another Parliament, touching Statute Merchants, made

made the same year; 13 E. 1. which further enacts, 'That ANOTHER
 ' SHALL BE PROVIDED, that shall serve for Fairs. And that the same
 ' shall be sent unto every Fair, under THE KINGS SEAL, by a Clerk
 ' sworn, or by the Keeper of the Fair. And of the Commonalty of *Lon-*
 ' *don* two Merchants shall be chosen, that shall swear, and THE SEAL shall
 ' be opened before them, and one piece shall be delivered unto the foresaid
 ' Merchants, and the other shall remain with the Clerk.' 13 H. 8 c. 6.
 2 & 3 E. 6. c. 31. second those Acts. 27 E. 3. Parl. 2. c. 1. 9. enact, 'That
 ' the Mayor of the Staple shall have power to take Recognizances of debts,
 ' which a man will make before him, in the presence of the Constables of
 ' the Staple, or one of them. And that in every the said Staples BE A
 ' SEAL ORDAINED, remaining in the CUSTODY OF THE SAID
 ' MAYOR of the Staple, UNDER THE SEALS of the same Constables: '
 which is again enacted, 15 R. 2. c. 9. & 8 H. 6. c. 18.

The Acts of 12 R. 2. c. 3 & 7. ordain, 'That A SEAL OF THE
 ' KINGS shall be made, assigned, and delivered to THE KEEPING of
 ' some good man of the Hundred, Rape, or Wapentake, City, or Burrough,
 ' after the discretion of the Justices of Peace, to be kept to this intent, to
 ' make Letters Patents to Servants, Labourers, Vagabonds, Pilgrims, who
 ' shall have occasion to depart out of the Hundred, Rape, or Wapentake
 ' where they lived, to serve or dwell elsewhere, &c.' And that 'ABOUT
 ' THE same SHAL shall be written, the name of the County, and OVER-
 ' THWART THE SAID SEAL, the name of the Hundred, Rape, or
 ' Wapentake, City, or Burrough.' And 14 R. 2. c. 21. enacts, 'That
 ' SEALS BE MADE FOR THE SERVANTS, and DELIVERED UN-
 ' TO THE KEEPING OF SOME GOOD MEN OF THE COUNTY,
 ' after the purport of the said Statutes: ' Here the King's new Seal, form of
 it, and keepers too, are ordered by Parliament.

The Statutes of 27 E. 3. c. 4. 3 R. 2. c. 2. 15 R. 2. c. 10. 17 R. 2. c. 2.
 prescribe 'A NEW SEAL to the King's Aulnegeors and Collectors of Sub-
 ' sidies, wherewith all cloaths shall be sealed before they be sold, under pain
 ' of forfeiture,' 1 H. 4. c. 19. and 9 H. 4. c. 2. It was enacted, That 'cer-
 ' tain cloaths should not be SEALED by them for three years, 4 H. 4. c. 6.
 ' enacts, That one sufficient man should be assigned by our Sovereign Lord
 ' the King to SEAL the Clothes that shall be wrought and fulled in *London*,
 ' and the Suburbs of the same, WITH A SEAL OF LEAD, as of old time
 ' was used in the said City and Suburbs.' 11 H. 4. c. 6. ordains, 'That A
 ' NEW SEAL, HAVING A SIGN and MARK DIFFERING FROM
 ' THE OLD SEAL of the Office of the King's Aulnegeor, SHALL BE
 ' MADE and DELIVERED TO THE AULNEGEORS. And that af-
 ' ter the same so NEWLY MADE and delivered, Proclamation shall be
 ' made in the West, and in other places through the Realm, that no Cloaths
 ' shall be sold (of such sorts mentioned in the Act) before the Aulnegeor
 ' hath searched and measured them, and set THE NEW SEAL OF HIS
 ' OFFICE TO THEM, which is confirmed by 13 H. 4. c. 4.' This Seal by

11 *H. 6. c. 9.* is stiled, 'THE KINGS SEAL thereunto ordained, and prescribed to be put to Cloaths; so 18 *H. 6. c. 16.* a line, is prescribed to be sealed for the measuring of cloth.' 8 *E. 4. c. 1.* enacts, 'That broad Cloaths shall be SEALED by the King's Aulneger, or sealed with the SEALS of the Subsidy and Aulneger therefore ordained, AND IN WAX.' And 4 *E. 4. c. 1.* That for 'Kersies and short Cloths A SEAL OF LEAD SHALL BE ORDAINED, and by the Treasurer of *England* for the time being, provided, and hanged at the lower part of the edge of the said cloath: and that the Treasurer of *England* for the time being, shall have power and authority to make SUCH, and so many KEEPERS OF THE SAID SEALS, as he shall think necessary; so that no stranger born be made any of the said Keepers.' 17 *E. 4. c. 1.* 1 *R. 3. c. 8.* and other Statutes enact the like, 25 *H. 8. c. 8.* 27 *H. 8. c. 3.* & 4 *E. 6. c. 2.* 5 *E. 6. & 6. 2 & 3. Phil. and Mary, 12. 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.* 8 *Eliz. c. 12.* 23 *Eliz. c. 9.* with other Acts, prescribe 'divers sorts of SEALS of LEAD. to seal Cloaths withal, containing the length, or length and breadth of the said Cloaths; some of the seals for ill clothes, to have FAULTIE engraven in them; others, that are dyed and madered, the letter M, and the like; some to be kept and affixed by the Aulnegers, others by the Searchers appointed in every County, Town, or Burrough: Such variety of Seals, and Keepers of them have these several Parliaments prescribed only for cloth, which yet they stile THE KINGS SEAL; though neither made, kept, disposed of, nor the form prescribed by him, but the Parliament. See the like for Leather, 5 *Eliz. c. 8.*

The Statute of 11 *H. 6. c. 6.* makes mention of SEALS assigned to the Customers Office, and punisheth the abuses of them, set to blank scrowls, with forfeiture of goods, as in case of Felony.

12 *Ed. 4. c. 3.* The statute of Tunnage and Poundage for guarding the Seas, enacts, 'Cloath of Gold, Silver, Baudkin, Velvet, Damask, Satyn, Chamlets, Silks, &c. brought from beyond the Sea, shall be sealed in one end thereof before it be sold; with THE SEAL or Mark ESPECIALLY TO BE ORDAINED FOR THE SAME, whereof the Collectors of that Subsidy shall have the one part, and the Comptroller the other part, severally in their custody: which is confirmed by 4 *H. 8. 6.* & 21 *H. 8. c. 21.*

14 & 15 *H. 8. c. 3.* appoints a several 'Warden of the Worsted-makers in the Towns of *Yarmouth* and *Lynne*, to be annually chosen, and serve to surveigh and search the Worsted there made; and that the Warden of *Yarmouth* so elect and sworn, shall ordain and appoint A SEAL with the letter Y, and the Warden of *Lynne* A SEAL with the Letter L, to be engraven in the same SEAL: and to seal in Lead with the SAME SEALS so to be appointed and engraven, and none other, all Worsteds and Flannins within these Towns and their Suburbs: 14 & 15 *H. 8. c. 5.* ordains a special common Seal for the Corporation and College of Physicians in *London*.

27 *H. 8. c. 27.* Which establishes the Court of Augmentation, and prescribes the several Officers in it, with the Oaths they shall take; enacts likewise, 'That this Court shall have ONE GREAT SEAL, and ONE PRIVY SEAL, to be engraven and made after such form, fashion, and manner as shall be appointed by the King's Highness; that the Chancellor of this Court shall have THE KEEPING OF THESE SEALS, which shall REMAIN and BE ORDERED as in that Act is at large declared.' The statute of 33 *H. 8. c. 39.* which erects the Court of Surveyors, prescribes a particular SEAL for that Court, the person by whom it shall be kept, and how it shall be used, together with all the Officers of that Court, their Oaths and Fees. So 34 *H. 8. c. 26.* enacts, 'That there shall be several original and judicial SEALS MADE for the several Counties and Circuits of *Wales*; prescribes the several parties that shall keep these seals, what Writs and Proceffes they shall seal with them, and what Fees they shall take for them;' as you may read at large in the Act. In like manner the statutes of 32 *H. 8. c. 46.* & 33 *H. 8. c. 22.* enact, 'The Court of Wards and Liveries, to be a Court of Record; and that they shall have ONE SEAL to be engraven, and made after such form, fashion, and manner as shall be appointed by the King's Highness, which shall remain and be ordered as is afterward declared in those Acts;' prescribing, who shall keep it, how it shall be used, and what Fees shall be paid for it.' And 32 *H. 8. c. 45.* ordains 'a particular SEAL for the Court of first Fruits and Tenth, which it erects, with the Officers that shall keep it, their Oaths, and Fees for sealing with it.' True it is, these Statutes leave the form and fashion of these Seals last mentioned to the King's appointment (which they might have likewise prescribed, as in the former Acts) being a matter of no great moment; but the Keepers, use, ordering, and fees of all these Seals, are punctually limited by the Parliament, and not left arbitrary with the King.

And to trouble you with no more Acts of this nature, the statute of 1 *E. 6. c. 2.* enacts, That 'all Archbishops, and spiritual persons, under the pain of a Premunire, even in the King's Ecclesiastical Courts, shall make out all their Proceffes in the King's name, with the King's stile, as it is in Writs original and judicial at the Common Law, and shall from the first day of *July*, have IN THEIR SEALS OF OFFICE, THE KING'S HIGHNESS'S ARMES DECENTLY SET, with certain Charects under the Arms, for the knowledge of the Diocese, and shall use NO OTHER SEAL OF JURISDICTION, but wherein his Majesties Arms be engraven.' Here the express form, as well as use of these Seals, is prescribed by Parliament, and not left arbitrary to the King or Bishops.

If then our Parliaments in all these cases have thus prescribed New Seals of the King's for his Courts and Officers, together with the form, custody, use, and fees of them in these several Acts; why they may not likewise enjoy the making of a New broad Seal to supply the absence of the old, in the cases fore-mentioned, I cannot yet discover, it being the Parliament's Seal,

Seal, and GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, and so commonly stiled in fundry printed statutes, as well as the King's, in respect of the publick justice and affairs of the Realm of *England*, and Parliament which represent it: If the Mayor, Bayliffs, Bishop, Dean, President of a College, Master of a Company, Abbot or Prior, or Chief Justice, shall detain or withdraw the common Seals of their several Corporations or Courts; the Common Council, Aldermen, Chapter, Fellows, Liverymen and Courts, may doubtless make new Seals without, yea, against their consents, and use them too for their common affairs, without injury or forgery: And why the Parliament then may not in such cases, make a new Great Seal of *England*, by like reason without the King's consent, when the old (their only Seal) is purposely withdrawn, and kept from them to hinder their proceedings, I cannot yet discern.

If any here object, First, That it is High Treason both by the Common and Statute Law, to counterfeit or make the King's great Seal without his privity or consent, as is evident by *Glanvil*, *Braeton*, *Britton*, here fore-cited, 3 *E.* 1. c. 15. 25 *E.* 3. Stat. 5. c. 2. of Treasons, 5 *H.* 4. c. 15. 27 *H.* 8. c. 2. 1 *E.* 6. c. 12. 1 Mar. Parl. 1. c. 6. *Stamford*, l. 1. c. 1. *Brooke*, 3, 13, 17. *Crompton's* Jurisdiction of Courts, 69. and generally all our Law-books: Therefore for the Parliament, or any else by their command, to make and use a new broad Seal:

I answer: 1. That this is true only of private men who make a broad Seal by their own particular Authority, in deceit of the King and Kingdom, not of the Parliament, or any imployed to make or use it by their Authority: The Parliament, the supreamest Power of all others, being incapable of Treason, and out of the words and intention of these and all Acts concerning Treason, as I have (p) elsewhere proved at large; to which I shall refer you. 2. The King hath his Great Seal of *England*, not in his own particular, but the Kingdom's and People's right alone, as their publick Minister and Servant, for their use and benefit, the Kingdom, and Parliament which represent it, being the (q) Proprietors of this Seal, which upon the King's decease is ever surrendered to the successor King, as belonging to the Kingdom, as the seals of other Corporations go to the Mayors, Bishops, Deans, Abbots, Presidents, Successors, not their Heirs, Executors, or Administrators, as other mens Seals do. The Kingdom and Parliament thereof being the true Proprietors of it, as it is the publick Seal of the Kingdom, not the King, may lawfully give order for the new making of it, even without the King, in case of necessity, when it is unduly withdrawn, withheld. 3. The forging of the Great Seal is high Treason only, as it is the (r) Kingdom's common Seal, not the King's private and particular Seal; and an offence against the Kingdom, and King himself only in his politic publick capacity, as head of the Kingdom, not in his private: whence counterfeiting of the King's sign manual, privy signet, or privy Seals were no high Treason.

(p) Sovereign power of Parliaments, part p. 107. to 112. part 2. p. 25, 26. (q) Ibid. part 2. p. 3, to 20. Appendix, p. 163. to 171. (r) Ibid. part 3. p. 7, 8. part 2. p. 25, 26.

son at Common Law, (being no publick, but rather private Seals of the Kings) till they were made so by 27 H. 8. c. 2. since repealed by 1 E. 6. c. 12. 1 *Mariae* Sess. 1. c. 1. *Rastall* Treason, 13. and so no Treason at this day: even as the compassing of the King's death is no Treason, considered only as he is a private man, but as a (s) publick person, invested with his politick Royal capacity. If then the Parliament (the representative body of the Kingdom, against which all treason in counterfeiting the Great Seal is principally committed, and the true proprietary of this seal) shall order a New Great Seal to be made, or used, for the service of itself and the Kingdom in this case of necessity, it cannot possibly be high Treason in them or their Agents, for then they shall be Traytors to and against themselves, and suffer for an Offence against themselves and the Realm, done by their own Votes, and assent in Parliament. 4thly, The counterfeiting of the Great Seal, mentioned in those Law-books and Statutes, is that only which is secret, fraudulent, traitorly in deceit of the King, Kingdom, Subjects, (t) like to counterfeiting of false money, (ever joined with it) by private persons, as our Law-books, and all cases of this nature adjudged High Treason, attest; whence it is stiled, *Crimen falsi: falsificatio Sigilli*, &c. by (u) *Bracton* and others, and such like offenders, *Fausseurs des sealx*: and the Inditements must be, that they did it *PRODITORIE*: neither of which can be intended of, or applyed to the new making of a Great Seal by the Authority of Parliament, for the necessary administration of Justice, and benefit of the Realm, when the Great Seal is substracted, as now. 5thly, The Lords and Parliaments making a new Great Seal in the absence of *Edward I*, and infancy of *Henry VI*, without their privity or consent, to supply the defects of justice, which else would have ensued, was never reputed Treason, but a lawful Act: Therefore the present making of a new Seal, to remedy the wilful absence of the old, without the King's consent, (who with-holds it and the Keeper from the Parliament (x) against all Laws and former Precedents) can be no Treason, but a lawful Act. And since the Parliaments of *England* in the absence, infancy and dotage of their Kings, have usually of right made Lord Protectors, and Chancellors, who had power over the Great Seal (as I have (y) elsewhere largely proved) they may by the self same reason, make a new Great Seal likewise, to supply the wilful absence of the old. Finally, all the objected Statutes and Law-books adjudged it high Treason, to counterfeit the King's money as well as his Seal, and join them both together in one clause. But the Parliament hath a long time coined money at the *Tower*, and made new stamps to do it, when the old were broken or worn out, without any charge or tax of Treason: therefore they by like reason may make a new Great Seal without Treason.

If any, secondly, object, That to make a new Great Seal (of *England*) is all one in effect, as to make a new King of *England*:

(s) Sovereign power of Parliaments, part 2. p. 7, 8.

(u) Sovereign power of Parliament, part 2. p. 4. to 87.

the Netherlands, p. 556. to 667.

(t) Magna Charta, c. 29.

(x) Grimston's History of

(y) See the Appendix, 184, 185.

I answer,

I answer, 1. that to deface the King's old Seals and Signets, by publique Acts of State, as the *Hollanders* did in the King of *Spain's*, when they cast off his Government for his Tyranny (which they, (2) and Popish Authors held they might lawfully doe,) and to appoint new Seals in every Province only with the Names and Titles of the private Governours and Provincial Consuls of every Province, without the Name and Title of the King of *Spain*, whose authority they abjured with a solemn Oath; would in truth be to set up a new King, and Government; but to make a new Seal only like, or not much different from the old, to supply its absence, with the King's own Picture, Arms, stile and Title, is no ways to impeach, but confirm his Royal Authority, being done in *affirmance*, only, not *disaffirmance*, of it, as Lawyers speak. Thus their making of a new Seal in *Edward the 1. and the 6.* his Reign fore-mentioned, was the highest confirmation of their Authorities, and the greatest expression of the subjects Loyalties that might be; and why the Parliament making of a new Great Seal to supply the absence and defects of the old, should be deemed a setting up of a new King against his Majesty, more than the Parliament's frequent constituting of Lord Protectors, in former times to supply the infancy, absence, dotage or imperfections of our Kings (of which I have cited you many Precedents elsewhere) which all esteemed to be a ratification, not nullification or alteration of their Royal Authority, or the (coyning new money now to supply the want of old,) transcends my understanding to apprehend; since those who may lawfully make a Vice-Roy to represent the Person or execute the Sovereignty of a King in his name and right, may with as good reason and authority too make a new Great Seal, to supply the defects and affected absence of the old, the Seal being less than the Person and Sovereignty of the King, and the proper seal of the Parliament.

2. This will further appear by considering in the second place, what power and Authority our Parliaments have claimed and exercised as of right, over the Custody and disposing of the Great Seal of *England*. First, they have usually chosen and nominated the Lord Chancellor, and Keepers both of the great and privy Seal of *England*, together with the Lord Protectors, Lord Treasurers, privy Counsellors, and other great Officers of the Realm, as I have (a) elsewhere plentifully manifested, and committed the Great Seal, to the Chancellors custody only. Secondly, They have ordered, (b) that the Chancellor should not be put from the custody of the Seal, nor the Seal taken

(2) Alvarus Piligius De Planctu Ecclesiæ. L. 1. Art. 56. 62. F. 56. Si non ex præsumptione privata, sed autoritate publica et communi Rex in Tyrannum conversus, vel alius Tyrannus destruetur, vel ejus potestas ipsa refrenetur, non est putanda talis multitudo infideliter agere Tyrannum destituens te si in perpetuum antea sibi se subjecerat, quia hoc ipse meruit in multitudinis regimine se non fideliter gerens, ut exigit Regis officium, quod ei pactum a subditis non servetur, &c. (a) See the Appendix. P. 137. 188

(b) See Francis Thin in Catalogue of Lord Chancellors of England: and the 2 Part of the Sovereigne power of Parliaments. P. 41. to 3. (c) Matthew Paris, Hist. Ang. p. 414. Matth. West, Anno 1221. p. 223. Daniel p. 157. Godwins Catalogue of Bishops p. 186. Francis Thin Catalogue of Chancellors. Holinshed Vol. 2. p. 1275. The 2 Part of the Sovereigne power of Parliaments and Kingdoms p. 49.

from him without the common Counsel and consent of the whole Realm in Parliament; upon which ground, *Ralph Nevil*. Bishop of *Chichester*, Anno. 1236. when King *Henry* the third upon a displeasure, earnestly demanded the Great Seal of him, being then Lord Chancellour, absolutely refused to deliver it to the King; saying, 'That he could not doe it, seeing he had received
' it **BY THE COMMON COUNSEL OF THE REALM**, and
' **THEREFORE** he neither could nor would resign it **WITHOUT THE**
' **COMMON COUNSEL OF THE KINGDOM**,' to wit the Parliament: Yea the (b) Parliament, An. 28. of *Henry* the third, (to prevent the abuses of the Great Seal which the King then began to take from the Chancellor into his own custody, abusing it to ill ends) Voted; 'That if the
' King by any intervenient occasion should take away the Great Seal from the
' Chancellor (who should always be chosen by the Parliament, or at its assent,)
' whatsoever should be sealed in the interim should be reputed VOYD and
' **FRUSTRATE**, till restitution of it were made to the Chancellor: After this, the (c) Parliament in *Richard* the second his Reign, disposed both of the Chancellor's place and the Great Seal; and *Henry Scroope* made Lord Chancellor by it, refused at first to deliver up the Seal to the King who demanded it of him; and when he extorted it from him, the whole Kingdom were much displeased, and murmured against it.

Thirdly, the Chancellor of *England*, (d) hath resigned up his Office and Great Seal of *England*, in and to the Parliament, who have disposed of it to a new Chancellor in Parliament, as you may read in the Parliament Rolls of 4. H. 6. Nu. 14. 15. Without the King, and the (e) Arch-Bishop of *York*, L. Chancellor of *England*, when K. *Edward* the 4th. dyed, was much blamed, for delivering up the Great Seal of *England*, to the Queen Mother: whereupon the Seal was taken from him and delivered by the L. Protector to Dr. *Ruffel* Bishop of *Lincoln*. In regard of which disposing power, both (f) of the Chancellor and Great Seal by Parliament; both of them are usually stiled in statutes the Act, for Triennial Parliaments, histories, (f) The Chancellor and Great Seal of *England*. How the Parliament hath ordered and appointed the custody of the King's other Seals from time to time, I have shewed in the fore-cited Acts, and will not repeat; but conclude, That if our Parliaments have enjoyed such a Power and Jurisdiction over the Great Seal, the Chancellors and Keepers of it herteofore, when there was just cause; they might exercise the self-same power over them now, especially when both of them have bin purposely withdrawn, and detained from the Parliament so long, to retard, annihilate its proceedings contrary to Law, and the Act for its continuance.

Thirdly, the Parliament hath exercised a power over the Great Seal, and

(b) Matthew. Paris Hist. Ang: p. 619. to 621. Daniel 61 : 62 : Sovereigne power of Parliaments, part. . p. 49. 50. (c) Walsingham Hist. Ang. p. 143. 30. 31. 32. See the Sovereign power of Parliament part. 2. p. 5. 5. (d) See the 2. part of the power of Parliaments p. 78. 1. (e) Speed, Holinshed, Grafton in R. 5. (f) See 5 Eliz. c. 18. 13. Eliz. c. 7. 14. Eliz. c. 6. The Act for Triennial Parliaments.

other Seals of the King; as the *Dutchy* Seal, Exchequer Seal, Seal of the Court of Wards and Liveries, of the Court of Augmentation, or first fruits and Tenth, Staples, Surveyors, Seals of Cloth and other Merchandize, safe conducts, Customs, Ecclesiastical Courts, and the like; in prescribing what Patents, Charters, Commissions, Protections, Warrants, Grants, Writs, Pardons should be passed under them or any of them, and what not; And where the great privy Seal shall be used to promote right, and where not used to stay right or justice in any case whatsoever. This is evident by the several Statutes of 13 E. 1. of *Acton Burnel*, and Statute Merchants, 25 E. 1. c. 1. 28 E. 1. c. 1. 2. 6. 20. 18 E. 2. Statute E. 1. Prfes. 2. E. 3. c. 8. 4 E. 3. c. 4. 5. E. 3. c. 2. 14 E. 3. c. 14. 15. Stat. 3. c. 1, & Stat. 4. 15 E. 3. c. 3. 18 E. 3. Stat. 2. c. 1. 36 E. 3. c. 2. 42 E. 3. c. 9. 1 R. 2. c. 6. 5 R. 3. c. 9. 10. 14. 6 R. 2. c. 4. 18 R. 2. c. 1. 12 R. 2. 1. 8. 13 R. 2. c. 2. 13 R. c. 2 Stat. 2. c. 16 R. 2. c. 6. 2 H. 5. c. 4. 5 H. 5. c. 7. 10 H. 6. c. 7. 15 H. 6. c. 3. 20 H. 6. c. 1. 31. 13 Eliz. c. 7. 14 Eliz. c. 6 H. 6. c. 2. 1 E. 4. c. 1. 3 H. 6. c. 1. 4 H. 7. c. 14. 14. and 15 H. 8. c. 4. 21 H. 8. c. 16. 17. 20. 33 H. 8. c. 19. 21. 22. 27 H. 8. c. 2. 5. 11. 15. 16. 27. 34 and 35 H. 8. c. 16. 21. 26. 1 E. 6. c. 8. 39 Eliz. c. 5. 43 Eliz. c. 4. 11. 12. 5. and 6 E. 6. c. 1. 1 Eliz. c. 1. 5 Eliz. c. 1. 4. 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. c. 20. Above all by the (b) Act for the preventing inconveniences happening by the long intermission of Parliaments, made this Parliament when fullest by his Majesties and both Houses unanimous assents; with infinite other Statutes. And as the the Parliament hath thus ordered and limited the use of the King's own Seal so likewise the Seals of the Sheriffs, Coroners, Corporations, Mayors of Staples, Elector of Knight Burgeses of Parliament and sundry other persons, as to publick uses. Witness the Statute of *Rutland*. 10 H. 1. 13 E. 1. the Statute of *Acton Burnel*, of Statute Merchants, 13 E. 1. c. 13 31. 39. The Statute of *Quo Warranto* 18 E. 1. 1 E. 3. c. 8. 2 E. 3. Stat. 3. c. 5 5 E. 3. c. 2. 10 E. 3. c. 3. 14 E. 3. c. 16. 25 E. 3. Parl. 3. c. 16. 25 E. 3. Parl. 5. c. 1. 5. 21. 27 E. 3. Parl. 2. c. 4. Parl. 3. c. 1. 9. 42 E. 3. c. 1. 12 R. 2. c. 7. 8. 13 R. 2. c. 11. 18. 1 H. 4. c. 1. 19. 2 H. 4. c. 17. 4 H. 4. c. 13. 9 H. 4. c. 2. 11. H. 4. c. 6. 1 H. 5. c. 9 Parl. 2. c. 5 H. 5. c. 3. Stat. 2. 6 H. 6. c. 4. 8 H. 6. c. 18. 6 H. 6. c. 10. 11 H. 6. c. 9. 16. 15 H. 6. c. 6. 18 H. 6. c. 7. 1 E. 4. c. 1. 14 E. 4. c. 1. 8 E. 4. c. 1. 1 R. 3. c. 8. 14. and 15 H. 8. c. 3. 23 H. 8. c. 7. 25 H. 8. c. 19. 26 H. 8. c. 14. 1 E. 6. c. 14. with other Acts. Therefore the Parliament may by the same, or like Reason, exercise a Jurisdiction in making a new Great Seal, and directing the use of it for the common good to supply the absence of the old.

Fourthly, the Parliament hath caused this new Seal to be made, principally to compleat the House of Commons by sealing Writs for new Elections of

(g) 16. Car. c. 1.

Knights

Knights and Burgesses, in places of the old who are dead or justly expelled : and what power of the Kingdom and Parliament have anciently exercised in this, or the like cases, I shall give you a Brief account. First, the Lords and Commons have sundry times in former ages, not only enforced our Kings to summon a Parliament against their wills, when necessary, but likewise sent out Writs to summon a Parliament, and elect Knights and Burgesses, under the Great Seal of *England* in our Kings names, without their privy and assent, as I have elsewhere manifested by sundry Precedents : And by the very Act for the (b) Triennial Parliament (assented unto by His Majesty and all the Lords and Commons who are, or were with him at *Oxford* ; this very Session of Parliament) it is expressly provided, ‘ That in case the King refuse or neglect ‘ to summon a Parliament every three years, next after the last day of the ‘ last Parliament preceding it by Writ, under THE GREAT SEAL OF ‘ ENGLAND (so frequently stiled in this Act ;) that then every Lord ‘ Chancellor of *England*, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, ‘ and every Commissioner and Commissioners for the keeping of the Great ‘ Seal of *England* for the time being, within six days after the tenth day of ‘ September in every such third year, shall in due form of Law, without any ‘ further Warrant or direction from his Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, ‘ SEAL, issue forth, and send abroad several Writs of Summons to the re- ‘ spective Peers of the Realm, and Writs of Elections to the Sheriffs of the ‘ several Counties, Cities and Boroughs of *England* and *Wales*, &c. for the ‘ electing of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses to serve in Parliament : pre- ‘ scribing, that every Lord Chancellor, Keeper, and Commissioner afore- ‘ said, shall take an Oath, truly and faithfully to issue forth and send abroad ‘ all Writs of Summons to Parliament for both Houses, at such time and in ‘ such manner as is expressed in this Act ; under pain of being disabled *ipso facto* from their places, in case of refusal or neglect. And then the Lords ‘ are ordered to meet at *Westminster* without Writ or Summons, and any ‘ twelve of them are enabled, to grant out Writs of Summons under their ‘ hands and Seals to all Sheriffs of Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, which ‘ shall be of the same force to all intents as the Writs of Summons to Par- ‘ liament, under the Great Seal of *England*. And in case the Lords neglect ‘ or refuse to issue such Writs, then the Sheriffs, Majors, and Bailiffs of ‘ Counties, Cities and Boroughs, without any Writ at all : and in their de- ‘ fault or neglect, the Free-holders and Citizens of each County, City, and ‘ Boroughs, are enabled to elect Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses without ‘ any writ at all, and the Election and Parliament to be as effectual, ‘ as if summoned under the Great Seal of *England*.’ If then a Parliament may be thus summoned by the Lord Keeper himself, by a Writ under the Great Seal, without the King’s privy, or contrary to his Command, or by a writ under the Lords Seal only, or without any Writ at all, in some cases, and that by express provision of an Act made this Par- liament : why this Parliament may not, by as good or like reason (now

(b) The sovereign power of Parliament, part 1. f. 8. to 16.

(i) Carol. c. 1.

it is assembled and perpetuated by another Act) make a new Great Seal to seal Writs of Election, or grant out their Writs without the Great Seal, by an Ordinance of Parliament only, to compleat the Houses, now the Great Seal hath been so long absent, and such Writs refused to be issued under it, though oft desired (without any danger of Treason, or derogation to the King's Prerogatives) I cannot yet discern. It being far less, for a sitting Parliament in this case, to make a new Great Seal, or issue out Writs of Election without the King's privy (now in Arms against it) to recruit its own Members, than for the Chancellor, Keeper, Lords, and Commons themselves out of Parliament thus, either with, or without Writ, to summon and hold a Parliament, without, yea, against the King's assent, his Proclamations or Inhibitions to the contrary. And those fundamental principles of Law, State-policy, with that sovereign power of the Parliament and Kingdom, above our Kings, which induced both Houses thus to make, and his Majestie readily to assent to this late Act, for the common benefit and safety of the Realm in case his own or the Lord Keepers wilfull neglect, or refusal to doe their duties; will doubtless inable the Houses now sitting, to make a new Great Seal, or issue out writs of Election, Errour, and the like, either under it or without it, during the voluntary absence of the King, Lord Keeper, and Great Seal from the Parliament (contrary to Law, Custom, Duty, Oath) of purpose to compleat the Houses, and expedite publick Justice, obstructed by their absence. And the rather may the Parliament doe it in Case of Writs of Election because such Writs, with the Elections made by virtue of them, have usually been ordered, formed, issued out, determined, judged only by the Parliament: and Writs for new Elections (by reason of death or removal) have issued out, of course by order or Warrant from the Speaker or Commons House only, without special Warrant from the King himself without refusal or denial, as is evident by the Statutes of 5 Rich. 9. cap. 4. 7 Hen. 4. cap. 14. 81 Hen. 4. cap. 1. 8 Hen. 5. cap. 1. 6 Hen. 6. cap. 4. 8 Hen. 6. cap. 7. 10 Hen. 6. cap. 2. 23 Hen. 6. cap. 2. 23 Hen. 6. cap. 11. 32 Hen. 6. cap. 15. 8 Hen. 8. cap. 16. 35 Hen. 8. cap. 11. Br. Parliament 7. Dyer f. 60. Compton's Jurisdiction of Courts f. 3, 4. 16. Neither can they be denied, or the Houses kept incompleat against their wills by his refusal, without apparent breach of the priviledge of Parliament, yea, of *Magna Charta* it self, as the Lords resolved, An. 1256. in Henry the third his reign, and the whole Parliament since 1 Hen. 4. Rot. Parl. num. 21, 22. as I have (k) elsewhere proved.

From all which Authorities I humbly conceive, the Parliament may lawfully in the case fore-stated, both make a new broad Seal and Keeper of it, to fill up the Houses, and redress the obstructions of Justice, of Parliamentary proceedings, occasioned by the Great Seal's absence

To these authorities I shall annex the ensuing Reasons both of Law and State: First, The Parliament the supreme Power and Judicature in *England*, having the chief interest and propriety in the GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND,

(k) See the second part of Sovereigne power of Parliaments. p. 7. 42.

in respect of its publick use, may lawfully new make and use that Seal which is its own, in respect of property and use; and the King's only as their publick Minister.

Secondly, That the Parliament being the chief State-physician of the Realm, may, and ought by Law to redress all publick grievances: therefore the grievances and obstructions of Justice, occasioned by the old Great Seal and Lord Keeper's absence, or abuse, by making new.

Thirdly, The Parliament may and ought to supply all defects, defaults of State-Officers, Law-Affairs, prejudicial to the Realm: Hence it always hath supplied the Minority, Dotage, or Absence of our Kings, by constituting a Vice-Roy of their own election to exercise all royal Authority; the absence of the Lord Keeper or Speaker of the Lower House, when sick, by substituting others to supply their places; the defect of the Common Law by new Statute-Laws; and provided new Laws, Courts, Seals, against new mischiefs, not remediable by old Acts. This appears most lively by the Act for Triennial Parliaments fore-cited, wherein the 'wilfulness and negligence of the King, is ordered to be supplied by the Lord Keeper; the Lord Keepers, by the Lords; the Lords, by the Sheriffs of Counties, Mayors, and Bailiffs; and theirs by the Freeholders, Citizens, and Burgeses.' The Council of *Basil*, and others (*l*) forecited, are to like purpose: and the Statute of 25 *Hen. 8. c. 21.* 'which Law abolishing the Pope's authority, enables the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to grant all Ecclesiastical Licences and Dispensations here, which the Pope alone formerly granted at *Rome*; and then provides, that in case the Archbishop should wilfully and obstinately refuse to grant such Licences and Dispensations to those who demanded them without a just and reasonable cause; that then an Injunction should issue out of the Chancery under the Great Seal to him, commanding him to grant them; and if he then wilfully refused to do it, that then the King upon every such default and wilfulness, should grant a Commission under the Great Seal to any two Prelates or spiritual persons that would grant them, by an instrument in writing under THEIR SEALS.' The Parliament therefore now summoned and sitting, by like reason lawfully may, and is bound in duty to supply the present wilful absence of the Lord Keeper and Great Seal, (treacherously carried from it beyond expectation, contrary to promise, and so long detained thence) by constituting New ones in their places. It was one principal Article preferred by (*m*) the Parliament against Cardinal *Wolfey*, 'That when he was sent Ambassador into *Flanders*, to the Emperor, he carried the Great Seal with him without the King's consent;' for which he was displaced and fined. Much more then may the Parliament displace the Lord Keeper, for carrying away the Great Seal (the only Seal of this High Court) in a surreptitious manner from them, contrary to his duty, with-

(*l*) The Sovereign power of Parliaments, part 1. edit. 2. p. 13.
21 *Hen. 5. c. 19.* Grafton, p. 1191.

(*m*) Hall's Chron.
(*n*) 9 *Hen. 3. c. 29.* 2 *Edw. 3. c. 8.*

out and against their consents, and make a new Great Seal and Keeper in lieu of the old.

Fourthly, The Parliament is bound to take care, that publick Justice (according to *Magna Charta* (and other Acts) be not delayed, nor denied to any Subjects that desire or need it, being the supreamest Court of Justice, to punish all offences, neglects, supply all defects in the highest Officers of Justice: Therefore to provide a new broad Seal and Keeper of it, since publick Justice is denied to most, obstructed, delayed to all, by the illegal, willful absence of the old Great Seal and Lord Keeper from the Parliament and Courts of *Westminster*.

Fifthly, The Houses of Parliament, in point of honour, trust, duty, more especially since their late Protestations and Covenants, are bound universally to preserve their own just Privileges, Rights, and Liberties; whereof these are indubitable ones: 'That the Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, together with the Seal itself remaining in his custody, ought always constantly to attend the Parliament and be present with it.' First, (*o*) because the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal is always a necessary member of the Upper-House, and the Speaker of it, by vertue of his very Office. Secondly, because not only constant custom, but (*p*) sundry Acts of Parliament, require the Chancellor, and Keeper's special presence in Parliament, in direct terms. Thirdly, because the Chancellor, and Great Seal are, and ought to be necessarily present in Parliament, being the only proper Seal of this highest Court, for divers publick ends. 1. To issue out Writs (*q*) of summons and new elections, for summoning the Members of both Houses, as oft as there is need, to keep the Houses compleat. 2. To seal Writs of (*r*) Error, brought in Parliament. 3. To seal (*s*) Writs of Privilege for Members of Parliament, or their menial servants, when there is cause. 4. To issue and seal such (*t*) new Writs as shall be devised in Parliament, upon new occasions. 5. To issue out and seal such (*u*) Commissions as shall be necessary upon publick imployments, Trials criminal or judicial, Taxes or Subsidies, appointed in and by Parliament. 6. To seal such (*x*) Patents and Charters of Honours, Lands, Privileges, Offices, and the like, which shall be thought meet to be granted in Parliament, as most old Charters were. 7. To seal Parliament pardons and all Proclamations, exemplifications of private Acts of Parliament, and such Acts as are to be proclaimed, to such who require them, 2 *H.* 5. c. 4. 1 *R.* 2. c. 6. 1 *H.* 7. f. 23, 32. *Corone.* 49. 33 *H.* 6. 17 *Parl.* 1. 21 *E.* 4. 56. *Dyer.* 135. *Cooke,* l. 8. f. 7, 8,

(*o*) See *Modus Tenendi Parliament.* Cambden, Holingsh. Vowel, and Sir Thomas Smith, l. 2. c. 1. in their Treatises of the Parliament of England, with all the Journals and Parliament rolls.

(*p*) 14 *E.* 3. c. 5. 15 *E.* 3. c. 4, 5. Stat. 1. 31 *H.* 8. c. 10.

(*q*) Brooke Parliament. 7. *Dyer.* (o. a.

(*r*) 1 *H.* 7. f. 19, 20. Ashes Tables, Error 6.

(*s*) *Dyer,* f. 59, 60. 5 *H.* 4. c. 6. Br. Parl. 11. 1 Jac. c. 23. (*t*) Stat. of Winchester, 13 *E.* 1. c. 24, 28. Register, f. 271.

(*u*) 14 *E.* 3. c. 5. and all Acts for Subsidies.

(*x*) See the Sovereign power of Parliaments, part 2, p. 25, 61, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71. and here p. 2, 3.

28. 43 E. 3. c. 5. 2 H. 5. c. 46. 1 H. 6. c. 2. 26 E. 3. c. 16. *Ashes Tables Proclamation*, 39.

In all these respects, with others, the Lord Chancellors, Keepers, and Great Seal's presence being simply necessary in Parliament, (where by Law and custom they ever have been, and ought to be, till this late Precedent) the Houses lawfully may, and in point both of honour and justice, ought, for the maintenance of their own undoubted privileges, to constitute a new Great Seal, and Keeper of it, if the old be not returned to them speedily, having been wilfully, above twelve month's space, withdrawn, detained from them, on purpose to dissolve the Parliament, retard or frustrate all its proceedings, and stop the common course of Justice, contrary to all Law and Justice.

In few words, this Parliament, without any exception of King, Courtiers, Malignants, or any other I have yet heard of; have made a new Master of the Mint, at least restored an old one to his place, who was dispossessed; coined money, and made new stamps for that purpose, where the old were broken or worn out, without the King's consent, or any tax of treason, or disloyalty: Therefore, by the self-same Law and Reason, they may lawfully make a new Great Seal, and Lord Keeper of it for the ends aforesaid, to supply the absence, defects, and prevent the gross abuses of the old, without any Treason or disloyalty.

The VOTES of the House of Commons, together with their Reasons for the making of a New Great Seal of England, presented by them to the Lords, at a Conference, July 4. and 5. Anno 1643.

Resolved upon the Question, (Jan. 14. & 26.)

1. **T**HAT the Great Seal of *England* ought to attend the Parliament.
2. That the absence of it hath been a cause of great mischief to the Commonwealth.
3. That a Remedy ought to be provided for these mischiefs.
4. That the proper Remedy is, by making a New Great Seal.

The mischiefs occasioned by conveying away the Great Seal from the Parliament (represented to the Lords at a Conference, July 5. 1643.) are these:

1. **I**T was secretly and unlawfully carried away by the Lord Keeper, contrary to the duty of his place; who ought himself to have attended the Parliament, and not to have departed without leave; nor should have been suffered to convey away the Great Seal, if his intentions had been discovered.
2. It hath been since taken away from him, and put into the hands of other dangerous and ill-affected persons; so as the Lord Keeper being sent
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unto by the Parliament for the sealing of some Writs, returned answer, That he could not seal the same, because he had not the Seal in his keeping.

3. Those who have had the managing thereof have employed it to the hurt and destruction of the Kingdom sundry ways. By making new Sheriffs in an unusual and unlawful manner, to be as so many Generals or Commanders of Forces raised against the Parliament. By issuing out illegal Commissions of Array, with other unlawful Commissions, for the same purpose. By sending forth Proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, and several Members thereof, proclaiming them Traitors, against the Privileges of Parliament and Laws of the Land. By sealing Commissions of Oyer and Terminer to proceed against them, and other of His Majesty's good Subjects adhering to the Parliament, as Traitors. By sending Commissions into Ireland to treat a peace with the Rebels there, contrary to an Act of Parliament made this Session. Besides, divers other dangerous and illegal Acts have been passed under the Great Seal, since it was secretly conveyed away from the Parliament, whereby great calamities and mischiefs have ensued, to the Kingdom's prejudice.

The mischiefs proceeding through want of the Great Seal.

1. THE Terms have been adjourned; the course of Justice obstructed.
2. No original Writs can be sued forth without going to Oxford; which none who holds with the Parliament can do, without peril of his life or liberty.
3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot issue out, for bringing in Delinquents impeached of High Treason or other Crimes, under pain of forfeiting their estates, according to the ancient course.
4. No Writs of Error can be brought in Parliament, to reverse erroneous Judgments; nor Writs of Election sued out for chusing new Members, upon death or removal of any; whereby the number of the Members is much lessened, and the Houses in time like to be dissolved, if speedy supply be not had, contrary to the very Act for Continuance of this Parliament.
5. Every other Court of Justice hath a peculiar Seal; and the Parliament, the supremest Court of England, hath no other Seal but the Great Seal of England; which being kept away from it, hath now no Seal at all; and therefore a new Seal ought to be made.
6. This Seal is *Clavis Regni*; and therefore ought to be resident with the Parliament, (which is the representative body of the whole Kingdom) whiles it continues sitting; the King, as well as the Kingdom, being always legally present in it during its Session.

*To the Right Honourable the LORDS and COMMONS
assembled in Parliament.*

The humble Declaration and Resolution of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Colonels, Captains, and Officers, assented unto, and with great cheerfulness approved of, by the Soldiers of the Trained Bands within the County of Southampton, at the general Musters begun the 21st day of June, 1642, being to the number of above five thousand Men, besides a great many Volunteers, who then offered to serve in Person.

HUMBLY ACKNOWLEDGE,

THAT the Ordinance of Parliament concerning the *Militia*, doth much conduce to the defence of the true Protestant Religion, the security of His Majesty's sacred Person, the preservation of the publick Peace, and Privileges of Parliament, against the evils that threaten them, by foreign Invasion, Rebellion, or Insurrection. Nevertheless, with great sense and grief of heart, we cannot but apprehend the continual Practices and Attempts of the Malignant Party, to invalidate the said Ordinance, wickedly endeavouring to cross the settlement of the *Militia* as aforesaid, by colour of a Proclamation sett forth in his Majesty's Name, forbidding the Execution thereof; which we humbly conceive to be Illegal, upon these Reasons laid down in the late Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, concerning the said Proclamation; and thereby unjustly to hazard the very Being and Constitution of this Kingdom.

Therefore in pursuance of the said Ordinance, and in obedience thereunto, being assembled in Arms, we have thought it our duties, hereby to make our humble tender unto this Honourable Assembly, of our Lives and Fortunes, in maintenance of the said Ordinance, so necessary for the defence of our Religion, His Majesty's sacred Person, the publick Peace of this Kingdom, the Privilege, and very Existence of Parliament.

The LORDS Answer.

MY Lords have taken your Petition into Consideration, and receive much contentment in the good affections you have expressed, thus seasonably and necessary, for the good of the King and Kingdom, and for their Lordships Encouragement in the performance of their Duty; for which they give you hearty thanks: And my Lords do assure you, That (God willing) they resolve to insist in their former declared Resolutions for the upholding the true Religion, the King's Authority in the highest Court, which by
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fundry late Declarations and Practices to abuse the people, they find so much vilified and invaded, the Privileges of Parliament, the free course of Justice, the Laws and Peace of this Kingdom, notwithstanding any dangers and hazards for that cause befall them.

That for the manifestation of their good Affections, and their Lordships kind acceptation thereof, they have commanded your Petition and this Answer, to be forthwith printed and published.

Die Veneris, 2 Julii, 1642.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That this Declaration and Answer be forthwith Printed and Published.

JOH. BROWN, Cler. Parl.

LONDON: Printed for Joseph Hunscomb, 1642.

An Argument in Justification of the Five Members formerly, and so virtually clearing the Four Men now accused by His Majesty.

Wherein is proved, that the raising of this Present Army by Authority of Parliament, is not Treason. By which it likewise appeareth, that never any King of ENGLAND received loss or damage by any Parliament, from the first that ever was called, to this present Parliament.

By PETER BLAND of Grays-Inne, Gent.

London, Printed for JOHN FIELD.

A DIALOGUE between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student at Law, concerning the KING and PARLIAMENT.

DOCTOR. Sir, being acquainted with your ways of imployment, and knowing you to be a Lawyer, I shall desire some Satisfaction from you concerning a Parliament, it being no way belonging to my own study, whereby I may resolve myself; and first I desire you to tell me, who may be Burgeses or Knights in Parliament.

Student. I wish all Divines were of your temper, not to meddle with that which belongs not to them; and to answer your question; the son and heir of an Earl may be, and so was the Lord Russel, Eliz. 6. or the Son and heir apparent of a Baron, and so was Mr. Henry Brook; for the eldest Son of an Earl is not a Lord, only by the courtesie of England he is called so, but
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in any Declaration or Writing he hath no more then his legal addition given.

Doct. *But may not a Divine be chosen for a Burgesse, for he hath no voice in the upper House unless he be a Bishop?*

Stud. No Sir, he may not, and therefore *Alexander Nowell* was refused, being a Prebend of *Westminster*, whereupon a Writ issued to choose another in his room for *Leo* in *Cornwall*.

Doct. *But I have heard that the Country hath a free choice, and if they choose a Divine and he is returned, may the House put him out, and have they power to send out Writs?*

Stud. In 93 *Eliz.* it was ordered, that during the Session, no Writs should issue to choose Knights or Burgesses, but by Warrant of the House to the Clerk of the Crown, and 18 *Martii*, 23. *Eliz.* it was agreed by the House, that if a Burgesse be incurably sick, another may be chosen in his place by licence of the House, but not if he be easily sick, or sent of his Majesties service; unless the House will allow of a new Election.

Doct. *What then Sir, if one man be chosen for two places, which must he serve for?*

Stud. He must serve for that place which first chose him: Sir *Henry Piercy* was chosen Knight for two Counties, and thereupon it was adjudged by the House, that he should serve for that County which first chose him: 13. *Eliz.* and in 7. *E. 6.* one *Cavell* was returned for *Ludders-Hall* and for *Travayny*, and he appeared for the first, and a writ issued to choose another for *Travayny*.

Doct. *Well, Sir, you have satisfied me for the Election of Burgesses, and who may be, now tell me what they do usually require at the King's hands, when they are all met and a Speaker made.*

Stud. The first thing that they require at the King's hands, is that which was required by the Commons in the thirteenth year of *Henry 8.* to wit, that if any man of the Commons House should speak more largely, then of duty he ought to do, all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

Doct. *If that be granted, then they may speak of the King what they please; and he must be pardoned.*

Stud. No Sir, the reverence which a vassal oweth his Sovereign is intended (in that motion) for to be proved in every speech, whatever it be it must import the good of the King and his State; and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not, for in *Queen Elizabeth's* time, who gave freedom of speech to all Parliaments, when *Wentworth* made those motions that were but supposed dangerous to the Queen's Estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and there dyed.

Doct. *I thought every Burgesse or Knight of the Parliament-house had a privilege that they could not be imprisoned.*

Stud. No more they cannot at the suit of any common person, where the offence does not touch the King directly, as by a Trespass against another, or the like; but a man shall not have the privilege of the House for a criminal offence that immediately toucheth the King.

Doct

Doct. *If he shall not have the privilege of the House for such an offence as immediately toucheth the King, who then must commit him, the King, or the House of Parliament whereof he is a Member?*

Stud. As to that question, I shall not give you my own opinion, but I shall shew you what Precedents have been done, if the Books be true that I go by: Sir *Edward Warner* (Lieutenant of the Tower) was sent out of his house to the Tower for an offence done before the Parliament was summoned: And Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary, said that the Queen was then assured by her Justices, that she might commit any of the House during the Parliament, for any offence against the Crown and Dignity; and that they shewed divers Precedents thereof; and *Pearne* was committed to the *Marshalse* for words without any notice given to the House; and Master *Cope*, Master *Lukenor*, *Hurlston*, and Master *Braynbridge*, and others were committed to the Tower by the Queen, for that before the Parliament they had sundry conventions for the preferring in Parliament a Book touching the Rates of the Church, and a form of an Act for establishing the same: Which also they did print, prefer, and urge in Parliament; but it seemed that if they had treated thereof only in time of Parliament (being Burgessees) they should not have been impeached: in 28 *Eliz.*

Doct. *What then do you think of the King's accusing the five Members?*

Stud. Sir, you must know that the accusation laid before his Majesty against them, is not within the compass of any of those Precedents; and we need not stand to give any reasons to prove how it differs from the Precedents, because the King himself hath acknowledged it; and what dishonour can His so doing be to so Religious a Prince, when, as he himself is subject to error, being considered as man? nay, in that point He hath excelled the goodness of his Royal Ancestors, which act I hope shall be perpetually recorded in the hearts of all his Subjects, for a testimony of His Grace and Goodness, and for a pattern to all succeeding Princes.

Doct. *But why did they not then accept of a Pardon?*

Stud. Then the King's mercy had been apparent, of which we have other great evidences; but His willingness to acknowledge his errors (which is a great virtue in a Prince) had been concealed, and so he had been (in that respect) less glorious: besides, had they received a Pardon, being not guilty, they had, *ipso facto*, lost their personal estate by the Statute, unless some words of Art had been put into the pardon, which is not too late yet to be done.

Doct. *Then it seems that in former times the King had a power over the Parliament, unless I misapprehend them, pray tell me, hath he not now a power over them?*

Stud. I shall tell you what I have read, and farther I cannot go: The House had agreed in 23 *Eliz.* to have a common Fast, whereof the Queen misliked not for the matter, but for the innovation of order, without her privy, and without Ecclesiastical Authority; for which cause, the Commons submitted themselves, and she gave them their pardon: And Sir *Wal-*

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ter Raleigh saith, the three Estates do but advise, as the Privy-Council doth; which advice if the King embrace, it becomes the King's own Act in the one, and the King's Law in the other; for without the King's acceptation, both the publick and private advices be but as empty Egg-shells. Again, if there be any difference for alteration of a Bill between the Lords and Commons, then usually some special persons of each House meet and confer, that one House may understand the meaning of the other; but a Bill that is signed by the King, and sent to the Lower-House, may not be altered in any part thereof, without His Majesty's licence; but if a Bill come from the Lords, and not signed by him, it may be altered, by noting what should be taken from it, or added unto it: from whence, learned Doctor, I desire you to gather your own satisfaction: and in 4 & 5 *Phillip and Mary*, the Speaker shewed that it was the QUEEN's pleasure, that the House should proceed no farther with the Bill for the Revenues of the Queen, because it extended to divers which had accompted, and then *Peter Wentworth* and *James Dalton* moved, whether this did not restrain the Liberty of the House? upon which, after many arguments, they resolved to cease till some other time: now the Queen revoked her said Command, and gave them liberty to proceed; but upon consultation amongst themselves, they spared to proceed any further.

Doct. But pray Sir, tell me your opinion freely, Is it dangerous for the King to assemble the three States, for thereby former Kings have always lost somewhat of their Prerogative? And because you shall not think that I speak at random, I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began betwixt the Kings of this Land, and their Subjects in Parliament.

Stud. Sir, you would do me a singular favour in your so doing.

Doct. You know that the Kings of England had no formal Parliament, till about the 18th year of Henry I; for in his 17th year for the marriage of his daughter, the King raised a Tax upon every hide of Land, by the advice of his Privy-Council alone; but you may remember how the subjects, soon after this Parliament, began to stand upon terms with the King, and drew from him by strong hand and the sword, the Great Charter.

Stud. You say well, Sir, the Great Charter was drawn from the King by the sword, but hereof the Parliament cannot be accused, but the Lords.

Doct. Then afterwards King John promised to restore King Edward's Laws, and also to confirm the Charter of Forests, and the Great Charter upon his absolution; but after his return out of France, in his 16th year, he denied it, because without such a promise he had not obtained restitution, therefore he said his promise was constrained, and not voluntary: What say you therefore, was he not bound in honour to perform it?

Stud. Certainly no; for it was determined in the Case of King Francis the first of France, That all promises by him made, whilst he was in the hands of Charles the Fifth his enemy, were void, by reason the judge of Honour, which tells us he durst do no other.

Doct. But King John was not in prison.

Stud.

Stud. Yet for all that, restraint is imprisonment, yea, fear itself is imprisonment, and the King was subject to both: I know there is nothing more kingly in a King, than the performance of his word; that is, his word that is freely given; for binding of a King by Law upon the advantage of his necessity, makes the breach itself lawful in a King (saith Sir *Walter Raleigh*) his Charters and all other instruments being no other than the surviving witnesses of unconstrained will, *Princeps non subjicitur nisi sua voluntate libera, mero motu & certa scientia*; necessary words in all the Grants of a King; witnessing that the same Grants were given freely and willingly.

Doct. But what say you to the Parliament of Westminster in the 16th year of the King, when notwithstanding the Wars of France, and the great charge he had been at in repulsing the Welsh Rebels, he was flatly denied the Subsidy demanded?

Stud. I confess, Sir, that the House excused themselves by reason of their poverty, and the Lords taking of Arms; but you speak, Sir, of danger of Parliaments: Now in this Parliament there was a denial, but there was no danger at all; yet in the end of that year, at the Assembly of the States at *Lambeth*, the King had the fortieth part of every man's goods given him freely towards the payment of his debts; and those people who the same year had refused to give the King any thing, when they saw he had supplied his own necessity out of Delinquents and corrupt Officers which he called to account, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction; and indeed it is impossible for a King of *England* to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people; for by one year's Rebellion, or civil Wars, the King hath more loss, than by a hundred years observance of *Magna Charta*, and the other Laws that are in force; for in those times of War, Kings have been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them; but by Parliaments, the Kings of *England* never received loss or prejudice.

Doct. But what say you to the denial in the 26th year of that King's Reign, even when the King was invited to come into France by the Earl of March who married his Mother, and who promised to assist him in the Conquest of many places that he had lost?

Stud. It is true, that a Subsidy was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in *English Histories*; who say, That with a world of payments there mentioned, the King had drawn the Nobility dry; and besides, that whereas not long before, great sums of Money were given, and the same appointed to be kept in four Castles, and not to be expended, but by the advice of the Peers; it was believed, that the same Treasure was yet unspent.

Doct. Good Sir, you have said enough; judge you your self, whether that were not a dishonour to the King to be so tied, as not to expend his Treasure, but by other mens advice, as it were by their licence.

Stud. Surely (noble Doctor) the King was well advised to take the money upon any condition, and they were fools that did propound the restraint; for it does not appear that the King took any great heed to those overseers:

Kings are bound by their Piety, and by no other obligations. In Queen Mary's time, when it was thought that she was with Child, it was propounded that the Rule of the Realm should be given to King Philip, during the Minority of the hoped Prince or Princess; and the King offered his assurance in great sums of Money, to relinquish the Government, at such time as the Prince and Princess should be of age: At which motion when all were silent in the House, the Lord Dacres (who was none of the wisest) asked, Who should sue the King's Bonds? which ended the dispute; for what Bond is between a King and Vassal, more than the Bond of the KING's Faith?

Doct. *What say you then to the twenty eighth year of that King, in which when the King demanded Relief, the States would not consent, except the former Order had been taken for the appointing of four Overseers for the Treasury; as also that the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the States, with some Barons of the Exchequer and other Officers?*

Stud. Why, Sir, admit the King had yielded to their demands, then whatsoever had been ordained by those Magistrates to the dislike of the Commonwealth, the people had been without remedy; whereas while the King made them, they had their appeal and other remedies: It is an excellent thing for a King to have patience, and give way to the fury of mens passions.

Doct. *Was not the King denied a Subsidy in the forty first of his Reign?*

Stud. No, Sir, for although the King required Money as before, for the impossible conquest of Sicily, yet the House offered to give fifty two thousand Marks, which whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain; and whilst the King dreamed of Sicily, the Welsh invaded and spoiled the Borders of England; for in the Parliament of London, when the King urged the House for the prosecuting the Conquest of Sicily, the Lords utterly disliking the attempt, urged the prosecuting of the Welshmen: Which PARLIAMENT being prorogued, did again assemble at OXFORD, and was called the Mad PARLIAMENT, which was no other than the Assembly of Rebels; for the Royal Assent of the KING, which gives life to all Laws formed by the three Estates, was not a Royal Assent, when both the King and Prince were constrained to yield to the Lords; a constrained consent is the consent of a Captive, not of a King; and therefore there was nothing done there either legal, or Royal; for if it be not properly a Parliament where the Subject is not free, certainly, it can be none where the King is bound, for all kingly Rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peers appointed to govern the Realm; and as other Writers have it, twenty-four Peers, and therefore the assembly made by Jack Straw and other Rebels, may as well be called a Parliament, as that at Oxford, *Principis nomen habere non est esse Princeps*, for thereby was the King driven, not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but he quitted his Right to Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne.

Doct.

Doct. *But what needed this extremity, seeing the Lords required but the confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudicial to the King to grant?*

Stud. Yes, Sir, but they insulted upon the King, and would not suffer him to enter into his own Castles; they put down the Purveyor of the meat, for the maintenance of his house, as if the King had been a Bankrupt; and gave order, That without ready money he should not take up a Chicken; and though there is nothing against the Royalty of a King in these Charters, yet it is so contrary to the nature of a King to be forced, even to those things which may be to his advantage, as that the King had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the Pope, and to draw in Strangers for his own defence; yea, *jure salvo coronæ nostræ*, is intended inclusively in all oaths and promises exacted from a Sovereign.

Doct. *But you know 'tis dangerous to call in other Nations, both for the spoil they make, as also because they have often held the possessions of the best places, with which they have been trusted.*

Stud. 'Tis true, Sir, nothing is so dangerous for a King, as to be constrained and held as prisoner to his Vassals; for by that *Edward II.* and *Richard II.* lost both their Kingdoms and their Lives.

Doct. *Why, those were both deposed by Parliament, were they not?*

Stud. Yes, Sir, being prisoners, and being out of Possession. It is an old contrary Proverb (that *might overcomes right*) a weak title that wears a strong sword, commonly prevails against a strong title that wears but a weak one; otherwise *Philip II.* had never been Duke of *Millaine*, nor King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; but, Sir, *errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*, when I defend Parliaments, I speak of peaceable, regal and lawful Parliaments.

Doct. *What say you then to the Parliament held at London, about the 6th year of Edward the Second's time?*

Stud. I say, that the King was not bound to perform the Acts of that Parliament, because the Lords being too strong for the King, enforced his consent; for these be the words of our own History, *viz.* They wrested too much beyond the bounds of reason; and at the Parliament in the 13 year of that King, the Lords that were so moved came with an Army, and by strong hand surprized the King, they constrained (saith the Story) the rest of the Lords, and compelled many of the Bishops to consent unto them; yea, it saith farther, That the King durst not but grant to all that they required.

Doct. *What say you to the Lords in Richard the Second's time, when he was first besieged in the Tower, the Lords came to the Parliament, and no man durst contradict them.*

Stud. Certainly in raising an Army, they committed Treason, and though it did appear that they all loved the King (for they did him no harm having him in their power) yet our Law doth conster all levying of War without the King's Commission, and all Force raised to be intended for the death of the King, not attending the sequel, so saith Sir *Walter Raleigh*; but Mr. Doctor, for this war that our present Parliament do maintain, I must tell you, that you must take this for a general rule; That the immortal Policy of a

State, cannot admit any Law or Privilege whatsoever, but in some particular or other, the same must necessarily be broken; therefore I hold not Sir *Walter's* opinion for good Law in the case of our times; for the supreme reason bears out their practise of many things without the advice of the Law; and where the Law by forecast hath not provided remedies for future dangers, Parliaments are forced to assist themselves by their Privileges: And besides, who can shew a greater Right or Title to the exposition of that Statute, and determining what is a levying of War within that Statute, and what not, than those that can expound with the same authority that the thing expounded was made by? however, I am sure, that as those Parliaments wherein the Kings of this Land have satisfied the people, have been ever prosperous both to King and People; so where Kings have restrained the House, the contrary hath hapned.

Doct. *Well, Sir, but is it not the best way to compound a Parliament of the King's servants and others, that shall in all obey the King's desires?*

Stud. Certainly no, for it hath never succeeded well on the King's part, nor on the Subjects; for from such a composition do arise all jealousies and all contentions; it was practised in elder times, to the great trouble of the Kingdom, and to the loss and ruin of many; in later times it was used by King *Henry VIII*; but every way to his disadvantage, when the King leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves that they are trusted and beloved of their King; and there was never any people so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their King.

Doct. *Well, Sir, notwithstanding all this, who dares to advise a King to call a Parliament; for if it should succeed ill, those that advised the King to it, should fall into the King's disgrace; and if the King be driven into any extremity, they can say to the King, that because we found it extreamly unpleasing to his Majesty to hear of a Parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.*

Stud. As to the first part of your excuse, let me tell you, that there was never any just Prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of Counsels, which have been founded upon reason; to fear that, were to fear the loss of the Bell more than the loss of the Steeple; and were also the way to beat all men from the study of the King's service: But for the second part of your excuse, where you excuse yourself upon the King's protesting against a Parliament; let me tell you, that the King upon better consideration may encounter that finesse of yours; therefore 'twill be better for a King to trust his own reason and excellent judgment, which have not deceived him in any thing wherein his Majesty hath imployed them; *take counsel of thine heart, saith Solomon, for there is none more faithful unto thee then it.*

A LIST

A LIST Of divers Persons whose Names are to be presented to the KING'S MAJESTIE, to DYE without Mercy.

Also a Declaration of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, for the Vindication and defence of their Religion, Liberties and Laws.

The Honourable House of the Parliament of ENGLAND, and the Honourable Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom of SCOTLAND.

LONDON: Printed for V. V. MDCXLVII.

R UPERT Count Palatine of Rhine	Lord Audley
Maurice Count Palatine of Rhine	Lord Roe
	James Lord Itham
The Marquis of Winchester	Matthew Wren, late Bishop of Ely
George Marquis of Huntly	John Maxwell, pretended Bishop of Ross
James Earl of Derby	Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry
John Earl of Bristol	
William Earl of Newcastle	Sir Robert Heath
Edward Earl of Worcester	Sir William Wodrington
James Earl of Montross	Sir Ralph Hopton
The Earl of Traquare	Sir John Byron
Robert Earl of Nithsdale	Sir Francis Doddington
Lodowick Earl of Crawford	Sir John Strangeways
James Earl of Airby	Sir George Ratcliffe
Robert Earl of Carnwarth	Sir Marmaduke Langdale
The Earl of Castlehaven	Sir Henry Vaughan
	Sir Francis Windebank
James Viscount Aboyne	Sir Richard Greenville
	Sir Edward Hide
Francis Lord Cottington	Sir John Marley
George Lord Digby	Sir Nicholas Cole
Lord Brewdnel	Sir Thomas Reddel Junior
Lord Harris	Sir John Culpeper
Lord Arundel of Warder	Sir Richard Lloyd
James Lord Ogley	Sir George Strode

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Sir George Carteret
 Sir Charles Dallison
 Sir Richard Lane
 Sir Edward Nicholas
 Sir Edward Herbert
 Sir Francis Howard
 Sir John Winter
 Sir Charles Smith
 Sir John Preston
 Sir Bazil Brook
 Sir Henry Beddingfield

Colonel George Goring

Colonel John Cockram
 Henry Fermin Esq;
 John Ashburnham Esq;
 Carel Mollineux Esq;
 William Sheldon of Uccly Esq;

Mr. Endimion Porter
 Mr. David Jenkins
 Alester Mageonald
 Irwing Yonger of Drunim
 Gordan Yonger of Gight
 Lesly of Auchentoal
 Graham of Gortbie.

All Papists, and Popish Recusants, who have been, now are, or shall be, actually in Arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliament, or Estates of either Kingdom.

All such as being processed by the Estates for Treason, shall be condemned before the Act of oblivion be past.

And all persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebellion in *Ireland*, except such persons who having only assisted the said Rebellion, have rendered themselves, or come to the Parliament of *England*.

An Act is to be Propounded to the King's Majesty to be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, for the establishing the joint Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30th day of January 1643 in ENGLAND, and 1644 in SCOTLAND, with the qualifications expressed in the Propositions from both Kingdoms to His Majesty.

In which Declaration of the Kingdom of England and Scotland (joyned in Arms for the Vindication and Defence of their Religion, Liberties and Laws) against the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, By the Honourable Convention of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, It is declared Thus,

I.

WE do declare, concerning those who are or shall be found by the Supreme Judicatories of the Kingdoms respectively, or their Committees appointed for that effect, to be such; that as the Conscience of their own bad deservings hath made them to despair of favour, and thereby uncessantly to work more and more mischief against their Religion and Native Country, so are they to look for such Execution of Justice, as is due to
 Traytors

Traytors and Enemies of Religion of the King, and his Kingdoms for Terrour and Example to others, in all Times to come.

II.

And it is further now Declared, That the whole Estates, real and personal, moveable, and Inheritance of those that shall not come in at the times before limited in the Sixth Article, and of the persons before excepted from Pardon, (as of Papists in Arms, *Irish* Rebels, and those who shall be found to come within the compass of the precedent Article) shall be forfeited and imployed for paying the publick Debts, relieving the common burdens of the Kingdoms and repairing of particular losses.

III.

And this Declaration we make, not from any presumption or vain-glorying in the strength of our Armies and Forces; but from the sense of that duty which is required, and expected from the high places and publique relations wherein we stand, and from the assurance we have of the assistance of God, by whose providence the trust and safety of these Kingdoms are put into our hands at this time, have after long and grave consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay down Arms till Truth and Peace by the blessing of Good be settled in this Island upon a firm foundation for the present and future Generations, which shall be esteemed of us an abundant reward of all that we can doe or suffer in this Cause.

A Pro-

A Proclamation for Tryal of the KING. Proclaimed by sound of Trumpets and Drums, in Westminster-Hall, at the Exchange, and in Cheapside. With the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice against him.

Also an Act of the House of Commons for further Prosecution against the KING, Jan. 8. 1648.

Die Martis 9 January 1648.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that the same Proclamation that was made this morning, touching the Tryal of the KING, be made at the Exchange, and in Cheapside in London.

Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

Printed by Robert Ibbitson, 1648.

Die Lunæ 8 Jan. 1648.

At the High Court of Justice, appointed by an Act of the House of Commons for Tryal of CHARLES STUART King of England, met this Day in the Painted Chamber near the Lords House at Westminster.

AN Act of the House of Commons was brought before this High Court of Justice for Tryall of CHARLES STUART King of *England*, by Authority whereof they met. And first called over the Names of the Members of this High Court, which are in number one hundred and fifty. There being at this time present nigh one hundred of them. After which the afore-said Act of the House of Commons in Parliament assembled, was read, giving power to the said Committee for present Tryal of the said CHARLES STUART King of *England*, and to adjudge him according to Law, and this to be finished within one month's space. But as for the time, and place, they are to adjourn from time to time as they shall see cause.

After the Commissioners were called, and the Commission read, this High Court proceeded to election of Officers, and chose them four Lawyers to be assistants, two Clerks, four Messengers to send into the Country, and two Messengers to wait on them where they shall sit from time to time. And it was ordered that all those of this High Court of Justice who are in Countries shall

shall be forthwith sent for, to join with them, and the Messengers to bring the positive answers of each of them.

The Commissioners are a hundred and fifty, some Members of the House of Commons, some Officers of the Army, *viz.* the Lord General and chief of his Officers, some Citizens of *London*, and some from all the Counties of *England*.

Counsellors assistant to this Court are four, *viz.*

Mr. *Doriflow*,

Mr. *Asb*,

Mr. *Steel*,

Mr. *Cooke*.

Clerks chosen by the Court are two, *viz.*

Mr. *Philips*,

Mr. *Graves*.

Messengers to attend the Court are six, whereof four are for sending forth abroad, and two to attend the sitting of the Court. And they are,

Mr. *Walford*,

Mr. *Paine*,

Mr. *King*,

Mr. *Powell*,

Mr. *Coomes*,

Mr. *Hull*.

The Court agreed upon a Proclamation to be published for the Kingdom to take notice of the tryal of the King, concerning which they sent to Serjeant *Dendy*, Serjeant at Arms, for publication thereof accordingly as followeth.

The Copy of a Commission from the High Court of Justice to Serjeant Dendy, Serjeant at Arms, for tryal of the King.

WE the Commissioners whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby authorize and appoint *Edmond Dendy*, Serjeant at Arms, to cause this to be proclaimed, according to the tenour thereof, and to make due return of the same, with a precept of the said Court at the time and place therein mentioned,

*Signed by forty-six of the Commissioners of the Court
in the name of all the rest.*

*By the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of the King, by
Authority of an Act of the House of Commons.*

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

BY vertue of an Act of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, for erecting of an High Court of Justice, for the trying and judging of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*.

We whose Names are hereunder written, being Commissioners (amongst others) nominated in the said Act, do hereby appoint, That the High Court of Justice mentioned in the said Act shall be holden in the Painted Chamber

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in the Palace of *Westminster*, on *Wednesday* the 10th day of this instant *January*, by one o'clock in the afternoon, and this we appoint to be notified by publick proclaiming hereof in the great Hall at *Westminster*, to-morrow being the 9th day of this instant *January*, betwixt the hours of 9 and 11 in the forenoon ;

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 8th day of January, Anno Domini, 1648.

Signed and sealed by forty-six of the Commissioners in the name of the whole Court.

Die Martis, January 9. 1648.

This day, according to the Commission aforesaid, Serjeant *Dendy* caused the aforesaid Proclamation to be made according to his Instructions from the Court, which was done in this manner :

Serjeant *Dendy* rid into *Westminster-Hall* with the Mace belonging to the House of Commons on his shoulder, and some Officers attending him all bare : And the guard of Horse and Foot being in both the Palaces, six Trumpeters were sent to attend him.

The Names of the Trumpeters.

Mr. *Bret*, the Lord General's Trumpeter, and of the Lieutenant General's Regiment ; Mr. *Thomas Williams* of Captain *Blackwel's* Troop ; Mr. *Henry Balkley*, and Mr. *Oliver Holms*, belonging to Captain *Ainrer's* Troop ; Mr. *Robert Hadrey*, and Mr. *John Reynolds*, of Captain *Canon's* Troop of Colonel *Whaly's* Regiment.

These six Trumpeters sounded on horseback in the middle of *Westminster-Hall*, and the mean time the Drums did beat in the Palace-yard, after which Proclamation was made.

The aforesaid Proclamation was read by Mr. *King*, one of the Messengers of the High Court of Justice.

After publick Proclamation made in *Westminster-Hall*, the House of Commons ordered that the like should be done in the City of *London*, according to an Order of the House hereunto annexed, which accordingly was done in this manner :

First, Serjeant *Dendy* rid with his Attendants and a Troop of Horse before him, with the Mace of the House of Commons on his shoulder, and proclaimed it in *Cornwall* against the *Exchange*, and afterwards in the middle of *beatside* in *London*.

It was read and published by Lieutenant *Chellington*, and Mr. *King* the aforesaid messenger, in the presence and by order of Serjeant *Dendy*, in *Cornwall* before the *Exchange*, and by Mr. *Chellington*, in the presence and by the command of the said Serjeant *Dendy* in *Cheapside*, according to the Order of the House of Commons, herewith annexed.

The

The aforefaid painted Chamber, which is appointed for the high Court of Justice to fit, is near unto the House where the Lords fit.

Here followeth an Act Ordered by the House of Commons for publishing the aforefaid Proclamation in *London* at the feveral places aforefaid.

An Act of the Commons of England in Parliament affembled for publishing a Proclamation in London for the tryal of the KING.

Die Martis 9 Janua. 1648.

Ordered by the Commons affembled in Parliament, that the same Proclamation that was made this Morning in *Westminster-Hall* touching the Tryal of the King, be made in the *Old-Exchange*, and in *Cheapside*, forthwith, and in the same manner. And that Serjeant *Dendy*, the Serjeant at Arms, do proclaim the same accordingly: And that the Guard that lyeth in *Pauls* doe see the same done.

Hen. Scobell Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

To the Honourable the LORDS and COMMONS now affembled in the High Court of Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the University of Cambridge.

HUMBL Y presenteth to your honourable Consideration the sad dejected Estate of the said University; how our Schools daily grow desolate, mourning the Absence of their Professors and the wonted Auditories: How in our Colleges our Numbers grow thin, and our Revenue short, and that Subsistence we have abroad is for the most part involved in the common Miseries: How frightened by the neighbour Noise of War, our Students either quit their Gowns, or abandon their Studies: How our Degrees lie disesteemed, and all Hopes of our publick Commencement are blasted in the Bud, besides sundry other pressing Inconveniencies which we forbear to mention.

We cannot but conceive your honourable Piety (out of a noble Zeal to Learning) will cordially pity our said Condition, and (as the present general Calamities give Way) afford us some Succour and Encouragement. Your Wisdoms best know what Privileges and Immunities have been in all good Times afforded to the Seats of Learning, and the Professors of it; and even in the Fury and Heat of War, Places of Religion and Devotion have usually not only (on both Sides) been spared from Ruin, but supported, and esteemed as Sanctuaries. Hence it is that the Members of our University (by Charter confirm'd by Act of Parliament) stand expressly freed from all Preparations and Contributions to War: Hence it is, that in neighbour Territories,

tories, where the Excise is most in use, the Universities with all their Students are exempt.

May it not therefore be displeasing to your pious Wisdoms, if in all Humility we crave at your Hands a tender Commiseration of our Case, that you will be pleased to exempt our poor Estates from all such Rates and Impositions; to vouchsafe such Freedom to our Persons (not giving just Offence) as may enable us the better to keep together, and daily to offer up our joint Prayers to God for a Blessed Union betwixt our gracious Sovereign and you, and the Blessing of Peace upon the Land.

Rustica Academiae Oxoniensis Nuper Reformatæ Descriptio, In Visitatione Fanatica Octobris sexto, &c. Anno Domini 1648. cum Comitibus ibidem Anno sequente: Et aliis notatu non Indignis.

In Anton. à Wood's Fasti Oxoniens. p. 723. Part 2. A. D. 1643. 19 Carol. I.

October the 17th, John Allibond of Magdalene College was created Doctor of Divinity. This Worthy Doctor, who was a Buckinghamshire Man born, and lately the Chief Master of the Free-school joining to Magdalene College, was a most excellent Latin Poet and Philologist, and hath Published—Rustica Academiae Oxoniensis nuper Reformatæ Descriptio; unâ cum Comitibus ibidem 1648 habitis, &c.

1 **R** Umore nuper est delatum,
Dum agebamus Ruri,
Oxonium iri reformatum
Ab iis qui dicti puri.

2 Decrevi itaque confestim,
(Obstaculis sublatis)
Me Oculatum dare testem
Hujusce novitatis.

3 Ingressus Urbem juxta morem,
Scrutandi desiderio:
Nil præter maciem, & squalorem
Fœdissimum comperio.

4 A Decio in specum jacti,
Qui tantum dormierunt,
Post Seculum expergefati
Tot mira non viderunt.

5 Erectas illi crebras cruces,
Et Tempia conspexere,

Quæ prisca pietatis duces
Tunc primum construxere.

6 Nos autem sanctiora nuper
Incidimus in secula,
Qui tollunt ista tanquam Super-
stitionis Symbola.

7 Ad Scholas primum me trahebat
Comitiorum Norma,
Queis olim quisque peragebat
Solenniter pro forma.

8 Expecto Regios professores,
Comparuere nulli:
Nec illic adsunt Inceptores,
Nec Togæ, nec Cuculli.

9 Calcavi Atrium Quadratum,
Quo Juvenum examen
Confluixit olim; video pratum,
Quod densum tegit gramen.

10 Adi-

- 10 Adibam lubens *Scholam Musices*,
Quam *Fæminæ* & Joci
Ornassent pridem, sed *Tibicinis*
Jam nusquam erant loci.
- 11 Conscendo Orbis illud decus,
Bodleio fundatore :
Sed intus erat nullum pecus,
Excepto *Janitore*.
- 12 Neglectos vidi Libros multos,
Quod minime mirandum :
Nam inter *Bardos* tot & *Stultos*
There's few cou'd understand 'em.
- 13 Dominico sequente die,
Ad Sacra celebranda,
Ad *ædes* propero *MARIÆ* :
Nam *DIVÆ* vox nefanda.
- 14 Tenebar mox intrandi metu,
Sollicitus ut ante :
Sed frustra prorsus, nullo Cœtu
Introitum negante.
- 15 Ingressus fedes *senioribus*
Togatos destinatas :
Videbam *Cocis*, & *Sartoribus*,
Et *Lixis*, Usurpatas.
- 16 (a) *Procancellarius*, recens prodit,
Cui satis *literarum* ;
Quod vero quisque probus odit,
Est *Conscientiæ* parum.
- 17 *Procuratores* sine *Clavibus*,
Quærentibus ostendas :
Bedellos novos sine *Stavibus* ;
Res protinus ridendas.
- 18 Suggestum conscendebat (b) *fungus*
Infulsa quæ que fundens :
So dull a Fool was ne'er among us,
Pulvinar sic centundens.
- 19 Quicquidin *Buccam* evenivit,
Minaci utens *dextra*,
Boatu magno effutivit,
Et nunquam fuit *EXTRA*.
- 20 Defessus hac *Dulmanitate*,
Decrevi *Venerandos*,
Non adhuc pulsos *Civitate*,
Amicos *Visitandos*.
- 21 *Collegium* petii *Animarum*,
Nunc proprie sic dictum :
Nam rerum hic corporearum
Vix quicquam est relictum.
- 22 Hic quæro (c) *Virum* suavitate
Omnimoda politum :
Responsum alibi ingrate,
CUSTODEM *Custoditum*.
- 23 Ad *Corpus Christi* flecto gressum,
Qua brevitate possum :
Jurares novis probris pressum,
Et *furibus* confossum.
- 24 *Ecclesiam Christi* susque deque
Jactatam, mox & Versam ;
Et Sobolem heu ! longe lateque
Percipimus dispersam.
- 25 Rogavi ubi sit (d) *Orator*,
Divinæ plane mentis :
Proh facinus ! incarceratur
Facundæ decus gentis.
- 26 Hinc domum peto *Præcursoris*,
Quem triste passum fatum,
Recenti narrant *Vi Tortoris*
Secundo *Decollatum*.
- 27 Tam Sancto (e) *Præsides* cadente,
Discipuli recedunt :
Et (f) *Cacodæmone* regente,
Nec bibunt jam, nec edunt.

(a) Fr. Reynolds (b) Dr. Stanton. (c) Dr. Sheldon postea Cant. Archiepisc. (d) Dr.
Hammond. (e) Dr. Bayly. (f) Mr. Channel. 28 Heu !

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- 28 Heu ! pulchra domus, nuper læta
Dulcissimis fluentis;
Nunc cœno penitus oppleta
Canalis putrescentis.
- 29 Adire nolui *Trinitatem*,
Quam nostis, prope stare ;
Hæreticam Societatem
Ne videar damnare :
- 30 Nam tanta desolatione,
Quam quis nefandam dicet,
Occurrunt nusquam tres Personæ,
Scruteris usque licet.
- 31 Reverso tristis fertur Casus,
Et miserandum Omen
Collegii cui *Rubens Nasus*
Præ foribus dat Nomen.
- 32 Dederunt (g) illi *Principalem*
Rectore hi severi
Distortis Oculis, & qualem
Natura vult caveri.
- 33 Mox *Ædes* ingredi conatus
Non unquam *Senescentes*,
Stupescens audio ejulatus
Horrenda (h) sustinentis.
- 34 Quod dulce nuper Domicilium
Ingeniis alendis ;
Nunc merum est Ergastulum
Innocuis torquendis.
- 35 Ad *flentem* me recipio tandem
Flens ipse *Magdalenam* ;
Et gemens video *Eandem*
Vacuitate plenam :
- 36 Quæ felix dudum ornabatur
Frequentibus Alumnis ;
Quæ suaviter innitebatur
Doctissimis Columnis :
- 37 Nunc lapsis Fulcris, queis vigeat,
Videres humi stratam :
Et prole densa, qua gaudebat,
En misere orbatam.
- 38 Hæ Sedes, comptiores Musæ
Quas habuere sibi ;
Nunc densis Tenebris offusæ
Et (i) *Zim*, & *Ozim* ibi.
- 39 Pro (k) *Præside* (cui quenquam
Vix *Ætas* nostra dedit) [parem
En vobis (l) *stultum Capularem*,
Ad Clavum jam qui sedet.
- 40 Quam vereor ! ne diro omine
Septem regrediantur
Dæmonia, divino numine
Quæ quondam pellebantur.
- 41 Quocunque breviter flectebam,
Aut dirigebam Visum :
Id totum induit, quod videbam,
Aut lacrimas, aut risum.
- 42 Ingemui, dum viros video
Doctissimos, *ejectos* :
Et contra, alternatim rideo,
Stolidulos *suffectos*.
- 43 O probam reformandi Artem !
Quæ medicina datur ?
Quæ curat, ut curamus *partem*,
Cum *Totum* excindatur ;

(g) Dr. Greenwood Lippus.
per Chiliarch, Kelly.

(l) Dr. Goodwin, vulgo vocatus Dr. Nine Caps.

(h) Mr. Collier, postea Bedellus qui tortus fuerat
(i) Isai xiii. v. 21.

(j) Dr. Oliver.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>44 <i>Quadratos</i> homines quæ jubet
Et doctos extirpandos ;
Et <i>nebulones</i>, prout lubet,
<i>Rotundos</i> surrogandos.</p> <p>45 <i>Collegia</i> petis ? <i>Leges</i> duras
Habes ; nil fas videre,
Præter ædes & structuras :
Scholares abiere.</p> <p>46 <i>Culinas</i> illic frigescentes,
Capellas sine precibus,
In <i>Cellis</i> cernas sitientes,
Et <i>Aulas</i> sine <i>Messibus</i>.</p> <p>47 In <i>Templis</i> quæris <i>Conciones</i>,
Aut quicquid est decorum ?
Habebis hæitationes
Extemporaneorum.</p> | <p>48 <i>Interea</i> quid <i>Oppidani</i>,
<i>With all their quaint Devices</i>,
Qui novas hæce (male fani)
Exoptavere Vices ?</p> <p>49 <i>Erecta cornua</i> gerebant,
Dum montes hi parturiunt :
Et nunc fastidiunt, quæ volebant,
<i>Et fortiter Esuriunt</i>.</p> <p>50 Heu ! ingens rerum Ornamentum,
Et ævi decus pridem :
Quo tandem pacto hoc perventum,
Ut <i>Idem</i>, non sit <i>Idem</i> ?</p> <p>51 Nam vix à quoquam, quod narratur
Obventum olim <i>Somnio</i>,
Compertum erit, si quærat
<i>Oxonium</i> in <i>Oxonio</i>.</p> |
|--|---|

Die Mercurii, 14 Martii, 1648.

London, Printed by R. Cotes, 1649.

Resolved by the Commons assembled in Parliament,

THAT Sir *John Stewell*, Kt. be proceeded against for Life in the Upper Bench.

Resolved, &c. That *David Jenkin* be proceeded against for a Tryal for Life ; and that the Judges in that Circuit in *Wales*, be required to proceed to an Indictment against him, in the proper County in the next Assizes.

Resolved, &c. That *Charles Stuart*, eldest Son to the late King, *James Stuart*, second Son of the late King, the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John Earl of Bristol*, *William Earl of Newcastle*, Sir *William Widdrington*, *George Lord Digby*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Francis Doddington*, Sir *John Culpeper*, Sir *John Byron*, the Earl of *Worcester*, and Sir *John Winter* ; and all such persons as have been acting in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebels in *Ireland*, shall be proscribed and banished as Enemies and Traytors to the Commonwealth, and shall die without Mercy, wherever they shall be found within the Limits of this Nation, and their Estates shall be confiscate, and forthwith imployed for the use of the Commonwealth.

Resolved,

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Resolved, &c. That Sir *John Winter* shall have convenient time to depart into any foreign Parts.

Die Sabbathi, 17 Martii, 1648.

Resolved, &c. That Colonel *Matthew Boynton*, late Governor of *Scarborough*, and Sir *John Morley*, shall be proscribed and banished as Enemies and Traytors to the Commonwealth, &c.

Resolved, &c. That all other Delinquents, Members of this Commonwealth, (not comprehended in the former Exceptions) shall be admitted to compound.

Resolved, &c. That the time for the coming in of all Delinquents within the Land, whose Habitations are within eighty Miles of *London*, and for the filing of their Petitions and Particulars shall be before the 20th Day of *April* next; and for all other residing at a further distance, before the Third Day of *May*.

Resolved, &c. That the times for perfecting the Compositions of such Delinquents, that is to say, for submitting to their Fines, and paying one Moiety, and securing the Remainder at Three Months Day; shall be six Weeks from the respective Days before limited for filing their Petitions and Particulars.

Resolved, &c. That the time for the coming in of Delinquents, not excepted, and now beyond Seas, and out of the Land, shall be the first of *June* next, for the filing of their Petitions and Particulars, and six Weeks after for the perfecting of their Compositions, as is before exprest.

Resolved, &c. That the Rents and Profits of all sequestred Estates, (except the Persons before excepted) growing due at our *Lady-Day* next, shall be stayed and detained in the Tenants Hands, until the first Day of *June* next.

Resolved, &c. That the Estates of all such Persons who shall neglect to render themselves, and submit to their Compositions at the respective times before limited, shall be confiscated and converted to the use of the Commonwealth, and no further Allowance shall be thenceforth made out of the same to the Wife or Children of any such Delinquent.

Resolved, &c. That Delinquents who were formerly excepted from Pardon by their particular Names or Titles, who have not been formerly but now are admitted to Composition, (except such as have already compounded) shall pay one full Moiety of the true value of their Estates.

Die Mercurii, 21 Martii, 1648.

Resolved, &c. That all such Delinquents as have been Members of either House of Parliament, and all Judges, Officers towards the Law, common or civil, and all Serjeants, Counsellors and Attornies, Doctors, Advocates, Proctors of the Law, common or civil, and all Bishops, Clergymen, Masters, and Fellows of any College or Hall, in either of the Universities or elsewhere, and all Masters of Schools or Hospitals, and also *Humphry Bennet*,

net, Esq; Sir Edward Foord, Sir George Vaughan, and all other the Persons named in the fourth Qualification of the Propositions sent to *Hampton-Court*, to pay one third, except such of the said Persons as were included in any Articles whereof they have the Benefit shall pay one full third Part of the true value of their Estates.

Resolved, &c. That all other Persons Delinquents, (not included in any of the former Qualifications) shall pay one full sixth Part of the true value of their Estates.

Resolved, &c. That if any Person not yet sequestred, who conceives or doubts himself to be liable to Sequestration for any thing said or done in relation to the War, and was not publickly and personally engaged in the latter War, shall come in and discover his Case to the Commissioners for Compositions before the first Day of *July*, 1649. (being not before such Discovery, judicially impeached and discovered for the same by any other) then such Person (if his Case so discovered shall be adjudged liable to Sequestration) shall be admitted to compound, and discharged of his Delinquency, paying one Year's value for Land, and a Twentieth Part for his personal Estate. But in case any such Delinquent be first judicially impeached and discovered by another, or shall not be discovered by himself before the said first Day of *July*, 1649, then he shall not be admitted to compound at any lower rate than is appointed for the Qualification under which he falls.

Resolved, &c. That no promissary Oath shall be imposed upon Compounders as a Condition without which they may compound.

Resolved, &c. That all Persons who have formerly compounded, and have concealed or undervalued any Part of their Estates, and shall themselves discover it before the first Day of *June* next, shall be admitted to compound for the same, at the same rate for which they did compound for the other Part of their Estates. But if any such concealment or undervalue shall be hereafter discovered by any other Person, before the Delinquent himself discover the same, and shall not be compounded for (within the times herein before limited) according to the rates heretofore imposed by Order of Parliament upon such Discoveries, that then such Estate which is concealed, or so much as appears to be above the value compounded for, shall be forfeit to the Commonwealth.

Resolved, &c. That all such Persons as have been engaged in the latter War, and not in any former Engagement against the Parliament, shall pay one sixth Part of the true value of their Estates, (except such as are included in any particular Qualification before-mentioned, who are to pay according to the several Rates in those Qualifications.)

Resolved, &c. That all such Persons as have been engaged in the latter War against the Parliament, and have formerly compounded, and have not paid their whole Fines, shall make good the Remainder of their Fines according to their Agreement.

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Resolved, &c. That all such Persons as have been engaged in the latter War against the Parliament, and have formerly compounded, shall pay one full sixth Part of their Estates over and above their former Fines.

Resolved, &c. That all such Delinquents as shall perfect their Compositions by the respective Days herein before limited, whose Sequestrations have continued upon their Estates to this Day, shall be exempted from paying any Fifth and Twentieth Part.

Die Mercurii 28 Martii, 1649.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that the Resolutions of the House touching Delinquents and their Compositions, be forthwith printed and published.

Hen. Scobell. Cler. Parliament.

The Arraignment and Conviction of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, at the King's-Bench Bar at Winchester, on the 17th of November, 1603.

Before the Right Honourable the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, Sir John Stanhope Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Popham and Andrews, Justice Gaudy, Justice Warberton, Sir William Wade, Commissioners.

Copied by Sir THO. OVERBURY.

LONDON: Printed by William Wilson, for Abel Roper, 1648.

AFTER that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was brought to the Bar, he sat upon a stool within a place made of purpose for the prisoner to be in, and expected the coming of the Lords: during which time he saluted divers of his acquaintance with a very steadfast and chearful countenance. When the Commissioners were all assembled, having stood up a-while, he desired the Marshal to ask leave of the Lords that he might sit, which was presently granted. Then the Court proceeded in his Arraignment according to the ordinary course; unto which Sir *Walter* did orderly and willingly dispose himself: as the Jury was called to the book, he was asked whether he would challenge any of the Gentlemen impanelled for his Jury? he said, he knew none of them, but hoped they were honest men, and so desired the Court to take their choice of them. The Jury being sworn, who were Sir *Ralph Conisby*,

Conisby, Sir Thomas Fowler, Sir Edward Peacock, Sir William Rowe, Knights; Henry Goodier, Roger Wood, Thomas Walker, Thomas Whitby, Esquires; Thomas Higate, Robert Kempton, John Chawkie, Robert Brumley, Gentlemen. The Inditement was red by the Clerk of the Crown Office, the effect whereof was as followeth:

‘ **T**HAT he did conspire and go about to deprive the King of his
 ‘ government, and to raise up sedition within the Realm, to alter Re-
 ‘ ligion, and to bring in the *Romish* Superstition, and to procure foreign ene-
 ‘ mies to invade the Kingdoms. That the Lord *Cobham*, the ninth of *June*
 ‘ last, did meet with the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*: *Cobham* was then in *Dur-*
 ‘ *ham-House*, in the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, and then and there
 ‘ had conference with him how to advance *Arabella Steward* to the Crown and
 ‘ Royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed,
 ‘ that *Cobham* should treat with *Aremberge*, Ambassador from the Archduke
 ‘ of *Austria*, to obtain of him six hundred thousand Crowns to bring to pass
 ‘ their intended Treasons: It was agreed that *Cobham* should go to *Albert*
 ‘ the Archduke, to procure him to advance the pretended title of *Arabella*,
 ‘ from thence, knowing that *Albert* had not sufficient means to maintain his
 ‘ own Army in the Low Countries, *Cobham* should go into *Spain* to procure
 ‘ the King to assist and further her pretended Title. It was also agreed,
 ‘ the better to effect all these conspiracies, that *Arabella* should write three
 ‘ Letters, one to the Archduke, another to the King of *Spain*, and another
 ‘ to the Duke of *Savoy*, and promising three things; First, To establish
 ‘ firm peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*; Secondly, To tolerate the *Romish*
 ‘ and Popish Superstition; Thirdly, to be ruled by them for the contriving
 ‘ of the Marriage; and for the effecting of these traiterous purposes, *Cobham*
 ‘ should return by the Isle of *Jersey*, and should find Sir *Walter Raleigh* Cap-
 ‘ tain of the said Isle of *Jersey* there, and take counsel of him for the distri-
 ‘ buting of the foresaid Crowns, as the occasions and discontentment of the
 ‘ Subjects should give cause and way: And further, that *Cobham* and his
 ‘ brother *Brook* did meet on the ninth of *June* last, and *Cobham* told *Brook*
 ‘ all the Treasons, to which Treasons *Brook* gave his assent, and did join
 ‘ himself to all these: And after, on the *Thursday* following, *Cobham* and
 ‘ *Brook* did traiterously speak these words, That there would never be a good
 ‘ world in *England*, till the King and his Cubs (meaning his Royal issue)
 ‘ were taken away; and the more to disable and deprive the King of his
 ‘ Crown, and to confirm the said *Cobham* in his intents, *Raleigh* did trate-
 ‘ rously publish a Book falsely written against the most just royal title of the
 ‘ King, knowing the said book to be written against the King, which book
 ‘ *Cobham* afterwards received of him: And further, for the better effecting of
 ‘ these traiterous purposes, and to establish the said *Brook* in his intents, *Cob-*
 ‘ *ham* did deliver the said Book to him on the fourteenth of *June*, and on the
 ‘ sixteenth of *June*, for the accomplishment of the said conference, and by
 ‘ the traiterous instigations of *Raleigh*, did move *Brook* to incite *Arabella* to

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‘ write

‘ write to the three foresaid Princes to procure them to advance her Title,
 ‘ and that she, after that she had obtained the Crown, should perform three
 ‘ things, viz. 1st, To establish a firm peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*;
 ‘ 2dly, To tolerate the Popish Religion with impunity; 3dly, To be ruled
 ‘ by them three in the contracting of Marriage by their assent: And for the
 ‘ better effecting of these Treasons, *Cobham*, upon the 17th of *June*, by the
 ‘ instigation of *Raleigh*, did write Letters to Count *Aremberge*, and delivered
 ‘ the said Letters to one *Matthew de Lawrencie*, who delivered them to the
 ‘ Count for the attaining of six hundred thousand Crowns, which money by
 ‘ other letters *Aremberge* did promise to perform payment of, and those Let-
 ‘ ters *Cobham* did receive on the 18th of *June*; then did *Cobham* promise
 ‘ *Raleigh*, that when he should have received that money, he would deliver
 ‘ eight thousand Crowns to him, to which motion he did consent. And af-
 ‘ terwards *Cobham* offered *Brook*, that when he should have received that
 ‘ money, he would give ten thousand Crowns thereof to him, to which mo-
 ‘ tion *Brook* did assent.’

Master Serjeant *Heale* opened the matter, and delivered the effect of the
 Indictment; In whose speech this was observed, that he charged Sir *Walter*
 to have intended the Intitling of the Lady *Arabella Steward* to the Crown,
 who, he said, had no more title thereunto than he had himself; and further
 said, after a little pause, that he for his own part did disclaim and renounce
 all title thereunto: whereat Sir *Walter Raleigh* smiled. The Serjeant con-
 cluding, Mr. Attorney *Cook* began, and with a long discourse amplified (with
 vehement words and actions) the several treasons whereof Sir *Walter* stood in-
 dited, wherein he so far moved Sir *Walter*, that he many times offered to
 make answer for himself, before the Court would give him leave; protesting
 Mr. Attorney told him news he never heard of before, and that his memory
 (by reason of his sickness) was so feeble, that he could not remember so many
 circumstances as Mr. Attorney tired him withal: But Mr. Attorney pressed
 the Lords that the King's evidence ought not to be broken, or dismembred,
 whereby it might loose much of its grace and vigour: notwithstanding it
 was yielded, when Mr. Attorney came to his proof, Sir *Walter Raleigh*
 should have leave to answer his several points as they were objected. In Mr.
 Attorney divers things were observed, which were said and used in his nar-
 ration or evidence. Some captiously noted, that he said this treason did tend
 not only to the overthrow of true religion and destruction of all our souls,
 but even to the loss of our goods, lands, and lives: But it seemeth he
 meant reciprocally. Others thought him full of impertinent phrases and com-
 plements, and specially when he spake of the King's Issue, or of the Lords,
 after he said he would say nothing of them, then he would presently fall into
 gross and palpable adulation of them to their faces; but in their commen-
 dations he spake nothing but truth. Some noted his care and diligence in
 delivering to the people, that the King said he would loose lands, crown,
 and life, before he would suffer a toleration or alteration in Religion; and
 that

that to these Traytors (for *Cobham* and *Gray* were upon the bye) he had done nothing rigorously, nothing unnaturally, nothing precipitately; not rigorously, because no torture used: not unnaturally, because the brother was not pressed (further then he would) to accuse his brother: not precipitately, because of the long time his gracious Majesty had promised before he would bring them to their Arraignment: this was much to the satisfaction of the people, but this he was commanded to deliver. All the assembly could have wished that he had not behaved himself so violently nor bitterly, nor used so great provocation to the prisoner; which the better sort imputed to his zeal in the King's service, and to the passion which overwhelmed him in the cause of his Country: As when he brake forth into these and the like speeches: This horrible and detestable Traytor, this main Traytor (for the rest were upon the bye) this instigator and seducer to treasons, he that hath a *Spanish* heart, you are an odious man, see with what a whorish forehead he defends his faults; this is he that would take away the King and his Cubbs, O abominable Traytor! But many that prejudicate of Mr. Attorney's nature, would hardly be persuaded but those speeches proceeded out of the insolency of his own disposition, given to triumph over poor delinquents, and men in misery; honest men have reason to think the best. And as the Attorney was noted, so was the carriage of *Raleigh* most remarkable: First to the Lords (principally to my Lord *Cecil*) humble, yet not prostrate; dutiful, yet not dejected; for in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious speeches, in other acknowledge that their honours said true, as in relating some circumstances: And in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reference urge them, and answer them, as in points of Law, or essential matters of fact. Towards the Jury affable, but not fawning, not in despair nor believing, but hoping in them, carefully persuading them with reasons, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations; rather shewing love of life than fear of death. Towards the King's Council patient, but not insensibly neglecting, not yielding to imputations laid against him in words; and it was wondrous that a man of his heroick spirit could be so valiant in suffering, that he was never overtaken in passion: But when it was insinuated that it was said, that it would never be well till the King and his Cubs were taken away, he said that Mr. Attorney used him basely, barbarously, and rigorously, and that he was a base slave and a wretch that spake the words; but he received comfort in these base words of Mr. Attorney, for he hoped that it should be the worst he should be able to do against him.

The accusation may be said to be of two parts, *viz.* Personal against the King, and publickly against the State and quiet of the Realm, both high Treason; the personal Treason was of two sorts. The first a conspiracy against the King's life: the second a practice to disable the King's title to the Crown of *England*. To prove *Raleigh* intended the King's death, the confession of *George Brooke* was enforced, who said that his brother my Lord *Cobham* told him that he and my Lord *Gray* were but upon the Bye, but the
said

said *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were upon the main for it, and should never be well till the King and his Cubs were taken away. And further, that he thought in his conscience that the said speech of the Kings Cubs proceeded from *Raleigh*. And it was further declared, that the confession of *George Brooke* was enforced, and not voluntarily made, untill Sir *Griffin Markham*, and *Watson* the Priest had vouched him for the knowledge of some farther purpose, than the surprizing of the King. To this Sir *Walter* answered, that *George Brook* would say any thing of him, but he thanked God he never spake with him; for if he had spoken but five words he perceived that it had been enough. Then my Lord *Cecil* said, that indeed he thought that *George Brook* had spleen to Sir *Walter*, but his brother my Lord *Cobham* and he were good friends, and therefore he could not tell whether he hated *Raleigh* so much as to do his brother so great a displeasure, and said, that my Lord *Cobham* might if he did practice (as himself confessed) with *Spain*, give Sir *Walter's* name in to credit him withall, as a man that favoured him, and on whom he did presume more than he had reason. To prove that *Raleigh* practised to scandalize his Majesties Title to the Crown, my Lord *Cobham's* confession was produced: That Sir *Walter* delivered him a Book concerning the King's Title, but told him withall, that it was a foolish book which he delivered to his brother *George* to consider of, and *George Brooke* confessed that his brother gave him such a Book, whereof he read only the Titles of the Chapters, containing matter against the King's Title and Line. And it was not omitted by the Attorney, that this Book was delivered upon occasion of my Lord *Cobham's* discontentment. *Raleigh* confessed that he had such a book which he never read, but it was intituled, *A Defence of the Queen's proceedings against Mary Queen of Scotland*; and constantly denied that he delivered it to my Lord *Cobham*, but that my Lord *Cobham* took it out of his Study (if he had any such of his) without his knowledge, he protested: Here my Lord *Henry Howard* signified, that my Lord *Cobham* was asked in his examination whether Sir *Walter* gave him the book, or that he took the same? and he said that Sir *Walter* gave it him: But that since he had told some (who were again with him) that whereas he had said that Sir *Walter* gave him the book, the truth was he took the same of himself out of his study when he was asleep. Then my Lord *Cecil* asked Sir *Walter*, where he had the book? and he said, he took it out of my late Lord Treasurer *Burleigh's* study after he was dead. My Lord *Cecil* desired to know whether out of that which was left to him or to his brother? And he said out of that which was in my Lord Treasurer's house in the Strand. Whereupon my Lord *Cecil* published, that after his Father's death, Sir *Walter* desired to search for some Cosmographycal descriptions of the West-Indies which he thought were in his study, and were not to be had in print, which he granted, and said he would as soon have trusted Sir *Walter* as any man: though since (for some infirmities of Sir *Walter's*) the bonds of his affection had been crackt, and yet reserving his duty to the King his Master (which he could not dispence withall in his service) he swore by God he loved him, and found a great conflict in himself, in that so compleat a member in common-wealth

was

was fallen away. But he must needs say that Sir *Walter* used him discourteously to take the Boook away and not to acquaint him therewith: Nevertheless he said he need not to make any Apology in the behalf of his Father, considering how usual and necessary a thing it is for Counsellors and those in his place to intercept and keep all such kind of writings, for whosoever should now search his study (or at least his Cabinet) should like enough find all the famous libells that ever were made against the Queen that is dead: and shall also find divers made against the King our Sovereign Lord that now is, since his coming to the Crown: Sir *Walter* said, that the book was a manuscript, and had noted in the beginning with my Lord Treasurer's own hand, this is the book of one *Cob. Snag*, and affirmed that as my L. *Cecil* had said, he thought a man might find also in his house all the libells that had been made against the late Queen: Mr. Attorney said that he was no privy counsellor, nor he hoped never should be: my Lord *Cecil* answered, that he indeed was no counsellor of state, yet he had been often called to consultation: Sir *Walter* thought it a very severe interpretation of this law to bring him within the compass of Treason only for this book written so long ago as it was, whereof no man had read more than the Titles of the Chapters: and which was burned by *George Brook* without his privity; admitting that he had delivered it to my Lord *Cobham*, not advancing, nor approving the same, but discommending it, as *Cobham's* first confession was; and he puts this case, If he should come to my Lord *Cecil* (as oft he had done) and find a searcher with him with a Packet of libells, and my Lord let him have one or two to peruse, this he hoped was no treason. To prove this treason against the State and commonweal my Lord *Cobham's* confessions were read to this effect. That it was agreed between Sir *Walter Raleigh* and him, that my Lord *Cobham* should deal with Count *Aremberge* to procure six hundred thousand Crowns, that Count *Aremberge* did promise to satisfy his request, to the intent to advance the Title of *Arabella*: and that it was likewise concluded that *Cobham* should (under pretence of Travelling) go into the Low-Countries, into *France*, and *Spain*, and carry three letters from the Lady *Arabella* to the Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the King of *Spain*, to obtain the said sum of Crowns, and thereby to promise three things unto the Princes. First, that there should be a peace concluded with *Spain*. Secondly, that there should be a toleration of Religion in *England*. Lastly, that she would not marry but by the direction of the said Princes, and that he should come back by *Jersey*, and there he should meet with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and then they would agree how to dispose the money to discontented Persons (whereof he thought he should find many at his return) and that Sir *Walter* should have a great number of crowns from the said Count *Aremberge*. And Sir *Walter* thought that the best course to trouble *England* was to cause division in *Scotland*: And my L. *Cobham* further accused Sir *Walter*, to have bin the only instigator of him to all these treasons. And one *Mat. de Lawrence*, a Merchant of *Antwerp*, that was used between Count *Aremberge*, and my L. *Cobham*, confessed that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* supped with my
Lord

Lord *Cobham* one night when he came to my Lord *Cobham's* house, and that they three went alone to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* house in the *Strand* by water, and that the said *Matthew de Lawrencie* delivered a letter to my Lord *Cobham* from Count *Aremberge* at *Durham-House*, and immediately Sir *Walter* went up with my Lord *Cobham* into his chamber, and *Matthew de Lawrencie* tarried below: Sir *Walter* confessed that he knew very well, that *Matthew de Lawrencie* held intelligence between Count *Aremberge*, and my Lord *Cobham*, and so did the Lords of the Council know, that it had been so these seven years by licence of the Queen: But that he knew to what purpose it was now of late, he denied, other than he took it to have been concerning the business of the peace with *Spain*; for that my Lord *Cobham* said, that his brother *George Brook* was very loath to accuse him. Sir *Walter* proceeded, and asked, Whether my Lord *Cobham* had accused him or confessed any such thing? It was answered, that my Lord *Cobham* had been asked whether he had spoken any such thing concerning his said brother's unwillingness, and he would make no answer but that he had; however, he said it proceeded out of a discontented mind from the said *George Brook*, which Mr. Attorney said was a confession of their pretence in law. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, that if my Lord *Cobham* had accused him as they alledged, he ought to renew his accusation to his face, that so he might not be massacred by hearsay, and affirmed, it was Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton's* case. There was further urged against Sir *Walter*, for intending to make away the King, the testimony of one that had been lately at Sea, who was in the Court in a blew cassock, and deposed, That being at *Lisbon* not long after the coming in of the King into *England*, a *Portugal* Gentleman asked him whence he was? and he said of *England*. Then he asked whether our King were crowned or not? and he answered, he hoped so by this time; whereupon the *Portugal* said, that my Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* would make him away before it were long. Sir *Walter* made light of this rumour and of the witness, and said that he thought it might be so; for that my Lord *Cobham* knowing that he had written a book and presented it to the King, to move his mind not to make his peace with *Spain*, hearing him one day at his Table dispute very violently against the peace, told him in his Gallery presently after, he need not be so much against the peace, for he should have seven thousand Crowns to labour for it; and that he thought it to be a toy, nor knew how to deserve it, yet his answer was, let me see the money, and then I will answer you to the purpose. And my Lord *Cobham* told him further, that he would offer a great sum of money to my Lord *Cecil* and to my Lord of *Northumberland* to the same end, but he dissuaded him from it, and told him, they would hate him as long as they live for it. And Sir *Walter* said further, that the occasion of my Lord *Cobham's* accusation was this, viz. When as Sir *Walter* perceived by the Lords, that they had the said *Matthew de Lawrencie* in jealousy to do some bad offices between Count *Aremberge* and my Lord *Cobham*, (who as he thought was justly condemned upon these advertisements) that he observed my Lord *Cobham* that
night

night (when my Lord *Cobham* brought him home to his house) to go back past his own stairs towards his Countess's lodgings, with the said *Matthew de Lawrencie*, as if he had been very sorry to have parted with them. Then he writ to my Lord *Cecil* to signify to him, that in his judgment if he apprehended *Matthew de Lawrencie* presently, it might be a means that he might intercept their intelligence (perhaps not yet ripe); and if otherwise, *Matthew de Lawrencie* might perchance be shuffled away, and so left it to his Lordship's consideration: And afterwards my Lord *Cobham* had constantly denied these matters upon his examination, this letter was shewed unto him as though Sir *Walter* had induced him to all the inconveniencies he had fallen into, which after he had read, he desired to read it again. And upon assurance it was Sir *Walter's* Letter, in a great passion he brake forth into these speeches; Oh Villain! Oh vile Traytor! hath he used me thus? Nay, then I will tell you all, and thereupon in madness and perswasion of the wrong that Sir *Walter* had done him, he delivered the right accusation, the substance whereof was not denied, tho' Mr. Attorney noted, that he considered of it a second time before he entred into passion. Sir *Walter* appealed to all that knew my Lord *Cobham*, that he was as passionate a man as lived; and said, that in his choler he had accused his friends of greater matters than these, and had been sorry for it afterwards. The King's Council replied, that the confession of *George Brook* of the foresaid speeches of my Lord *Cobham* touching himself, and Sir *Walter*, for a further plot than they two by any way could excuse, must stand good in law, in that those speeches were uttered (as it appeared) before those matters came out, and before my Lord *Cobham* had conceived the spleen against Sir *Walter* upon the sight of this letter. And further produced my Lord *Cobham's* confession: That Sir *Walter*, after his first being before the Lords, did write unto him the said *Cobham*, that he had been examined of many things concerning him, but he had cleared him in all: Now the Lords protested that all this while he was not asked one question touching my Lord *Cobham*, and therefore the Attorney inferred that he writ this out of a fearful and guilty conscience, to confirm my Lord *Cobham* in his denial, against he should be examined: Sir *Walter* hereupon declared, that my Lord *Cobham* put him in trust to pass the Inheritance of certain fee-farm lands for him, and gave divers jewels of great value for his security, which were in his bosom at the time of his apprehension, and that my Lord *Cobham* had a Cabinet worth thirty pound, which Master Attorney should have had for his favour: and that at his return from the Lords with private restraint to his own house, my Lord *Cobham's* footman came to him to know what was done in the business: and he unwilling to have it known that he was restrained, dispatched the footman, saying he would write to his Lord, and so did by Captain *Kemish*. Besides for that which he writ of the said business, and acquainted my Lord *Cobham* that he had been examined, and that he had cleared his Lordship; he did write so in this regard, that though he were not examined of my Lord *Cobham*, yet he talking with my Lord *Cecil*, and his Lordship telling him he was glad there were no more in

the action than there appeared, and that he hoped such a one was not in, Sir *Walter* said that my Lord *Cobham* was absolutely clear: and my Lord *Cecil* replied he did hope so, and thought no less: all which was said in regard my Lord *Cobham* was thought to be discontented. But afterwards my Lord *Cecil* said, Sir *Walter*, you have *Kemish* against you who carried the letter, and tore out that sheet, which concerned the Lords of the Council (for so was my Lord *Cobham*'s confession) and he hath been offered the rack for it, but what he has confessed, I as yet know not. Answer was made by Sir *William Wade*, that *Kemish* had confessed he carried a letter, and knew nothing at all of the contents, and that indeed he was told that he deserved himself to be put to the rack for it. Well, said Sir *Walter*, the Rack-keeper was called for, was he not? Sir *William Wade* said, that it was privately reported, that *Kemish* had his Master's letter back from my Lord *Cobham*, but Sir *Walter* confessed no such matter. But concerning that he was charged withal, for practising to make a combustion in *Scotland*, he confessed the words of my Lord *Cobham*'s accusation to this effect, That he thought the best course to trouble *England*, was to cause sedition in *Scotland*, and said that he had thought so any time these twenty years, and so it hath been also held by the wisest men in this Kingdom: And he had delivered his opinion to be such divers times to the Lords of the Council, and he thought that there were but few there but were of his opinion. Sir *Walter* also offered to the consideration of the Jury, that my Lord *Cobham* had not subscribed his accusation; then the Lords requested my Lord Chief Justice to deliver, whether subscriptions were necessary by the Law? and my Lord Chief Justice said they were not: Nay, said Sir *Walter*, pardon me my Lord, for this, by your Lordship's favour, I take to be the course of examination in this kind. After that the examinee hath confessed, and his confession is written, it is all read over again distinctly and deliberately to him, that he may be sure to say nothing but truth: and then in confirmation that it is undoubtedly true, and that he will stand thereunto, he is to subscribe the same. Now, my Lords, if my Lord *Cobham* did accuse me thus rashly out of his passion, and afterwards when he had read it again, began to relent, and (with sorrow for the wrong he had done me) refuse to set his hand thereunto, then I say, my Lords, I have reason to take hold of it: And it is well known to you, my Lord *Cecil*, and my Lord of *Northampton*, how he hath recanted his accusation; moreover, he hath most penitently sorrowed for this injury he hath done me, and could never be quiet in his conscience till he had purged me. Master Attorney said, that in my Lord *Cobham*'s accusation there were many things, that he had recanted, but there was no essential point prenominated, which he had recanted. And my Lord *Cecil* said, that the reason that my Lord *Cobham* gave, why he would not subscribe, was, because he thought he was privileged by his degree: wherein he appealed to my Lord Chief Justice, who answered, that it was a great contempt to refuse to subscribe, but it did not appear that thereupon he did subscribe. Then Master Attorney delivered, that it was Sir *Walter*'s policy to have but one witness, because he thought that

that one witness could not condemn him. Sir *Walter* thereupon furiously started up, and said to him, Master Attorney, you must not think that all that maketh for me is policy, and all that maketh against me is plain, and God revealeth it. I were well fitted for justice, if you should come to be my Judge; what indifferency is there in this, my Lord Chief Justice? Remember, I beseech your Lordship, the statute of the first of *Edward VI.* hath this, That no person shall be condemned of treason, unless he be accused by two lawful accusers, and those to be brought before the party, if they belong to *England*. And remember too the statute of the 13th of the Queen, No man shall be arraigned of treason, without the oath of two sufficient and lawful witnesses brought face to face. My Lord Chief Justice said, the statute of the first of *Edward VI.* was repealed by the first and second of *Philip* and *Mary*, and reduced all tryal of treason to the course of the Common Law. And that the statute of the 13th of *Elizabeth* extended to such offences as were mentioned in the said act, to be committed against the Queen that dead is. And that all was now put to the Common Law, and that by the Common Law one witness was sufficient concerning presumption; some of the Judges said, That by the law a man might be condemned without a witness, only upon presumption. And if the King (whom God defend) should be slain in his Chamber, and one is seen to come forth of the Chamber with his sword bloody, being drawn, were not this evident both in law and opinion, without further inquisition? And my Lord Chief Justice, that one witness, accusing himself too, was very great testimony, especially in this case: For it was not to be imagined that my Lord *Cobham* would do himself so much harm, as to adventure the loss of his honour, lands of so great worth, and his life, for any spleen of Sir *Walter*, unless the matter were true, and therefore the accusation was very strong against Sir *Walter*. Note, that the treasons against Queen *Elizabeth*, which by the statutes of the 13th of her reign were to be proved by the oath of two witnesses, were death, or bodily harm intending to death, imagined against her; levying of wars within or without the Realm against her; plots to depose or deprive her, publishing her to be a Tyrant, Heretick, Infidel, Schismatick, Usurious, &c. Sir *Walter* proceeded and urged, that though these statutes lived not, yet he knew very well the reason of these statutes and equity of them lived still: But howsoever I am sure (saith he) the law of God liveth for ever. And you shall find it in *Deuteronomy* in the xviiiith Chapter: *In ore duorum aut trium testium peribit qui interficitur. Nemo occidatur uno contra se dicente testimonium.* And in the xixth Chapter: *Non stabit unus testis contra aliquem: quicquid illud peccati, & facinoris fuerit. Sed in ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.* Divers other places in the Old Testament are to this purpose, confirmed by our Saviour too in the xviiiith of *Mark*, and the viiith of *John*, and by St. *Paul*, *Cor. ii. 13*, and by the whole consent of Scripture. And if the Common Law be as *Brooks* saith (who was a great Lawyer) then there ought to be two witnesses: For he saith a tryal is by verdict, and by witness, wherein my Lord Chief Justice said he was deceived. But, said he, you

tell me of one witness, let me have him. Prove these practices by one witness, and I will confess myself guilty to the King in a thousand treasons. I stand not upon the Law, I defie the law, if I have done these things I desire not to live : whether they be treasons by the law or no. Let me have my accuser brought to my face, and if he will maintain it to my face, I will confess my Judgment. Here my Lord Chief Justice being required to signifie his opinion of the Law in this, he said it was not the law to have the witness brought to his face, considering he accused himself also : To the which the the rest of the Judges agreed. Sir *Walter* replied, it was not against or contrary to the law : Howsoever I do not expect it of duty : And yet I say you should deal very severely with me if you should condemn me and not bring my accuser to my face. Remember a story of *Fortescue* a reverend Chief Justice in this Kingdom, that condemning a woman for murdering her husband, upon the presumption or testimony of one witness (as it seemed) and after she was burned, a servant of the man's that was slain (being executed for the same fault) confessed that he slew his Master himself, and that the woman was innocent. What did the Judge than say to *Fortescue*, touching the remorse of his conscience for proceeding upon such slender proof, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua ipse purgaret*. That he could never be at peace of conscience whilest he lived, although he gave consent upon the verdict of the Jury. But my Lords for the matter which I desire, remember too the story of *Susanna* : *Daniel* thought the Judges fools because they would condemn a daughter of *Israel* without asking the witness a question : Why then, my Lords, let my accuser be brought, and let me ask him a question, and I have done : for it may be it will appear out of his own tale, that his accusation cannot be true, or he will be discovered by examination. But yet principally my Lords remember what is said in the xixth of *Deuteronomy*. *Si steterit testis mendax contra hominem accusans cum prevaricatione, stabunt ambo, quorum causa est ante dominum, in conspectu sacerdotum, et judicum, qui fuerint in diebus illis*. And I will tell you, Master Attorney, if you condemn me upon bare inferences, and will not bring my accuser to my face, you try me by no law, but by the *Spanish* inquisition. If my accuser were dead, or not within the land it, were something. But my accuser lives, and is in the house, and yet you will not bring him to my face. About this time my Lord *Cecil* asked him, if he would take issue upon these points upon my Lord *Cobham's* testimony, if my Lord *Cobham* would now justifie under his hand his accusation, and it might be that he would (by the advice of the Lords) joyn issue with him. Sir *Walter* made no direct answer thereunto, but still besought them to bring his accuser to his face. My Lord *Cecil* then replied, Sir *Walter*, it cannot be granted you : you have heard your self that the Law will not dispense with it. It may not be forgotten that before *Raleigh* had been so importunate to have his accuser brought to his face, he used very probable reasons to the Jury to satisfy them, how silly and foolish an enterprise this was, whereof he was accused, and how unlikely a thing it was that he should enter into it. First, said he, that I should make choice of my Lord

Cobham

Cobham of any man living : A man of no following, nor of no force ; that I should dream of disturbing the State, now every body was so glad of the King's coming and of unexpected peace : and now the State was greater, and stronger than ever it was. That I should be so simple to expect mony from *Spain*, for I knew how much that King's revenue was impaired, and his treasure intercepted. I also knew well that where he had usually in his Havens, six or 7 seven score sail of ships, now he had not six or seven sail of ships. I knew well too that his Jesuits begged from door to door in *Spain* : and I knew well that the King of *Spain* was a Bankrupt, as was protested by most of the Merchants of Christendom. And could I imagine then that in his poverty he could disburse six or seven hundred thousand Crowns ? or if he had been in case, could I think it so easy a matter, to obtain such a sum of mony of the *Spaniard* ? do Princes so easily now a days part with such Masses of mony ? I knew that the Queen of *England* disbursed no mony to the States of the Low-Countreys (though it were partly for her own security) before she had the *Brill* and *Flushing* in pawn. I knew likewise She disbursed no mony into *France* (though for the like occasion) till she had *New-haven* in pawn, and afterwards more warm security : Nay, the Citizens of *London* would not lend their Queen money, till they had her lands in pawn. What pawn had we to give the King of *Spain* ? What did we offer him ? Or how could we invent to offer the letter of an *Arabella*, whom he could not chuse but know to be of no following ? what a mockery is this ? what would I make my self ? A *Cade* ? A *Kett* ? A *Jack-Straw* ? against these probabilities, the presumptions before alledged, were laid altogether, to mortify my Lord *Cobham's* accusation, in the ordering whereof Master Attorney shewed great wisdom and care in his Majesties business. And whereas Sir *Walter* had urged, that it was not likely the King of *Spain* would be so easily persuaded to provoke the King of *England* to a war, considering his bad fortune in six or seven enterprizes again this State, and what he had lost by war with *England* : Master Attorney said, he was so much the more likely to desire revenge, and to entertain the least hope thereof. But *Raleigh* answered : all your suspitions, and inferences, are but to fortify my Lord *Cobham's* accusation ; My Lord *Cobham* is the only man that doth accuse me. My Lord *Cobham* lives and is in the house, let him maintain his accusation to my face. My Lord *Cobham* hath confessed himself guilty, he is meerly at his Majesties mercy : and without doubt shall highly offend the King, if he go back from his word, wherein he hath abused his Majesty, and so is to look for no mercy, but shall surely die. On the other side he hath accused me to instigate and draw him into these Treasons, and if it be so, then I have been the overthrow of him, his honour, estate and all. He is a man of a most revengeful nature, as all the world knows, whom would he be more willingly revenged on, than on him who hath been his utter overthrow ? Why then my Lords if he will not displease the King in hope of mercy and compassion (which is his only plea) If he will be revenged on the man that brought him to all this, that hath ruined him and his house, then will he justify his accusation to my face, then good my Lords
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let us be brought face to face. My Lord of *Northampton* replied, Sir *Walter* you have heard it cannot be granted you, pray importune us no longer. No longer, said *Raleigh*? it toucheth (my Lord) upon my life which I value at as high a rate as you do yours. At last Sir *Walter* was asked, whether he would say any more. Then he directed his speech to the Gentlemen of the Jury, saying, you have heard the proofs, I pray you consider that these men (meaning Master Attorney and the rest of the Lawyers) do usually defend every day in the Courts against men of their own profession, as able as themselves: and if they can do so, what may they do with me, that never studied the law till I came into the *Tower of London*: that have been practised in other affairs, and am weak of memory and feeble as you see, for he was fain to have pen and ink to help his memory in the long speeches that were made against him. But remember the godly saying of Saint *Augustin*, *Si judicaveritis tanquam jam judicandi estis*. If you would be content to be judged upon suspicions and inferences, if you would not have your accusation subscribed by your accuser. If you would not have your accuser brought to your face (being in the same house too) where you are arraigned, if you would be condemned by an accusation of one recanted and truly sorrowfull for it, if you in my case would yield your bodies to torture, loose your lives, your wives, and children, and your fortunes upon so slender proof; Then am I ready to suffer all these things. Now after Master Serjeant *Phillips* had made a very long repetition of all the accusation, Master Attorney asked Sir *Walter* again whether he would say any more? *Raleigh* answered, if he would say any thing he would answer him. Master Attorney told him the King's council must speak last. Nay, by your leave (said he) he that speaks for his life shall speak last. Are you contented, said Master Attorney, that the Jury shall go together? yea, in Gods name, said Sir *Walter*. Then Master Attorney entred into a speech to this effect: Now *Jesus Christ* shall be glorified; *Jesus Christ* shall have a great victory this day, as great as when it was said *vicisti Galilee*. Now, Sir *Walter*, I will prove you to have a *Spanish* heart. See with what a whorish forehead he hath defended his fault: he hath deceived my poor Lord *Cobham* as *Eve* was deceived with an apple, by a letter in an apple, and hath seduced this poor Lord to write I know not what to him against his conscience; but he could not sleep quietly till he had revealed the truth of it to the Lords, and voluntarily of himself written the whole matter to them with his own hand but Yesterday, which I will read with a loud voice, though I be not able to speak this fennight after: and so pulled my Lord *Cobham*'s let-out of his pocket, which was in effect thus to the Lords, viz That Sir *Walter* had written a letter to him a week before to intreat him for God's sake, to signifie unto him by his letter that he had wronged him in his accusation, and told him that the Lords had appointed to meet at Master Attorney's house, to consider of his cause: and that it was better to be constant in denial than to appeal to the King, and that he should take heed of Preachers by my Lord *Effex*'s example. Now it was (writes my Lord *Cobham*) no time to dissemble, and therefore he protested unto their Lordships before

fore God and Angels : That the accusation of Sir *Walter* was substantially true. And further confessed, that Sir *Walter* had dealt with him since the Queen's death to procure him a pension from *Spain*, to give intelligence when any thing was intended by *England* against them. This letter was wonderfully esteemed by Master Attorney, and most effectually applied with many quaint Phrases against Sir *Walter*, who answered nothing to those speeches which were personal, having said before, that they were used only to bring him into detestation of the World, but spake to this effect : Now it shall appear that my Lord *Cobham* is an unworthy, base, silly, simple poor soul. Master Attorney said, Is my Lord so poor ? Yea, (said he) in Spirit. Would to God you were so (quoth Master Attorney) : Sir *Walter* proceeded, I will tell you the truth. It is true, I got a poor fellow in the *Tower*, to cast up a letter tied to an apple (for so *Cobham's* letter was conveyed) in at my Lord *Cobham's* Window, when the Lieutenant was at supper, (which I was loath to have spoken of, least the Lieutenant should be blamed, but all the Lieutenants in the World could not have helpt it) wherein I intreated him for God's sake to do me right, and to write the truth unto me, because I knew not whether I should be arraigned before him or no : and hereupon he writ to me how he had wronged me : and herein I did nothing that was dishonest for ought I know ; but I sent him a letter again, (because I heard he should be arraigned first) and desired him to publish my innocence at his arraignment ; but that notwithstanding he writ unto me again, which letter I have now about me (being all my hope) and I beseech your Lordships to peruse it. Master Attorney would not have it read, but said, My Lord *Cecil*, mar not a good cause. My Lord *Cecil* replied, Master Attorney, you are more peremptory than honest, you must not come here to shew me what to do. Then Sir *Walter* desired my Lord *Cecil* particularly to read it, because he knew my Lord *Cobham's* hand, which at his request my Lord *Cecil* did. The letter was to this purpose : That whereas my Lord *Cobham* did not know whether he or Sir *Walter* should be first arraigned ; and because the blood of Sir *Walter*, and undoing of him, his posterity should not be required at his hands at the last day ; therefore he did by this letter confess, that he had wronged Sir *Walter* in his former accusation, and that Sir *Walter* was innocent of any such practices, and this was true as he hoped to be saved. Hereupon Sir *Walter* desired the Jury to consider what a man this was, and what his testimony was, yet if it were worth any thing. The protestations which he had made to clear him, were more violent then those which he had made against him. And the reasons that might draw my Lord *Cobham* to write this last letter in accusation of him, were greater than could be alledged to persuade him to write the letter in his excuse. Here my Lord Chief Justice desired my Lord *Cecil*, and my Lord of *Northampton* to satisfy the Jury, that there was no condition of favour promised to my Lord *Cobham* for writing this last letter : which they both did protest to their knowledge. Nay, said Sir *Walter*, I dare say your Lordships would not offer it. But my Lord *Cob-*
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ham received a letter from his Wife, that there was no way to save his life but to accuse me; which was said upon the going together of the Jury. Concerning the matter in my Lord *Cobham's* letter of standing to his denial, and to admit no preachers by the misfortune of my Lord of *Essex*, and his desire of a pension from *Spain*, I protest to God, said Sir *Walter*, they are false like as the rest: Saving that this I do confess, That my Lord *Cobham* offered me a pension, and I (alas! my Lords) loath to cast him away, and being confident that I had dissuaded him from these humours, did conceal it. But that ever I dealt with him for any such pension is most untrue. And for the meeting of the Lords at Mr. Attorney's house, he heard so, he protested, by hap by a child of his. After all this, the Jury went together and staid about half an hour, and returned with their verdict, Guilty. Then my Lord Chief Justice asked what he could say, why Judgment should not be given upon him? He said, he knew the Court was to give Judgment after their verdict, and so was willing my Lord should proceed. Then my Lord Chief Justice pronounced Judgment against him in this manner, *viz.* Sir *Walter Raleigh*, you are to be conveyed to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to be hanged till you are half dead, your members to be cut off, your bowels to be taken out, and cast into the fire before your face (you being yet alive) your head to be cut off, your quarters to be divided into four parts, to be bestowed in four several places, and so (said my Lord Chief Justice) Lord have mercy upon your soul. Sir *Walter*, upon this, humbly desired, that the King might know the proofs against him. And that he did persist in his loyalty, notwithstanding the said verdict (which he would pray his said Jury might never answer for): And further said, the death of him and my Lord *Cobham* should witness between them. Only he craved pardon for concealing my Lord *Cobham's* offer to him. And humbly besought the King to have compassion on him, he was a poor Gentleman and had a poor wife, and a poor child, raw, and unbrought up: he had much forgotten his duty in concealing my Lord *Cobham's* fault. So Judgment being given as aforesaid, and he having talked a-while with the Lords in private, went back with the Sheriff to the prison, with admirable erection, yet in such sort, as a condemned man should do.

The Proceedings against Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Kt. at the King's-Bench Bar, in Westminster, the 28th of October, 1618. Together with his execution at Westminster, on the 29th of October, Anno 16 Jacobi Regis, &c.

UPON *Wednesday* the 28th of *October*, *Anno Domini* 1618, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, according to a warrant to him directed, brought Sir *Walter Raleigh* from the *Tower*, to the King's-Bench Bar at *Westminster*: where the Records of his arraignment at *Winchester* were opened; and he demanded, why execution should not be done upon him, according to the judgment therein pronounced against him.

To which he began in way of answer, to justify himself in his proceedings in the late voyage.

But the Lord Chief Justice silenced him therein, saying, there was no other matter there in question, but concerning the judgment of death, that formerly had been given against him; the which the King's pleasure was, upon some occasions best known to himself, to have executed, unless he could shew good cause to the contrary.

Unto which Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, that he was told by his Council, That in regard his Majesty since the said judgment, had been pleased to employ him in his service, as by Commission he had done, it made void the said judgment, and was a verification unto him.

But the Lord Chief Justice told him, that he was therein deceived, and that the opinion of the Court was to the contrary.

Whereupon he was satisfied, and desired that some reasonable time might be allowed him, to prepare himself for death.

But it was answered him, that the time appointed was on the morrow, and that it was not to be doubted, but that he had prepared himself for death long since.

And I am glad, said the Lord Chief Justice, that you have given the world so good satisfaction of your Religion, as by some books published by you, you have.

And so Master Attorney General, requiring in the King's behalf, that execution might be done upon the prisoner, according to the foresaid judgment, the Sheriffs of *Middlesex* were commanded for that purpose, to take him to their custody, who presently carried him to the *Gate-house*.

From whence, the next morning, between the Sheriffs of *Middlesex*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was brought to the old Palace in *Westminster*, where a large Scaffold was erected for the execution.

Whereupon, when he came with a chearful countenance, he saluted the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, there present.

After which, a Proclamation was made for silence, and he addressed himself to speak, in this manner:

VOL. I.

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I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my feaver, and if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come.

Then pausing a-while, he sate, and directed himself towards a window, where the Lords of *Arundel*, *Northampton*, and *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights sate, and spake as followeth :

I thank God of his infinite Goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the light, and not in darkness : But by reason that the place where the Lords, &c. sate, was some distance from the Scaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he said, I will strain my voice, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.

But my Lord of *Arundel* said, Nay, we will rather come down to the Scaffold, which he and some others did.

When being come, he saluted them severally, and then began again to speak as followeth, viz.

As I said, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die, and that he hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the *Tower*, where I have suffered a great deal of misery, and cruel sickness, and I thank God, that my feaver hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not.

There are two main points of suspicion that his Majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me.

To resolve your Lordships wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear, and to resolve your Lordships off :

One is, that his Majesty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with *France*, and his Majesty had good reason to induce him thereunto.

One reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from *Guyana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go in a bark to *Rochel*, which was, for that I would have made my peace, before I had come to *England*.

Another reason was, upon my flight, I did intend to fly into *France*, for the saving of my self, having had some terror from above.

A third reason is, his Majesty had reason to suspect, was the *French* Agents coming to me ; besides, it was reported that I had a Commission from the *French* King, at my going forth : these are the reasons that his Majesty had, as I am informed, to suspect me.

But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at the hour of death, is far more grievous and impious, and that a man that so doth cannot have salvation ; then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account ? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his Kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any Commission from the *French* King, nor never saw the *French* King's hand-writing in all my life, neither know I that there was a *French* Agent, nor what he was, till I met him in
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my gallery at my lodging unlooked for: If I speak not true, O Lord let me never enter into thy Kingdom.

The second suspicion was, that his Majesty had been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my Sovereign; but my accuser was a base *Frenchman*, a runnagate fellow, one that hath no dwelling, a kind of a Chymical fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious; for being by him drawn into the Action of fearing my self at *Winchester*, in which I confess my hand was toucht, he being sworn to secrecy over-night, revealed it the next Morning.

But this I speak, now what have I to do with Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them; I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand; therefore to tell a lye, were it to gain the King's favour, were vain: Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last judgment day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of his Majesty in all my life; and therefore I cannot but think it strange, that that *Frenchman*, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been.

I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved, and I hope I shall be believed: I confess, I did attempt to escape, I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life.

And I do likewise confess, that I did feign my self to be ill-disposed and sick at *Salisbury*, but I hope it was no sin; for the Prophet *David* did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed to him: so, what I did, I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

But I forgive this *Frenchman* and Sir *Lewis Stewkeley* with all my heart, for I have received the Sacrament this morning of Master Dean of *Westminster*, and I have forgiven all men, but that they that are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

Sir *Lewis Stewkeley*, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that my Lord *Carewe*, and my Lord of *Doncaster* here, did advise me to escape, but I protest before God, I never told him any such thing, neither did the Lords advise me to any such matter: neither is it likely that I should tell him any such thing, of two Privy-Counsellors: neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, whilst he rode himself about the Country.

He further accused me, that I should shew him a letter whereby I did signify unto him, that I would give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I made any such profer of ten thousand pounds, or one thousand, but indeed I shewed him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone, neither had I ten thousand pounds to give him, for if I had had so much, I could have made my peace better with it otherways, then in giving it to *Stewkeley*.

Further, when I came to Sir *Edward Pelham's* house, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment; He gave out, that I had there received some dram of poison; when I answered him that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wisht him to have no such thought; now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive him; I will not only say, God is a God of revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God.

Then looking over his note of remembrance, well, said he, thus far I have gone, a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the King that I was brought perforce into *England*, and that I did not intend to come again; but Sir *Charles Parker*, M. *Tresham*, M. *Leake*, and divers know how I was dealt withall by the common soldiers, which were a hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied, and sent for me to come into the ship to them, for unto me they would not come, and there was I forced for to take an oath, that I would not go into *England*, till that they would have me; otherwise they would have cast me into the sea, and there-withal they drove me into my Cabbin, and bent all their forces against me.

Now after I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, such as I had about me, I drew some of the chiefeft to desist from their purposes; and at length, I perswaded them to go into *Ireland*, which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the North parts of *Ireland*, which I dissuaded them from, and told them that they were *Red Shanks* that inhabited there, and with much ado, I perswaded them to go into the South parts of *Ireland*, promising them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them a hundred and twenty-five pounds at *Kinsall*, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

I hear likewise, there was a report, that I meant not to go to *Guyana* at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.

But I protest it was my full intent, and for gold, for gold for the benefit of his Majesty, and myself, and of those that ventured, and went with me, with the rest of my countrymen: But he that knew the head of the mine would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made away himself.

And then turning to the Earl of *Arundel*, he said, My Lord, being in the Gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your Honour took me by the hand, and said, you would request one thing of me, which was, that whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail, but to return again into *England*, which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would, and so I have.

To which my Lord answered and said, it is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last words I spake unto you.

Another slander was raised of me, that I would have gone away from them, and left them at *Guyana*.

But

But there were a great many worthy men, that accompanied me always, as my Serjeant Major, *George Raleigh*, and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands.

As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands or others to my use, either directly or indirectly, above a hundred pound, whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds thereof; but the error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the Scrivener's books, where they found the bills of adventure arising to a great sum, so raised that false report.

Only I will borrow a little time of Mr. Sheriffs to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed, to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me; for it is said, that I should be a persecutor of the death of the Earl of *Essex*, and that I stood in a window over against him, when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him; God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died, and as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of *Essex* did not see my face, when he suffered, for I was a far off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction, but I know my Lord of *Essex* was a noble Gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone; for I got the hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him, afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies, and my soul hath many times been grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, that he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me.

And these be the material points I thought good to speak of, and I am now at this instant to render up an account to God, and I protest as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true, and I hope I shall be believed.

Then a proclamation being made, that all men should depart the Scaffold, he prepared himself for death: giving away his hat, his cap, with some money, to such as he knew, that stood near him.

And then taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance, and amongst the rest, taking his leave of my Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his company, and intreated him to desire the King that no scandalous writing to defame him, might be published after his death, saying further unto him, I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.

And then putting off his doublet and gown, he desired the headsmen to shew him the Ax, which not being suddenly granted unto him, he said, I prethee let me see it, dost thou think that I am afraid of it? so it being given unto him, he felt along upon the edge of it, and smiling, spake unto Mr. Sheriff,

Sheriff, saying, this is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician that will cure all diseases.

Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold on every side, he intreated the company to pray to God to give him strength.

Then having ended his speech, the executioner kneeled down and asked him forgiveness, the which laying his hand upon his shoulder he forgave him.

Then being asked, which way he would lay himself on the block, he made answer and said, so the heart be streight it is no matter which way the head lyeth: So laying his head on the block, his face being towards the East, the headsman throwing down his own cloak, because he would not spoil the prisoners gown, he giving the headsman a sign when he should strike, by lifting up his hands, the executioner strook of his head, at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving, his head was shewn on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag and his wrought gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed a way in a mourning coach.

Sir WALTER RALEIGHE'S Letter to the KING the night before his death.

THE life which I had, most mighty Prince, the law hath taken from me, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was made. If my offence had any proportion with your Majesties mercy I might despair, or if my deserving had any quantity with your Majesties unmeasurable goodness I might yet have hope, but it is you that must judge and not I, name, blood, gentility, or estate I have none; no, not so much as a being, no, not so much as a *vitam planta*: I have only a penitent soul in a body of Iron, which moveth towards the load-stone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majesties mercy turn the point towards me that expelleth. Lost I am for hearing of vain man, for hearing only and never believing nor accepting: and so little account I made of that speech of his, which was my condemnation (as my forsaking him doth truly witness) that I never remember'd any such thing, till it was at my tryal objected against me. So did he repay my care, who cared to make him good, which I now see no care of man can effect. But God (for my offence to him) hath laid this heavy burthen on me miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am. But for not loving you (my Sovereigne) God hath not layed this sorrow on me: for he knows (with whom I am not in case to lye) that I honoured your Majesty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. So that whether I live or die, your Majesties loving servant I will live and die. If now I write what seems not well favoured (Most mercifull Prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the counsel of a dead heart, and to a mind that sorrow hath confounded. But the more my misery is, the more is your Majesties mercy (if you please to behold it) and the less I can deserve, the
more

more liberal your Majesties gift shall be: here you shall only imitate God, giving free life: and by giving to such a one from whom there can be no retribution, but only a desire to pay a lent life with the same great love which the same great goodness shall bestow on it. This being the first letter, that ever your Majesty received from a dead man: I humbly submit myself to the will of God my supream Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your Majestie to afflict me withall,

WALTER RALEIGH

The C O P Y of Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to his Wife, the night before his death.

YOU shall now receive (my dear wife) my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you that you may keep it when I am dead, and my counsel that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not by my will present you with sorrows (*Dear Bess*) let them go into the grave with me and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not God's will that I should see you any more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thy self. First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can rehearse for your many travails, and care taken for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less, but pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide your self many days, but by your travails seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but dust. Thirdly, you shall understand, that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child: the writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve months, my honest cousin *Brett* can testify so much, and *Dolberry* too, can remember somewhat therein. And I trust my blood will quench their malice that have cruelly murdered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extream poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of tryal. And I perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surprized with death I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it, half my stuff, and all my jewels, but some one for the boy, but God hath prevented all my resolutions, that great God that ruleth all in all; but if you live free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself upon him, and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort: for the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God whilst he is young, that the fear of God may grow with him, and then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband

husband and a father which cannot be taken from you. *Baily* oweth me 200 pounds, and *Adrian* 600; in *Jersey* I also have much owning me besides. The arrearages of your wines will pay your Debts. And howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this (God knows) to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you both in respect of the world and of God. As for me I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder: and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you, and loved you in his happiest times. Get those letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I sued for my life: God is my witness it was for you and yours that I desired life, but it is true that I disdained myself for begging of it: for know it (my dear wife) that your son is the son of a true man, and who in his own respect despiseth death and all his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much, God he knows how hardly I steal this time while others sleep, and it is also time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body which, living, was denied; and either lay it at *Sherburne*, or in *Exeter-Church* by my Father and Mother; I can say no more, time and death call me away. The everlasting, powerful infinite, and omnipotent God, That Almighty God, who is goodness it self, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my prosecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious Kingdom. My dear wife, farewell. Bless my poor boy. Pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms. Written with the dying hand of sometimes thy Husband, but now alas overthrown,

WALTER RALEIGH.

C L E V E L A N D ' S *Petition to his Highness the*
 L o r d P R O T E C T O R.

May it please your Highness,

R U L E R S within the Circle of their Government have a claim to that which is said of the Deity, *They have their Center every where, and their Circumference no where.* It is in the confidence that I address to your Highness as knowing no place in the Nation is so remote, as not to share in the ubiquity of your Care; no Prison so close, as to shut me up from partaking of your influence. My Lord, it is my misfortune, that after ten years
 of

of retirement from being engaged in the differences of the State, having wound my self up in a private recess, and my comportment to the publique, being so inoffensive, that in all this time, neither fears nor jealousies have scrupled at our Actions: Being about three Months since at *Norwich*, I was fetched with a guard before the Commissioners, and sent Prisoner to *Yarmouth*, and if it be not a new offence to make inquiry wherein I offended (for hitherto my faults are kept as close as my person,) I am induced to believe, that next to the adherence to the Royal party, the cause of my confinement is the narrowness of my estate, *for none stand committed whose estate can bail them*; I only am the Prisoner, who have no Acres to be my hostage. Now if my poverty be Criminal (with reverence be it spoken,) I must implead your *Highness* whose victorious Arms have reduc'd me to to it, as necessary to my guilt. Let it suffice, my Lord, that the calamity of the War hath made us poor; do not punish us for it! *Who ever did penance for being ravished?* Is it not enough that we are stript so bare, but it must be made in order to a severer Lash? Must our Scars be engraven with new wounds? must we first be made Cripples, then beaten with our Crutches? Poverty! if it be a fault, it is its own punishment. Who suffers for it more, pays Use upon use. I beseech your *Highness* put some bounds to our overthrow, and do not pursue the chase to the other World. Can your thunder be levelled so low as our grovelling Conditions? Can that your towering Spirit that hath quarried upon Kingdoms make a stoop at us, who are the rubbish of those ruins? Methinks! I hear your former Atchievements interceding with you not to sully your glories, with trampling on the prostrate, nor clog the wheels of your Chariot with so degenerated a Triumph. The most renowned *Heroes* have ever with such tenderness cherished their *Captives*, that their Swords did but cut out work for their courtesie; Those that fell by their prowess, sprung up by their favours, as if they had struck them down, only to make them rebound the Higher. I hope your *Highness*, as you are the Rival of their fame, will be no less of their virtues; The Noblest Trophy that you can erect to your Honour, is to raise the afflicted. And since you have subdued all opposition, it now remains that you attach your self, and with acts of Mildness vanquish your Victory. It is not long since, my Lord, that you knocked off the Shackles from most of our party, and by a grand release did spread your clemency as large as your territories. Let not now proscriptions interrupt our Jubilee. Let not that your lenity be slandered as the Ambush of further rigour. For the service of *His Majesty* (if it be objected) I am so far from excusing it, that I am ready to alledge it in my vindication. I cannot conceive that my fidelity to my Prince should taint me in your opinion; I should rather expect it should recommend me to your favour; had not we been faithfull to our King, we could not have given ourselves to be so to your *Highness*; you had then trusted us *gratis*, whereas now we have our former Loyalty to vouch for us. You see, my Lord, how much I presume upon the greatness of your Spirit, that dare prevent my Indictment with so frank a Confession, especially in this, which I may so justly deny, that it is almost arrogancy

rogancy in me to own it; for the truth is, I was not qualifi'd enough to serve him; all that I could doe, was to bear a part in his suffering, and give my self up to be crushed with his fall; thus my charge is doubled (my obedience to my Sovereign, and what is the result of that, my want of fortune;) Now, whatever reflections I have on the former, I am a true penitent for the latter: My Lord, you see my crimes! As to my defence you bear it about you! I shall plead nothing in my justification, by your *Highbness*, (which as it is the constant inmate of a valiant breast, if you graciously please to extend it to your Suppliant, in taking me out of this withering durance,) your *Highbness* will find that mercy will establish you more than power; though all the days of your life were as pregnant with victories, as your twice auspicious third of *September*.

Your HIGHNESS's humble,

and submissive Petitioner,

Printed for *William Sheares*.

J. C.

An exact Relation of the Tryal and Examination of JOHN MORRIS, Governor of Pontefract-Castle, at the Assizes held at York.

Together with his Speeches, Prayers, and other Passages immediately before his death, August 23. 1649.

Whereunto is added the Speech of Cornet BLACKBURNE, executed at the same time.

Printed in the Year 1649:

(*Not in the State Tryals.*)

Colonel *Morris* being demanded to hold up his hand, refused, and the Indictment was read against him for Treason for levying War against the late King and the Parliament upon Stat. *Ed. 5.* The Court desired him to plead *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*.

Col. Morris. My Lords, under correction, I conceive this Court hath not power to try me in this case, I being a Martial man, I ought to be tryed by a Council of War.

Court. Sir, What do you say, Are you guilty or not guilty? This is the second time you have been asked: Sir, if you will not answer the third time, we shall know what to do, Are you guilty or not guilty?

Col.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I still conceive I ought not to be tryed here, if I have done any thing worthy of death, I appeal to a Martial Court, to my Lord *Fairfax*, Major General, or a general Council of War: You have not any precedent for it, either for you to try me in this way, or me to suffer by it.

Court. Are you guilty or not guilty? This is the third time.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, if your Honours will force me to plead, I conceive I am not guilty.

Court. How will you be tryed?

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I was never at any Bar before, I am ignorant herein.

Court. Tell him what to say. [*Upon that, some near him, told him, By God and the Country.*]

Col. *Morris*. By God and the Country. After that, challenge is made for Colonel *Morris* to except against any of the Jury. [*Master Brooke, a great man for the Cause, comes first returned, to be sworn as Fore-man of the Jury.*]

Colonel *Morris*. My Lords, I except against this *Brooke*.

Court. Sir, he is sworn, and you speak too late.

Col. *Morris*. My Lord, I appeal to himself, whether he be sworn or no.

Mr. *Brooke*. Sir, I am not to answer you, but the Court. My Lord, I did not kiss the Book.

Court. Sir, that is no matter, it's but a Ceremony.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I beseech your Honours that I may except against him, I know him, as well as I know my right hand, to be my Enemy.

Clerk of *Affize*. Sir, he is recorded sworn, there is no disputing against the Record.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I must submit to your Honours: After that, Colonel *Morris* challenges sixteen Men, and my Lord *Puleston* thinking Colonel *Morris* tedious in excepting against so many, answers, Sir, keep within your compass, or I will give you such a blow as will strike off your head.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I desire nothing but Justice, for by the Statute of 14 *Hen. 7.* fol. 19. I may lawfully challenge thirty-five men, without shewing any cause to the contrary.

Court. It is granted. After a full Jury, the Indictment read, and Evidence for the State very full, that Colonel *Morris* was Governor of *Pontefract*, which *Morris* being very modest and civil, did not contradict any thing, until his time of answer.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I humbly desire a Copy of my Indictment, that I may know what to answer, I conceive I may plead special as well as general.

Court. Sir, you cannot by the Law.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I conceive there is a point of Law in it, and I humbly desire to have Council; for I conceive by the Law, being attainted for High Treason, I ought to have Council by the Statute 1 Hen. 7. fol. 23.

Court. Sir, I tell you you cannot have it.

Col. *Morris*. Then my Lords I conceive I am not any way guilty to the Indictment, for Treason, my Lords, it is said to be against the King, his Crown, and against his Peace, whereby my Lords, I can make it appear, I have acted only for the King, and nothing against him, which may appear hereby by my Commission. *The Court looks upon it and Answers:*

Court. Sir, you are deceived, this is false, it is from the Prince.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, It is very well known, my Lord *Fairfax* hath his Commission derived from the Parliament, and upon that he grants Commissions to his Officers, which is all one and the same. The Prince hath his from his Father, and I have mine from the Prince, which is full Power, he being Captain General of his Majesty's Forces.

Court. Sir, have you nothing else to say?

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, under Correction, I conceive it is sufficient, for by the same power, all Judges, Justices of Peace, your Lordships, your Predecessors, and all other Officers, did act by the same power, and all process and writs of Law, were acted, and executed, in his Name, and by his Authority.

Court. His power was not in him, but the Kingdom, for he was in trust for the Kingdom; the King's Highway, and the King's Coin being so called, is not his own, but his Subjects, and his Natural power, and Legal power are different.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, under Correction, I conceive his Legal and Personal power, are undevisable, all one, and cannot be separated.

Court. Sir, all is one if the King bid me kill a man, Is this a sufficient Warrant for me to plead? No, Sir, it is unlawful; Sir, have you no more?

Col. *Morris*. Sirs, I beseech your Honours give me leave, I am upon my Life.

Court. Speak what you will, Sir, you shall be heard.

Col. *Morris*. Your servant, my Lord; then my Lords I conceive I have acted nothing against the Parliament, for that which I acted, it was for the King; and since the abolishing of Regal power, I have not meddled with anything against the Parliament, for that Act was but enacted the 14th of July last, and before that time an Act of abolishing Kingly-government, that princely Palace which I kept by his Commission was demolished; my Lords, I beseech your Honours, that my Commission may be read, to give satisfaction to the Court.

My Lord *Puleston*. Sir, it will do you no good, you may as well shew a Commission from the Pope, all is one.

Col.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I desire your Lordships to do me that Justice.

My Lord *Thorp*. For my part I am willing, if my Brother be not against it.

My Lord *Puleston*. Sir, we held it for Law to be void, it is to no purpose.

Col. *Morris*. Then if your Lordships be not pleased to do me that justice that it may be read, I desire it may be restored me again. [*Upon that Colonel Morris received his Commission unread.*] My Lords, it seemeth strange, that your Honours should do that which was never done the like before, never any of your Predecessors ever did the like; I wish it may not be to your own and your friends wrong, that you make yourselves precedents of your acting, and my self of suffering. But, my Lords, I do not speak for saving my own Life, for (I thank my God) I am prepared, and very willing to part with this lump of clay. I have had a large time of repentance, it being twenty-two weeks since my imprisonment; and I am sorry for those which are like to undergoe the same sufferings, if your Lordships take away my life. And though I do not speak any way in glory, indeed at this present there is a cloud hanging over our heads, I desire there may be a fair Sun-shine to dispel it. And though there were a world of plots in the Kingdom when I took the Castle, there is not wanting the same now, only the time is not yet come; and I was to be the fire-brand to *Scarborough*, so he (meaning *Bointon*) to *Tinmouth*, and that to others; and though you take away my life, there will be others which will take up the Lintstock to give fire, though I be gone.

Court. Sir, you have little hopes to talk of any fire to be given here, having received such a total rout in *Ireland*.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I should have been unwilling to have contradicted your late news concerning *Ireland*; but since you have given me a hint of it, you must give me leave to let your Honours know, that I received Letters from the Marquis of *Ormond*, dated the 3d of *August*, and yours is but the 2d, wherein he pleases to let me understand of the great care he hath of me, and that whatsoever shall befall me here, the like shall be to those which he hath Prisoners there, which (as he saith) are good store. Therefore, if your Lordships did not at all value my Person, yet methinks you should have some care of it for your own friends goods.

Court. Sir, have you no more to say?

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, still I appeal to my Commission, which I conceive is sufficient to defend me withal in what I have done, notwithstanding your power to the contrary.

Court. It is nothing at all, we have power to try you here.

Col. *Morris*. Then my Lords (under correction) Lay-men may as well be tried at a Martial Court: which if granted, those excellent Acts of *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Right would be destroyed.

Court. But you are not looked upon here as a Soldier, we shall do what in justice belongs to us.

Col.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, still (under correction) I have taken the Oath of Allegiance, and I conceive in that I was bound to do as much as I did or have done, though I had not had any Commission at all. And I beseech your Lordships that you will do me justice, and not incline to the right hand of affection, or the left of hatred, but to have an ear for the accused as well as for the accuser: Neither have I acted any thing contrary to my Allegiance, which Allegiance I was as willing to pay to the Son, as well as to the Father. Now for my Allegiance I owe to any person or authority, but to these, I know none.

My Lord *Thorpe*. Sir, if you have any thing else to say, speak for yur self, for this is not much to the purpose.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, 'tis true, since you have rejected that authority which I acted by, I might as well have held my tongue at the first, and spake nothing, were it not for the satisfaction of the hearers; but if it must be so that you will make me a precedent, you must do with me as you did with my dear and honoured Lord, [*meaning the Lord of Strafford*] making an Act for the future, that this my suffering shall not be a precedent to any Soldiers hereafter. Besides, my Lords, this same Statute which you alledge against me is, if that any shall act against the King, 'tis Treason, which I have not done; but contrary, for him, and by his authority. And there is an Act of 11 Hen. 7. cap. 1. That *whosoever they are that shall aid or assist the King at home or abroad, shall not be questioned at all.*

My Lord *Thorpe*. 'Tis true, Sir, but Henry VII. then stood in a fickle condition, and being an Usurper, made that Act for his own safety; sometimes Duke of York ruling, sometimes Duke of Lancaster, and others contending, therefore it was enacted.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, but this same Act of Henry VII. was later than that of Edward III, which you have laid against me, and as yet never repealed, untill this last Act of 14 of July, before which time I had delivered up the place.

My Lord *Thorpe*. Well, Sir, it seems you have not any more. What have you to say, *Blackburne*? After he had answered, the Court commands Irons to be laid on them.

Col. *Morris*. My Lords, I humbly desire that we may not be manna-cled; if you make any doubt of us, that we may have a greater guard upon us.

My Lord *Puleston*. Sir, you that have made such attempts through such guards as were of purpose set to receive you, ought to be lookt to now. Yet if Master Sheriff please, I am content.

Col. *Morris*. Master Sheriff, I desire that this mannacling may be forbore: if you please to clap a guard of a hundred men upon us, I shall pay for it. This is not only a disgrace to me, but in general to all Soldiers, which doth more trouble me than the loss of my life. Master Sheriff, what do you say?

Master

Master Sberiff. Sir, Irons are the safest guards.

Col. Morris. My Lords, hitherto (I thank God) I have not done any unsoldiery and base act, and to begin now I will not do it to save my life, and though you look upon me *Sampson*-wise, I vow to God, I would not touch the pillars though it lay in my power, to injure you, therefore I still beg pardon that I may not be mannaled.

Under-Sberiff. Come, Sir, it cannot be helpt, we are commanded.

Col. Morris. My Lords, I beseech you grant me this favour, it is not my life I beg, but to forbear this mannacling, which shame, and dishonour, doth more trouble me, than the loss of my Life.

Under-Sberiff. It must be done, and upon that did it, and carried him away. After dinner they were brought again, and the Jury brought in their verdict, who found them both guilty of Treason.

Col. Morris. My Lord, I am here found guilty of Treason by that villain *Brooke*, whom I know to be mine enemy, and the first man that I did except against: in which I conceive I have received hard measure, for none could have found me guilty of Treason, had they gone according to the Letter of the Law, which they did not.

My Lord Puleston. Sir, you speak too late, you are not to dispute it now.

Col. Morris. Neither would I, my Lord, if this were a Court of Chancery, but being a Court of Law, bound up in express words and letter, I conceive I ought to dispute it, and my business better weighed.

My Lord Puleston. Well Sir, you are found guilty, therefore hold your peace.

Col. Morris. If I must suffer, I receive it with all alacrity and chearfulness, and I thank God I shall die for a good cause, and the testimony of a good Conscience, for which had I as many lives as there are Stars in the Firmament, I would sacrifice them all for the same.

Court. Sheriff, Gaoler take them away, or Ile take you away.

Col. Morris. Well, I beseech God bless King CHARLES, and fight for all those that fight for him, or have fought for him.

The Confession of Colonel JOHN MORRIS, and some passages betwixt the Prison and place of Execution.

WHEN he was brought out of prison, looking upon the Sledge that was there set for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breast, he said, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed, I despise the shame as well as the Cross, I know I am going to a joyful place; with many like expressions.

When

When the Post met him about *St. James's Church*, that was sent to the Parliament to emediate for a reprieve, and told him he could not prevail in it, he said, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well assured to find a better pardon than any they can give, my hope is not in man but in the living God.

At the place of Execution he made this profession of his faith, his breeding, his cause he had fought in :

Gentlemen, First I was bred up in the true Protestant Religion : having my education and breeding, from that honoured house my dear Lord and Master *Strafford*, which place I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet before it, I much doubt, better than any will be after it, unless it please God to put a period to these distracted times : this Faith and Religion I say I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the least wavering, and now I am resolved, by God's assistance, to die in.

Those pains are nothing, if compared to those dolours and pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour hath suffered for us : when in a bloody sweat he indured the wrath of God, the pains of hell, and the cursed and shameful death which was due to our sins ; therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous punishment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed Saints with Christ in heaven ; it is the Lord's affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God, and what shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil ? and though I desire, as I am carnal, that this Cup may depart from me, yet not my Will, but thy will be done : Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin ; so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry, or pain, for God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes, by death our souls shall be delivered from thralldom, and this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption, the soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlasting bliss and glory, it takes us from the miseries of this world, and society of sinners, to the city of the living God, the Celestial *Jerusalem*.

I bless God I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a cause, and if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cause of my King the Lord's Anointed ; the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be subject to every Ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether to the King as supreme, or to those that are in Authority under him : I have been always faithful to my Trust ; and though I have been most basely accused for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witness it is a most false aspersions, for I was then sick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Soldiers had done it without my consent,

consent, and then I was carried to Sir *John Meldrum*, afterwards I came down into the country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home, I was persuaded by Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Overton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends, to march in their Troops, which I did, but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was, and so I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the soldiers unto their lawful Sovereign, that this land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do: and though thou killest me yet will I put my trust in thee, wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me. Then he took his Bible and read divers Psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers, some publickly and some privately, the publick was this that follows:

A P R A Y E R.

Welcome, blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sighs, the bound of my travels, the goal of my race, and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakness, I have finished my course though in great faintness, and the Crown of my joy is, that through the strength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King's, the Lords Anointed's cause without any wavering, for which, and in which I die; I do willingly resign my flesh, I despise the World, and I defy the Devil, who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope, my hope Lord Jesu is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my Soul, and raise up my body also at the last Day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes and none other: And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit myself wholly to thy will, I commit my Soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who hast bought it with thy most precious Blood; I confess to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be saved, but thine my Jesu, my Saviour; I renounce all confidence in any merits save thine; I thankfully acknowledge all thy blessings, I unfeignedly bewail all my sins, I stedfastly believe all thy promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming, Come Lord Jesu, come quickly, Lord Jesu receive my Spirit.

The Private were to himself, his hat being before his eyes; after this he put up divers Ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth; Father unto thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed it; O God, thou God of Truth, Lord Jesu receive my Spirit; and many of the like, and so he yielded to Death.

*The Speech of Cornet MICHAEL BLACKBURN, immediately
before his Death, August 23. 1649.*

*It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something,
and but a little,*

I AM not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of an honest quality and condition; I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now die; I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other End or Intention but to do my King true and faithful service, according to my duty and the dictate of my Conscience; I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have been always faithful to him, and wish I could have done him more; and for his Son, the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdom should have the boldness or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his Birthright, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: *I pray God bless him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.*

The End of the First Volume.



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